DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 083 860 FL 004 266

AUTHOR	Worth, Dean S., Ed.; Meyerstein, Zlata P., Ed.
TITLE	East European Linguistics Studies Project No. 1: Development of a Czech Reference Grammar. Final Report.
INSTITUTION	Center for Applied Linguistics, Washington, D.C.
SPONS AGENCY	Institute of International Studies (DHEW/OE), Washington, D.C.
PUB DATE	May 73
CONTRACT	OEC-0-71-3559-823
NOTE	974p.; Translated and edited from the "Ceska Mluvnice" by Bohuslav Havranek and Alois Jedlica (Prague: Statni pedagogicki nakladatelstvi, 1970)
EDRS PRICE	MF-$0.65 HC-$32.90
DESCRIPTORS	*Czech; Diachronic Linguistics; Dialect Studies; *Grammar; Language; Linguistics; Morphology (Languages); Phonology; *Reference Books; *Slavic Languages; Social Dialects; *Speech; Spelling; Structural Analysis; Syntax

ABSTRACT

This reference grammar provides extensive analysis and examples of the Czech language. The introductory section discusses general concepts concerning speech and language, Czech dialectology, linguistic analysis, stylistics, grammar, and diachronic linguistics. The major sections include phonology, orthography, morphology, and syntax. Several appendixes dealing with semantics, stylistics, and the history of the Czech language are included. (RL)

ED 083860

Final Report
Contract No. OEC-0-71-3559(823)

EAST EUROPEAN LINGUISTICS STUDIES PROJECT NO. 1: DEVELOPMENT OF A CZECH REFERENCE GRAMMAR.

translated and edited by

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May 1973

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FL 004266

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Translated and edited from the
Česká mluvnice by Bohuslav
Havránek and Alois Jedlička
(Prague, Státní pedagogickí
nakladatelství, 1970) under the
auspices of the Center for Applied
Linguistics (Washington, D. C.) and
the U.S. Office of Education.

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INTRODUCTION

General concepts

§1.1. As a rule people communicate by talking, by *speech*. One can of course also make oneself understood by movements, gestures, signals, but only to a very limited degree. Only speech itself is a complete, albeit complicated means of communication; speech has been the usual means of human contact and communication throughout the entire world since time immemorial. It is only through speech that we can express our thoughts and our knowledge, and only by means of speech can we depict the reality surrounding us, speculate and draw conclusions about this reality and express our emotional and volitional relation to it.

Speech arose from the need for mutual comprehension during work and is therefore connected with work and production, with every sort of human activity. Without mutual comprehension no human activity would be possible, nor could any human society develop. Speech arose at the very beginning of human society and has developed and has continued to develop with society's evolution.

2. People do not speak identically throughout the world. Each language is used by the members of one national entity, the stabilized common form of whose speech is termed their *national language*.

Language is one of the fundamental features of every national unit and especially of the modern nation as it has developed in capitalist and socialist society.

territory, identical economic conditions, and a common culture.

Members of the Czech nation speak the Czech language. This language distinguishes our nation from all others; it is our national language.

The national language is sometimes referred to, with imprecise but realistic imagery, as the mother tongue, because every member of the nation usually learns it in childhood from his mother.

Communication by movements, especially of the hands and head, and by gesticulation, especially by facial mimicry, is sometimes called -- inaccurately -- the "language of gestures" or "language of mimicry". However, such communication is a completely marginal phenomenon (occurring between speakers of different languages) or a mere concomitant of speech (e.g., consent or rejection expressed by a movement of the head), although the meaning of a movement or gesture can also be conventional (for example, agreement and disagreement are expressed differently in the Balkans than in our society[‡]).

[‡Ed. note: in parts of the Balkans, a vertical head movement signifies *dis*agreement rather than consent.]

Signals, conventional and prearranged, are for example a means of communication between ships at sea (again, a situation involving different languages).

§2. That variety of Czech language in which books, magazines and newspapers are written and which is used in public life both in writing and (usually) orally -- that is, in schools, public administration, lectures, and meetings, on the radio, in the theater and film, etc. is identical throughout the entire national territory; it is called the *literary language* or *literary Czech*. Literary Czech is the most important and the most highly perfected form of the Czech national language and makes possible mutual comprehension among all members of our people in all espects of public activity; it has a mission of national significance.

In more casual life one frequently speaks *common Czech*, which is now expanding through the whole Czech territory and is thus also acquiring national significance. It too is to a considerable degree uniform, in spite of certain minor dialectal differences: in Moravia, for example, common Czech does not have *ej* for *ý* and *í*, in Ostrava it has no long vowels and has stress on the penultimate syllable, and so forth. Common Czech differs somewhat from literary Czech, but not in its essentials, not in any way which might hinder understanding.

> Common Czech in its national use is gradually becoming similar to the spoken variety (the spoken style) of literary Czech (see §5.2), so that the speaker or hearer is at times not even completely aware whether it is the literary or the common variety that is being spoken (although at other times the differences between them are realized and utilized for stylistic purposes, cf. §232).

2. Literary and to some extent Common Czech are different from that Czech which we hear spoken here and there in villages and sometimes even in cities. This speech is not uniform throughout our entire territory but varies by locality; we call it local dialects.

> Literary Czech, Common Czech and local dialects do not differ from one another essentially; they have only a partially different pronunciation (and certain different forms and words.) The pronunciation, forms and choice of words thus partially varies in speech according to where something is said and with what purpose, or according to whether it is suitable to speak Literary or Common Czech (or a dialect). One writes and prints, and in public life as a rule speaks the literary language. The literary language, especially the written literary language, also has a more complicated sentence structure and a richer vocabulary.

For example:

Common Czech: Za starých časů nebyly (v)‿odvody.

Literary Czech: Za starých časů nebyly odvody.

Central Cz. dialect: Za starejch časů nebyly vodvody.

Comm. Cz.: To mladý chlapce chytali.

Lit. Cz.: To mladé chlapce chytali.

Cent. dial.: To mladý chlapce (occasionally also chlapci) chytali.

Comm. Cz.: Mladý děvčata pudou tam všecky, chodí tam (ž)dycky rádi.

Lit. Cz.: Mladá děvčata půjdou tam všechna, chodí tam vždycky (vždy) ráda.

Cent. dial.: Mladý děvčata pudou tam, šecky, (voni) tam dycky chodějí (also: choději, chodej) rádi.

Samples of other dialects:

Chod: Tuto je muj strom, moje půda. Tu míli muj táta, ha děd a praděd (Kožina in Jirásek's Psohlavci).

Hanák: Me sme me. -- Bêl sem ďule v dědině, našemô stréčkovi pro pivo.

Lach: Kaj iděš? Tětce pro mleko (also:...idźeš Ćetce...).

Note. The letters *ê*, *ô* denote the short Hanák *e* and *o*, different from Common Czech *e*, *o*; they are more open and especially they have a more central position (see §12). The letters *dź*, *ć* denote soft *dz*, *c*. -- On local Czech dialects in Bohemia, Moravia and Silesia see details in §245 below.

Czech local dialects are noticably declining and giving way to larger *supradialectal units* (*interdialects*).

The oldest supradialectal unit (interdialect, roughly the same as the central Czech dialect (see the above sample) was the origin of Common Czech. The latter is however by mutual adaptation becoming gradually similar to the spoken style of Literary Czech (colloquial Czech). -- On the process of adaptation and the basic characteristics of Common and colloquial Czech see §246 and the relevant sections of this grammar, especially in the phonology and morphology (see Index).

§3. In spoken and written address we express and communicate our thoughts in closed units -- sentences. *Sentences* consist of words. *Words* are grammatically and semantically arranged and connected into a linguistic unit expressing a thought; we choose them according to their meaning and connect them into sentences according to grammatical rules in order to express

and wish to say in a manner enabling our listener or reader to understand us properly. For this purpose some words have various *forms*, by means of which their various grammatical meanings and relations within the sentence are expressed (e.g. singular vs. plural number, nominative subject vs. accusative object, the various persons of the verb, etc.).

Words themselves are composed of the *sounds* of the given language, connected into *syllables*.

> For example the *sentence* *Na pole vyjely traktory* consists of the words *na*, *pole*, *vyjely*, *traktory*. The *words* *pole*, *vyjely*, *traktory* have various forms (*pole*, *polí*, *polím*, etc., *vyjel*, *vyjede*, *vyjet*, etc.) and the appropriate forms are utilized according to their grammatical meanings and sentence relations. -- The word *pole* is composed of *sounds* *p*, *o*, *l*, *e* connected into two syllables: *po*-*le*. And so forth.

§4. The science which teaches us about language is called *linguistics* and that which deals with Czech is called Czech linguistics or *bohemistics*. Its *grammatical* *structure* is treated by grammar and its vocabulary by dictionaries and the science of vocabulary and word-meanings, lexicology and semantics.

Grammar investigates the laws and states the rules according to which words are modified and combined into sentences. The totality of such laws forms the grammatical structure or grammar of the given language; the ensemble of rules comprises the science of this structure and is usually also called grammar.

The individual parts of the grammar teach us about the basic components of language: the *sentence*, *words* and their forms, and *sounds*. The study of simple and complex sentences is *syntax*; The study of word classes and their formation, of the forms of words and these forms' meanings is *morphology*; sounds are treated by *phonology*.

These three portions of the grammar are usually given in the following order: (1) phonology (the study of sounds), (2) morphology (the study of word structure), (3) syntax (the study of sentence structure).

> Phonology is divided into phonetics, which studies sounds themselves and the auditory part of language in general, especially from the acoustic and physiological point of view, and phonology proper or phonemics, which deals with sounds (phonemes) and other auditory phenomena as meaningful elements of the given language (see §9.1 below).

In literary speech we observe the correct *literary pronunciation*, in literary writing the correct spelling or *orthography*. Both are very important for correct use of the literary language. For this reason we have added a description of the rules of literary pronunciation (*orthoepy*) to the section on phonology

(§23-27), and have given a summary exposition of Czech orthography as a separate section after the phonology, with which it is closely connected (§28-37). Orthography is treated in detail by the *Pravidla českého pravopisu*, the most recent revision of which appeared in 1957 (later printings were unchanged,with only the last edition of 1966 containing some additions and improvement in precision).

> A smaller, school edition of the *Pravidla českého pravopisu* with morphological particulars appeared in 1958 ; the 1968 school edition was changed to agree with the academy edition of 1966.

A language's vocabulary, the meanings of words and word-combinations, are collected in *dictionaries*, generally in alphabetic order. The analysis of the vocabulary is the province of *lexicology* and *semantics*, which treat the classification of the vocabulary, its growth and development and the semantic inter-relations and semantic changes in words. The first supplement at the end of this book (§212-225) is devoted to a brief exposition of these questions.

> There is uncertainty and hesitation as to the proper place of word-formation: does it belong to the study of vocabulary and word-meanings, or to the study of words and their forms (morphology)? -- In this book we have included the basic exposition of word-formation (which is particularly important at the present time,

when so many new words are arising) in the morphology (which we define simply as "the study of word structure"), in the sections devoted to the individual parts of speech and their structure.

Morphology is sometimes understood in a narrower sense as the study of forms alone without commenting on their meanings (formal morphology); the study of the meanings of these forms is then considered part of syntax. Syntax as we understand it here, i.e. without this form-semantics, is sometimes called the study of sentence structure.

§5.1. A literary language is a homogenoue entity with an established grammatical structure and an equally established though constantly growing vocabulary.

The ensemble of these established, i.e. regularly used grammatical and lexical means and of the established ways of (=rules for) using them is called the linguistic norm; it is not the norm which determines these established means, i.e. the norm does not exist outside of, but is rather a part of the language itself. It is necessary to distinguish this norm itself from its codification in authoritative linguistic handbooks, which try to give a true picture of the norm with the aim of teaching it (the degree of accuracy of the picture can be greater or less).

The unity and stability of the literary language and its norm does not imply that it is monolithic or rigid; a literary language is especially richly stratified (see 2. below) and its norm therefore shows a certain variability (see also §232).

Adherence to the norm is required more strictly in the literary language than in non-literary language forms; such adherence is more deliberate and of greater import in the literary language, although its norm shows greater range.

2. The range of grammatical and lexical means of the literary language is rich and internally stratified. The vocabulary in particular is rich and stratified, but the grammatical and to some extent the phonetic devices of a literary language also present diversified possibilities. This enables the literary language to fulfill accurately and realistically its diverse tasks in the most varied areas of human activity. The choice of literary means of expression and the way in which they are utilized, which has become fixed in and characteristic of certain restricted areas of communication, is called stylistics.

Such stylistic differences in the utilization of linguistic means appear conspicuously in the following areas:

a) In ordinary friendly conversations on everyday topics we use the conversational style (so-called conversational speech). In this style one uses the ordinary devices of the literary language without bookish forms and expressions (e.g. without infinitives in -*ti*, without the gen. and acc. *mne*, without the neut. acc. *je* etc.) and without complicated sentence structure (e.g. without participial phrases); certain selected elements of Common Czech (rarely of local dialects) may enter it as well; these elements can be phonetic, morphological and esp. lexical (on colloquial Czech and its rapprochement with Common Czech see §246).

b) In specialized communication, in scholarly works and in professional contact within individual specialties we use *professional style*. This style is distinguished especially by the use of specialized names or terms of the given profession, for example *přímka* 'straight line', *lichoběžník* 'trapezium', *rovnice* 'equation' are mathematical terms; *sbíjecka* 'hammer', *stojka* 'bracket' are mining terms, while *podmět* 'subject', *přísudek* 'predicate', *předmět* 'object', *příslovce* 'adverb' are professional linguistic terms. -- Theoretical *scholarly* exposition has a more complicated sentence and clause structure and a tendency toward nominal expression (e.g. the use of deverbative substantives; cf. §232.e.); this stylistic area is sometimes simply known as the *scholarly style*. -- The *journalistic style* is a special branch of professional style, but is nowadays often referred to as an independent stylistic area; cf. §229.1.

The ensemble of professional names (or terms) of a given profession which are used in literary speech is called *professional nomenclature* or *terminology* (for ex. that of mathematics, linguistics, mining, metallurgy, glass manufacturing, etc.).

In everyday contact at work, when common Czech (or a local dialect) is spoken, specialized names and turns of phrase are used for objects connected with work and work processes (e.g. flec 'layer', fedruňk 'production' in mining; a train is seknutý 'cut down', i.e. 'is delayed' in transportation terminology, etc.). Such lexical items, which are used in the speech of those who work in the given profession, are known as their slang or their working or professional speech (there exists for ex. mining, railway, fishermen's slang, etc.). Certain slang names also penetrate into the literary language as specialized terms (see §215.6).

Those specialized lexical elements which are used in groups separated from the major part of society acquire a special character, namely that of a means of communication deliberately incomprehensible to those not members of the given group (for ex. bourat káču lit. 'knock off the Kitty' = 'get into the safe'); such terms are called argot (thieves' argot, etc.). They occur primarily among groups excluded from society; however, the lexical items of other closed groups sometimes approaches argot, e.g. 'language' or slang of students or hunters, etc.

Such specialized linguistic elements have sometimes been known, without adequate justification, as dialects or even less suitably as social dialects;

they are not dialects, because they have only some specialized lexical terms for specially needed designation, but they have no special grammatical or phonetic characteristics. -- On terminology, slang and argot, cf. also §213.4.

c) In works of literary art one speaks of artistic style. It is the range of elements of the literary language which form the basis of this style; in it, however, one can also utilize non-literary elements (Common Czech, local dialects, slang, etc.) when suitable and not exaggerated. One of the basic traits of the artistic style is its imaginative expression of thought, rendering reality in artistic images. To this end it sometimes utilizes special figurative devices, especially simile and metaphor, and sometimes employs words which are new or unusual (so-called neologisms and poeticisms) or which are becoming obsolete (archaisms); by the use of such elements the writer lends special appeal to the thoughts being communicated and heightens their effectiveness.

The artistic style is but one component of the literary style, of the general construction of the artistic work; it is subordinated to this construction and intimately connected with it (cf. §229.2).

3. The concept of style is not exhausted by the foregoing basic stylistic stratification. Style itself is the choice and organization of linguistic elements effected by the speaker or

writer within the limits of the given language and its possibilities, according to the concrete tasks, goals and situation of the act of communication, according to whether it is spoken or written and in general according to conditions and to his individual intentions, -- with the goal of affecting the hearer or reader.

The study of style is called stylistics.

> Style has a considerable practical import for the suitable and accurate use of the literary language; for this reason we have added a brief exposition thereof in the second supplement to our grammar (§226-235).

§6. This Czech Grammar gives a description and analysis of the grammatical structure of the contemporary Czech literary language, that is, a description and analysis of its structure at a given time, with an orientation which is practical but formed on the scientific understanding of that structure.

> 1. The scientifically based description and analysis of a language from the point of view of its structure at the given period is called synchronic.
>
> At any given time language appears to us as a complicated system of mutually dependent linguistic elements. One must distinguish above all two planes (levels) of these elements: the plane of sound and the plane of meaning. These are always interconnected in the concrete

speech act; there can be no speech without this connection; a string of sounds with no meaning content (e.g. *upsi mackast*) does not constitute speech or a speech act (thus if we hear some foreign speech unknown to us, we do not understand it, it is not a speech act for us, because we do not connect the string of sounds we have heard with any semantic content.

It is only in a few language elements that these two aspects (sound and meaning) appear by themselves, especially for example in interjections (*ach*, *je*, *br*, etc.). Ordinarily the meaning level is further differentiated into meaning in the narrow sense of the term (*contentual meaning*) and in the grammatical sense (*grammatical meaning*). The realm of the contentual meaning plane is the vocabulary and phraseology and the means of their utilization, whereas that of the grammatical meaning plane is the grammatical system of the given language (its grammatical structure).

Both of these planes of meaning fulfil partly the function of *designating* and partly that of *conjoining*, i.e. of ordering words (designations) into a linguistic whole in concrete speech acts; cf. §38.1,§172.1 and §212.1.

Language, when thus understood as a system of useable linguistic elements, is always a *social phenomenon* (see §237) and the common possession of a specific social group, ordinarily of a nation. However, this system of linguistic elements exists collectively in speech acts and not as an invariable, fossilized constant; it varies to a certain extent according to varying circumstances and communicatory needs; its variability is partially independent of extra-linguistic factors. The linguistic elements are used in individual speech acts, written or spoken, and thus become to a certain extent individual phenomena -- according to their stylistic selection and orientation (see §5 above).

2. Linguistic elements express not only our intellectual (conceptional, notional) thoughts, but in addition they can express our emotion and volition, our personal relation to the message being conveyed or our attempt to arouse a personal attitude toward this message on the part of the hearer or listener. We are able to express this emotional and volitive aspect of speech (emotive speech) by various linguistic elements (phonetic, grammatical and lexical).

Cf. for example the various colorations of a usual greeting (dobrý den!) obtained by phonetic variations (of melody, tempo): from a gracious greeting, affectionate or at least polite, all the way to a surly or even offensive one. Or the use of Common Czech phonetics to distinguish úřad 'office' from the same word spoken with contempt, ouřad 'officialdom' (see §14.2).

Language sometimes also expresses the speaker's evaluative attitude toward the speech act and toward its relation to reality, the so-called modality (which is in part similar to the expression of the emotive side of language); language has special modal elements for this purpose, e.g. imperatives, modal particles and interjections, and modal auxiliary verbs.

§7. Language did not arise suddenly, but in consequence of a lengthy and gradual evolution. Furthermore, the various components of language have not evolved at identical rates; some have developed and are developing more rapidly (especially the vocabulary), while others change very slowly (especially the grammatical structure). For this reason, in order to obtain a deeper understanding of a language generally and of its current state in particular, one must also examine it from the point of view of its evolution.

1. Such a scientific examination of a language from the evolutionary viewpoint is called diachronic or tradiationally simply historical.

The synchronic view of language has sometimes been called static and the diachronic, dynamic. However,

[redacted]

the distinction of static vs. dynamic is an inaccurate reflection of reality. In any given condition a language always contains some new elements, in the course of appearing and spreading, and some old elements, which are partially retreating and disappearing (e.g. the infinitives in _-t_ and _-ti_, the conjugation type _pláču_, _pláčou_ compared to _pláči_, _pláčí_, etc., such doublets are sometimes utilized for stylistic purposes, cf. §232). The synchronic view must also be dynamic.

2. Some languages have arisen by evolution from a common base and are hence genetically _related_, for ex. the Slavic languages (cf. §239), Germanic or Romance languages, etc. The comparative study of the development of such related languages is of substantial help in understanding the development of each individual language, especially for the prehistoric period from which no written records have been preserved. (The development of Slovak and of Russian is of particular importance in understanding the history of Czech.) This scientific method is called _comparative-historical_ and the science of languages utilizing this method is termed _comparative linguistics_. -- To some extent non-related languages can affect each other and show common development, if they evolved in the closely connected social and economic territories; one must sometimes take such connections into account (they

are found conspicuously for ex. among the languages of the Balkans: Rumanian, Bulgarian, Greek and Albanian), and one speaks in such cases of a language federation or areal grouping.

The comparison of related languages (e.g. Czech and Russian) and of unrelated or only distantly related languages (e.g. Czech and English) -- we call it contrastive ~~confrontational~~ to distinguish it from the comparative-historical approach -- sharpens our view of the state of the individual languages and aids in problems of language instruction and translation. --The scientific method which attempts through such confrontation to determine certain typical common features of linguistic structures is called typology.

over 3. The evolution of a language always occurs in connection with the evolution of the society in which it is spoken, of the nation which it serves. Therefore the basic description of a specific literary language should be supplemented by a brief exposition of that language's history; for this reason we have added a third appendix "On the history of the Czech language" to our grammar (§236-251), nor do we hesitate to explain current facts as the result of historical evolution there where the proper understanding of the facts requires it; in particular, we distinguish innovative elements from those which are going out of use.

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Present-day language study takes into account some auxiliary disciplines such as psychology and sociology; the relationships between the speaker and the listener as well as between language and society are being investigated. We thus now have new sub-disciplines, those of psycholinguistics and sociolinguistics.

In order to achieve a basic understanding of language itself we have thus added to this Czech grammar commentaries which go beyond the boundaries of the grammar itself: in Appendix 1 a brief exposition of *the vocabulary and the meanings of words* (§212-225); in Appendix 2 a brief description of *stylistics* (§226-235); in Appendix 3 a cursory view of *the history of the Czech language* (§236-251).

Bibliography. Many scientific and methodological attainments in the solution of general linguistic problems and the understanding of linguistic structure can be found in recent collective and periodical volumes such as *Studie a práce linguistické* 1954, *O vědeckém poznání soudobých jazyků* 1958, *K historickosrovnávacímu studiu slovanských jazyků* 1958, *Studie ze slovanské jazykovědy* 1958, *Česko-slovenské přednášky pro IV ff. mezinárodní sjezd slavistů* 1958, 1963, 1968, *Problémy marxistské jazykovědy* 1962, *Otázky slovanské syntaxe* 1962, 1968, *Slavica Pragensia*, *Sborník prací filosofické fakulty brněnské university*, *Bulletin Vysoké školy ruského jazyka a literatury* and (from 1962) *Bulletin Ústavu ruského jazyka a literatury*, *Jazykovedné štúdie*.

On the functional structural principles of the Prague school of linguistics, the following collective volumes are important: *Spisovná čeština* a jazyková kultura 1932, Čtení o jazyce a poesii 1942, Travaux du Cercle linguistique de Prague 1929 ff., Travaux linguistiques de Prague 1964 ff.; also Mathesius 1947 and Havránek 1963a

Much in the way of fruitful ideas and up-to-date material can be found in the popular collective works Hovory o českém jazyce Opravil 1940 ff. and 1947, Jazykový koutek československého rozhlasu 1951, 1955, 1959, Kapitoly z praktické stylistiky 1955ff, Knížka o jazyce a stylu 1961ff, O češtine pro Čechy, 1960ff., Kultura českého jazyka 1969; cf. also Trávníček 1940b, 1961a, Daneš 1964.

On questions of general linguistics see Horálek 1967, Skalička 1960, and from the viewpoint of mathematical linguistics Sgall et. al. 1964.

On problems of literary language in general see Havránek 1963a and Jedlička 1964; on literary Czech Bělič 1955, Daneš 1968a, Jedlička in Československá vlastivěda 1963- , Daneš 1962. On the theory of the literary norm and its codification see Havránek 1963a and Dokulil 1951/52a Doležel 1955b and other articles ibid., Jedlička 1963a 1950, 1968a.

On the concept and problems of language culture see Havránek 1932, Mathesius 1932, Jakobson 1932, Havránek 1963c Hausenblas 1963b Jedlička 1961.

The complicated problem of the relation between literary and Common Czech was aired in the discussion in *Slovo a slovesnost* 1961-1963; cf. the articles by Sgall, Bělič, Havránek, Trávníček and also Hausenblas, Skalička, Chloupek-Lamprecht-Vašek, Novak, Jelínek, Skulina; the discussion was concluded by Havránek 1963e ; cf. also Bělič 1958b.

On the concept of the everyday spoken language (Cz. *běžně mluvený jazyk*) see Jedlička 1962 and cf. Utěšný 1962; on the language of the city see the basic article by Bělič 1962.

On spoken Czech, in addition to the initial articles reprinted in Havránek 1963 see Kopečný 1949b Bělič 1958c, and the stylistically-oriented studies by Hausenblas 1962c and M. Jelínek 1966; cf. Jedlička 1970.

On slang and argot see Trost 1935, Křístek 1956 and Téma 1958, 1966.

On dialiect see §245 and on style §226 ff.

Cf. also the bibliographical material in §251.

I. PHONOLOGY -- LITERARY PRONUNCIATION

§8. The sound system of a language consists primarily of a series of sounds of human speech habitual in a language and called sounds or phonemes (for further details see §9).

← Besides this series of sounds there are components commonly occuring as part of the sound system, such as stress (word, sentence and emphatic), melody or intonation, tempo, pause and others. Some of them are devices characterizing the word (word stress), others characterize the sentence (sentence stress, question intonation, etc.), others serve only for emotional coloring of the language (intonation), or are means of stylistic differentiation.

The sound sequence of a concrete speech event is divided, according to content, into sentences, sentence parts and words (this division may also be signaled by devices of sound); by phonetic devices alone it is divided into syllables.

In this section, entitled phonology we shall concern ourselves primarily with sounds and sound sequences (as well as with their literary pronunciation); among the other devices of sound, only with word stress. The so-called sentence stress, sentence intonation and other devices characterizing the sentence will be discussed in the section on syntax (§185), the devices of sound pertaining to style will be discussed in the appendix on style (§228 and 232).

Phonemes and syllables

§9.1. **Phonemes** are the sounds of human speech of which words are composed.

In writing, phonemes are symbolized by various *letters* or *graphemes*.

← Phonemes are the smallest components of speech which can be differenciated from one another by the ear (e.g. in the word *učitel* we find the phonemes *u*, *č*, *i*, *t*, *e*, *l*).

Phonemes comprising a word as a rule have the function of contributing to meaning, for by their use, grouped into a word, we express the meaning of the word and characterize the form of the word. We can see this by the fact that generally we cannot change either individual phonemes, or their order in a word, for such a change would result in a different word or a different form. For example, if we change any phoneme in the word *rak*, we get a different word: *rok*, *rek*, *ryk*, *lak*, *pak*, *jak*, *ras*, *rab*, etc.; if we change a phoneme in the ending of a form, we get a new form: *piji*, *pije*, *pijí*; *město*, *města*, *městu*, *městy*, etc.

A small number of words are composed of only one phoneme; in such cases the phoneme expresses the meaning of the whole word by itself (e.g. the conjunctions *a*, *i*, the prepositions *k*, *s*, *v*, *z*).

←The inventory of phonemes in a given language and the mutual relationships of the phonemes which form the sound system are the subject of *phonology*. Besides phonemes, there exist in language also variants of phonemes (allophones) which do not at all or do in certain positions only contribute to meaning in a way different from the basic sound; Their difference from the basic sound is irrelevant to meaning. E.g. in Czech such a variant of voiceless *ch* is voiced *ch* (transcribed [γ] e.g. *abych byl* [pronounced abiγ bil]), similarly the difference between voiced and voiceless *ř* [dřít - třít] does not distinguish meaning. In certain positions even the difference between a voiced and voiceless phoneme does not distinguish meaning (e.g. the pronunciation [let] symbolizes both *led* as in *led*, *ledu* and *let* as in *let*, *letu* etc.), see also §15.1 and 17.2C.

2. In pronunciation, phonemes are grouped into **syllables**. When speaking, we do not pronounce individual phonemes separately, but always pronounce a whole syllable; e.g. we do not pronounce *n*-*a*-*s*-*t*-*a*-*l*-*a* *z*-*i*-*m*-*a*, *a*-*n*-*o*, but *na*-*sta*-*la* *zi*-*ma*, *a*-*no*.

Words are divided into syllables, the *number* of which is always determinable (e.g. *u-či-tel*, *po-dle*, *škol-ní*, *škol-ský*, *ten-ký*); syllable boundaries, however, are not as easy to determine; see §10.3.

Words composed of one syllable are monosyllabic (*na*, *led*, *zdroj*), those of two syllables, bisyllabic (*a-no*, *děl-ník*, *vlast-ní*); of three syllables, trisyllabic (*u-či-tel*, *o-svě-ta*, *za-hrad-ník*). Czech also has words of four syllables (*ro-zu-mě-jí*) and of five syllables (*o-svě-to-vé-ho*, *če-sko-slo-ven-ský*), more rarely even with more syllables (*nejdalekosáhlejšími* with eight, *nejnepochopitelnějšího* with nine, etc.)

§10.1. There are two kinds of phonemes: *vowels* (such as *a*, *e*, *i*, *o*, *u*) and *consonants* (such as *b*, *p*, *m*, *d*, *t*, *s*...).

M 18 *Vowels* are based on tones, *consonants* are based on noises (we can sing vowels, we cannot sing consonants by themselves). Vowels may be single, i.e. *monophthongs* or double, i.e. *diphthongs* (like *ou*, *au*). Diphthongs are two vowels pronounced together in one syllable (e.g. *kou-pit*, *au-to* -- in contrast to *po-učit*, *na-učit*, etc.; see §12.3).

2. A word has as many *syllables* as it has vowels (monophthongs or diphthongs -- e.g. *a-no*, *Pra-ha*, *ú-stí*, *mo-rav-ský*, *pa-lou-ček*). Thus the vowel is the basis of the syllable; we say that vowels are *syllabic*. Consonants without a vowel do not as a rule form syllables and a syllable may have several initial or final consonants (e.g. *zvlá-ště*, *vlast*). Only the consonants *r*, *l* (rarely and sporadically *m*, *n*) between

consonants or occuring in word final position, also form syllables, e.g. trn, vlk, Br-no, sl-za, ví-tr, ne-sl; o-sm, se-dm (more frequently pronounced [osum, sedum]); thus the consonants r, l (occasionally m, n) in such words are likewise syllabic.

Occasionally l or r between consonants are not syllabic. This is the case in lexical items derived from words with initial l or r and formed with a prefix ending in a consonant. Thus the l in the following examples is not syllabic: zlhostejnět, předlhútní, etc.

Only exceptionally are other consonants syllabic, e.g. s, z in the interjections pst, bz etc.

3. Non-syllabic words, those consisting simply of a consonant, are rare; they are the non-syllabic prepositions s, z, v, k. For greater ease in pronunciation these prepositions sometimes also have the form se, ze, ve, ke (ku) (see §165).

A syllable which ends in a vowel (or in a syllabic consonant), is called open (Pra-ha, ví, vl-na etc.); a syllable which ends in one or more (non-syllabic) consonants is called closed or checked (rok, vlast, ten-ký, škol-ský, vel-mistr, etc.).

The syllable boundary in the stream of speech is of course in some cases unstable; e.g. in words like roční, mocný, vlastní, zvláštní two divisions into syllables are possible: ro-ční, mo-cný, vla-stní, zvlá-štní and roč-ní, moc-ný, vlast-ní, zvlášt-ní.

§11. Speech sounds are formed by the regulation of the expelled stream of air within the mouth and throat in various ways. The organs which are used for this purpose are called the *speech organs* and the movement necessary for speech is called *articulation*.

A stream of air which is exhaled from the lungs passes through the trachea into the throat. In the throat behind the Adam's apple are small ligaments called the *vocal chords* which stretch and vibrate during the pronunciation of vowels and certain consonants (on voiced consonants, see §15.1). The air stream then passes through the oral cavity and exits either through the mouth alone, or through both the mouth and nose. (see §15.3, Note 1).

During the pronunciation of *vowels*, the passage of the air stream through the oral cavity is completely unobstructed, the coloring and height of the vowel is determined only by the position of the tongue in the mouth, the position of the lips and the width and shape of the mouth; in Czech we distinguish *a*, *e*, *i*, *o*, *u*.

During the pronunciation of *consonants* a barrier in the oral cavity intercepts the air stream in various places; the air stream is then released in various ways.

> The vowel system of a given language is called *vocalism*; the system of consonants, *consonantism*. The adjective corresponding to vowel is *vocalic*; to consonant, *consonantal*. The

adjective corresponding to monophthong is monophthongal; to diphthong, diphthongal.

Vowels

§12. Literary Czech has five vowels: the short a, e, i, o, u and their long counterparts á, é, í, ó, ú.

1. In the pronunciation of a, the tongue is low in the mouth; a is therefore a low vowel. For the other vowels, the tongue is bent and raised, the most for i, u, called therefore high vowels; e, o are mid vowels.

With i, e, the tongue rises toward the front part of the palate; these are thus front vowels. With u, o it is elevated farther back, making them back vowels.

← In the pronunciation of the vowels u, o the lips are protruded and rounded.

Czech vowels arranged according to articulation:

	front	central	back
high	i		u
mid	e		o
low		a	

← According to the width of the mouth opening (angle of the jaw), low vowels are more open (wider) and mid and high vowels progressively more closed (narrower).

← The front vowels are also called palatal and the back vowels velar.

2. Vowels differ not only in closing and articulation (quality), but also in duration (quantity). According to duration, vowels are either short, or long.

> ← Long vowels differ from the corresponding short vowels not only in quantity but partly and slightly also in quality. Long í, é are slightly more closed (narrower) than the corresponding short i, e; the long vowel á is conversely slightly more open (wider) than the short a.

Vowel length is very important in Czech. The meaning of words or forms is often changed according to whether the vowel is short or long (e.g. ráda - rada, váha - váhá, psi - psí, vlasti - vlastí, slibuji-slibují). The length (quantity) of vowels has the capability of distinguishing meanings (both word and grammatical); it is thus distinctive.

> ← It is therefore important to pronounce the long vowels correctly and accurately in the literary language, and since they are symbolized in writing, it is equally important to write them correctly (c.f. §14 and §24.2).

In writing we indicate length with the acute accent symbol [´] in Czech called čárka (á, é, í, ó, ú, ý), on the vowel u also with a small circle called kroužek (ů).

3. Besides these monophthongs, Literary Czech has one diphthong: ou (e.g. louka, bouda, trávou, nesou etc.).

In words of non-Czech origin and in interjections there appears also the diphthong *au* (e.g. *auto*, *mňau*, but *mňoukat*). Sometimes in borrowed words the sequence *eu* is also pronounced as a diphthong (e.g. *pneumatika*, *eufonie*).

In words of Czech origin (with the exception of interjections) the sequence *au* does not as a rule form a diphthong; instead, the vowels *a*, *u* fall into two syllables (e.g. *na-učit*, *za-ujetí*). Likewise the sequence *ou* is not always a diphthong; note the disyllabic *o-u* in words like *do-učit*, *po-ukaz* etc. The sequence *eu* in native words is always disyllabic (e.g. *ne-učil se*, *ne-úroda*); but even in borrowed words, we find *eu* often to be disyllabic, as in *ne-utrální*, *fe-udál* etc., less frequently (and not always) monosyllabic, as in *zeus*, *zeugma*, *eufonie*, etc.

§13. The spelling of vowels according to orthographic rules and their pronunciation in speech, for the most part coincide; yet, there are some differences between pronunciation and spelling.

1. Long *u* is written either with a *čárka*, *ú*, or with a *kroužek*, *ů* (e.g. *úvoz* - *dům*).

> *Note.* The rules of when to write *ú* and when *ů*, are discussed in the section on orthography (see §30.II).

2. The vowel *i* (*í*) is spelled in two ways, either as *i* (*í*), or as *y* (*ý*), but in both cases it is one and the same phoneme: e.g. *bil* - *byl*, *bílí* - *býlí*, *mi* (dat. sg.) - *my* (nom. pl.), *zdravý* (nom. sg.)-*zdraví* (nom. pl. anim.), *lesy* - *vsi*, *mezi trámy a stroji*.

> Note: The rules of when to write *i* (*í*) and where *y* (*ý*) are discussed in the section on orthography (see §30.I; 37.2).

3. The letter *ě* does not symbolize a separate vowel. In the syllables *bě*, *pě*, *vě*, *fě* (as in *běh*, *pěst*, *věc*, *fěrtoch*) it symbolizes two phonemes: -*je*- (e.g. the spelling *bě* and *bje* in the words *oběti* and *objeti* sound alike). The syllable spelled *mě* is pronounced as a rule with the phonemes *m*-*ň*-*e* and therefore sounds just like the sequence spelled *mně* (*rozuměl* [rozumňel] - *vzpomněl* [vspomňel]). In the syllables *dě*, *tě*, *ně* even though the symbol (which looks like an inverted circumflex accent, *háček*) is written above the *e*, it belongs with the letters *d*, *t*, *n*; it symbolizes that they are the palatal (soft) consonants which elsewhere are spelled *d'*, *t'*, *ň* (e.g. *dělník*, *tělo*, *někdo* - *ted'*, *let'*, *píseň*, *st'al*, *vyňal*).

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> Note: The rules of when to write mě or mně and when to write bě, vě or bje, vje, are discussed in the section on orthography (see §30.III). About the less frequent pronunciation of the graphic representation mě as [mje] cf. §26.2f.

§14. *The length of vowels* in some words differs in the literary language from the quantity in dialects or in Common Czech. We find for example *včérá*, *včerá* instead of *včera*, *tůze* instead of *tuze*, *leto*, *pudu* instead of *léto*, *půjdu*, *mak* instead of *mák*, see §24.2.

In the Lach dialects, long vowels do not occur at all.

There are, however, also other differences in long vowels.

1. Instead of long vowels spelled *ú* (in word initial position), *ý* (and *i* after *c*, *z*, *s*), there are in non-literary varieties of the language different phonemes, in Bohemia *ou* (e.g. *ouvoz*, *oudolí* instead of *úvoz*, *údolí*) and *ej* (e.g. *strejc*, *nedoslejchá*, *zmejlit se*, *dobrej* instead of *strýc*, *nedoslýchá*, *zmýlit se*, *dobrý*; *cejtit*, *vozejk*, *sejto* instead of *cítit*, *vozík*, *síto*). Occasionally we find *ou* and *ej* in these positions also in the literary language c.f. *ouško*, *upejpat se*, *konejšit*, *husy kejhají* (in household words or forms with emotive coloring), in the set expression *mít hejla na nose*. Sometimes the common Czech forms with *ou*- and *ej* are used for stylistic differentiation; cf. *úřad*, *národní výbor*, *dobrý den*, but pejoratively *ouřad* (*ouřad je ouřad*, c.f. also the pejorative *ouřada*), *vejbor* (formerly about a member of the *vybor*), or in the colloquial phrase *udělat si z někoho dobrej den*.

2. Instead of long *é* in a significant portion of Bohemia (also in parts of Moravia) we find *í* (*ý*) (E.g. *mlíko*, *dobrýho* instead of *mléko*, *dobrého*). Only sporadically does long *é* remain in new words of foreign origin (e.g. *šéf*, *montérky*, etc.) or is entering the language; see also 3 below.

This *í* (*ý*) for *é* appears also in the literary language, especially in diminutives like *kamínek*, *plamínek*, *srdíčko*, *kolínko*, *křidýlko*, *plátýnko* (diminutives as such have predominantly emotive coloring), sometimes also with a change of meaning; c.f. *létá* (or *lítá*), but in the meaning 'he runs' only *lítá* (c.f. also *ulítat se*), sometimes even without change of meaning or only with a slight change, c.f. *obléknout se* - *oblíknout se*, *kolébka* - *kolíbka*, *lépe* - *líp*, etc.

Concerning the spread of *ou*, *ej* and especially *í* (for *é*) in Common and Colloquial Czech see §246; in dialects, §245; about stylistic significance, §232.

3. In the literary language *ó* is not found in words of Czech origin (with the exception of interjections, c.f. *ó*). It occurs only in borrowed words, c.f. *tón*, *móda*.

The vowels *o*, *e* are however sometimes lengthened in emphatic (emotive) pronunciation, especially under stress, as in *bóže*, *móře*, *zéli*, etc. Emphatic *é*, *ó* is usually longer than normal long vowels. This type of pronunciation of *é*, *ó* is usual in the substandard forms of certain words such as *(d)céra*, *dóle*, etc., see §24.2.

Consonants

§15. Literary Czech has twenty-five *consonants*: *b*, *c*, *č*, *d*, *d'*, *f*, *g*, *h*, *ch*, *j*, *k*, *l*, *m*, *n*, *ň*, *p*, *r*, *ř*, *s*, *š*, *t*, *t'*, *v*, *z*, *ž*.

Czech consonants are divided according to the *participation of the vocal chords* in their pronunciation; according to the *manner of articulation*, i.e. according to how interference is placed in the path of the exhaled air stream while passing through the oral cavity; and finally according to the *place* where the interference occurs.

1. According to the *participation of the vocal chords* we distinguish *voiced* and *voiceless* consonants. During the pronunciation of voiced consonants the vocal chords vibrate; with the voiceless consonants they do not (see §11 above). Czech voiced and voiceless consonants come in pairs, i.e. a voiceless consonant has a corresponding (in other respects identical) voiced consonant, which differs from it only by its voicing; such consonants are therefore called *paired*.

Voiceless:	*p*, *f*, *t*, *t'*, *s*, *š*, *k*, *ch*
Voiced:	*b*, *v*, *d*, *d'*, *z*, *ž*, *g*, *h*

The other consonants for the most part are only voiced; they are *m*, *n*, *ň*, *j*, *l*, *r*, *ř*.

The voiceless *c*, *č* become voiced [dz, dž] when they precede another voiced consonant, e.g. *leckdo* [ledzgdo], *léčba* [lédžba] etc.

Note 1. The *h*, *ch*, pair of consonants differs not only in voicing, but also in the place of articulation: *ch* is velar and *h* is glottal (see below). The voiced counterpart of *ch* (pronounced when it is preceded by another voiced consonant) is the corresponding voiced velar (symbolized in phonetic transcription by [ɣ]; c.f. *bohdá*, *abych*, *byl* [boɣdá, abiɣ, bil]).

2. In word final position, and when adjacent to voiceless consonants *ř* is pronounced without voicing c.f. *zář* [-ř̥], but *záře* [ř̬e], *hospodářský* [-r̥skí], but *hospodáři* [-ř̬i], *třít* [tř̥ít] - *dřít* [dř̬ít].

Neither the voiced [ɣ], nor the voiceless [ř̥], are phonemes; they are merely positional variants or allophones of voiceless *ch* and voiced *ř* (see §9.1).

2. The *manner of articulation* is determined by whether the barrier in the oral cavity blocks the exhaled air stream completely and then releases it all at once, or creates in the mouth a narrow passage which does not stop the air stream completely but provides friction for the exhaled air stream. The first manner characterizes the *stops* or *obstruents*, e.g. with *d*, *t*, the barrier is caused by the pressure of the tongue on the alveolar ridge. The other manner is exhibited in the

spirants or fricatives; e.g. in z, s the narrowing passage is between the tongue and the palate.

← In the pronunciation of l, the tongue creates a barrier in the center and the expelled stream passes on both sides of it (so that there are really two passages), l is therefore called a lateral consonant. In the articulation of r, ř the passage changes several times. It narrows and widens according to the vibrations of the tongue tip; r and ř are therefore called trilled consonants.

With some consonants the total stoppage or closure is not released all at once, but by degrees (this is true of the so called affricates, i.e. c, č, [ts, dz; tš, dž]).

The consonants are thus divided according to the manner of articulation as follows:

Stops: b, p, d, t, d', t', g, k, m, n, ň;
Fricatives: v, f, z, s, ž, š, h, ch, j, l, r, ř;
Affricates: c, č, (dz, dž).

← Note 1. The terms stops, fricatives and affricates describe the acoustic properties of consonants according to the aural impression which they create. According to acoustic criteria the hissing consonants, the so-called sibilants, (s, z, c -- the sharp sibilants, and š, ž, č -- the dull sibilants) also form a separate category; sometimes the consonants l, r, ř are also acoustically grouped into the so-called liquids.

2. The stops are also called occlusives; the fricatives, constrictives; the affricates, semiocclusives or assibilants; the trills, vibrants.

3. By *place of articulation* consonants are divided into

labials: *b*, *p*, *v*, *f*, *m*;
alveodentals: *d*, *t*, *n*, *z*, *s*, *ž*, *š*, *c*, *č*, *l*, *r*, *ř*;
palatals: *d'*, *t'*, *ň*, *j*;
velars and laryngeals: *g*, *k*, *ch*; *h* ~~(a laryngeal consonant)~~.

The *alveodentals* are sometimes divided into *dentals* and *alveolars*; the *laryngeal* is also called *glottal*; the *velars*, *guttorals*.

§25 Sometimes the *glottal stop* is considered as a separate phoneme. The sound is produced when the firmly closed vocal chords are violently opened by the air stream just prior to the articulation of a vowel. The glottal stop occurs after a pause and before a vowel, only rarely after a vowel (in children's and dialectal negation *ne* [neʔ]).

The *glottal stop* is also called a *glottal catch*. In phonetic transcription it is symbolized by an apostrophe or by [ʔ] ['ano, ne'] or [ʔano, neʔ]. About literary pronunciation with or without a glottal stop see §25.

Note 1. According to the involvement of the oral and nasal cavities, we divide consonants into *nasal* (the air stream passes through both the oral and nasal cavities - *m*, *n*, *ň*) and *oral* (the air stream passes only through the oral cavity and the passage into the nasal cavity is closed -- in all other consonants).

2. The labial consonants are also sometimes divided into bilabials (b, p, m) and labiodentals (v, f).

3. In the position preceding the velar consonants k, g the normally alveodental n is pronounced as a velar nasal; [ŋ] is thus an allophone or positional variant of n.

Czech consonants arranged according to articulation

			According to place of articulation							
			labial		alveo-dental		palatal		velar and laryngeal	
According to participation of vocal chords			Voiced	Voiceless	Vd	Vs	Vd	Vs	Vd	Vs
According to manner of articulation	stops	oral	b	p	d	t	d'	t'	g	k
		nasal	m		n		ň			
	affricates					c,č				
	fricatives	true	v	f	z,ž	s,š	j		h	ch
		lateral			l					
		trilled			r,ř					

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← Note. Czech also distinguishes hard and soft consonants, but this differenciation -- in contrast to Russian -- concerns only the Czech consonants d, t, n and d', t', ň. (The difference between 'hard' and 'soft' consonants in orthography is another matter. It is a difference between the consonants after which only *y* may be spelled; such as *k*, *h*, *ch*, and the consonants after which only *i* is written; such as *j*, *š*, *ž*; see §30. I.)

§16. In Czech *orthography* every one of these consonants is as a rule written with a separate *letter* (only *ch* consists of two, *c* and *h*, in other words is a digraph).

In other respects we find the following exceptions:

1. The soft palatal consonants [d', t', ň] are spelled either with the letters *d*, *t*, *n* with a *háček*, or in the syllables [d'e, t'e, ňe, d'i, t'i, ňi] with the letters *d*, *t*, *n* and softness symbolized by the grapheme *ě* (with the háček above the *e*) or by the grapheme *i* (written *dě*, *tě*, *ně*, *di*, *ti*, *ni* -- in contrast to *de*, *te*, *ne*, *dy*, *ty*, *ny* for the alveolars.

> *Note*. About the pronunciation of *j* and *ň* in the syllables written *bě*, *pě*, *vě*, *fě*, and *mě*, see §13.3.

2. In words of foreign origin (mostly from Latin or Greek) the letters *x* and *qu* are also written. The special letter *x* is used to symbolize the consonant sequence [ks] (*text*, *expedice*, *maximální*, *syntax*) or [gz] (*existence*, *exemplář*) and only rarely is *qu* used to symbolize the sequence [kv] (*quadriennium*, *quasi* or *kvasi*, *quodlibet* but also *kvodlibet*).

The letters *th*, spelled in highly technical words (as in *dithyramb*) and in a few words represented also in a spelling with *t* and thus partially assimilated to Czech (e.g. *these* as well as *teze*, *thema* as well as *téma* etc.), are pronounced as a rule with [t] and only rarely [tch] (*thé*, *these*).

The consonant *z* pronounced in loanwords assimilated to Czech is also spelled *z* in most cases, even though both the assimilated spelling with *z* and the original spelling with *s* are acceptable by the rules of orthography (*krize*, *fáze*, *sezóna*, *fréza*, *inzerát*, etc., with only the *z* spelling permissible -- but *rezoluce* and *resoluce*; *poezie* and *poesie*, *nervóza* and *nervosa* etc.). The etymological *s* is written but pronounced *z* in the words *president*, *filosofie*, *universita*, *gymnasium*, always in the suffix -*ismus*(*socialismus*, *komunismus*) and in words or forms like (*puls*) - *pulsovat*, (*kurs*) - *kursu* spelled *s* according to the word from which it is derived (*kurs* etc.).

> ← *Note*. For further details see §31. For individual lexical items, check the alphabetical list in *Pravidla českého pravopisu*.

Distribution of phonemes in words and morphemes

§17. Phonemes in words and morphemes help to distinguish meaning. A word, to the extent that it does not consist of one phoneme (as in the conjunctions *a*, *i*, or the prepositions *k*, *s*, *v*, *z*), is composed of sequences of phonemes grouped in a certain way.

From the inventory of Czech phonemes (5 short vowels, 5 long, 1 diphthong, 25 consonants), it would be possible to form a very large number of such sequences. In the formation of words and morphemes, however, Czech makes use of only some of the possible sequences; ~~to do so~~ in so doing Czech shows a certain regularity, differing from the regularity customary in other languages.

1. Czech avoids sequences of *two vowels*, either the same or different, in other words, it avoids haitus. In native words two vowels follow each other only at boundaries separating different *parts* or *morphemes* of the word, c.f. *naučný*, *poučný*, *neučí se*, *zaostalý* *přiobjednat*, *třiadvacet*, *doopravdy*, *modrooký*, etc. Such groupings do not form diphthongs.

> *Note*. For correct pronunciation of sequences of two vowels, see §25.1.

2. Consonants frequently form sequences or *clusters* of two or more consonants, both at beginnings and ends of words as well as within a word, e.g. *včera*, *dnes*, *zvlášť*, *vlast*, *příjezd*, *český*, *moravský*, *prázdný*, etc.

a) Czech consonant clusters do not have two identical consonants next to each other (the so called geminates). Identical consonants meet only rarely at boundaries of parts of words, (at tne so called morphemic seam), cf. *panna*, *měkký*, *povinnost*, *jednodušší*, *babiččin*, *oddech*, *rozzlobit se*, *půlletý*, *nejjistější*, *v pecce*, *oznamme*, etc.

b) At a similar morpheme boundary, consonants which are articulatorily close sometimes meet. They are then joined into consonant clusters as follows:

aa) alveodentals with the corresponding palatals (tt', dd', t't, d't, d'd - odd'elit, vrat'te, nahrad'te, etc.);

bb) sharp and dull sibilants (sš, zž, šs, žz -- rozšířit, rozžehnout, krkonošský, etc.);

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cc) two different affricates (cč, čc -- leccčemu, babičce, etc.);

dd) affricates and sibilants (čs, čš -- třebíčský, třebíčští, skutečský, skutečští, etc.).

ee) alveodentals and affricates (tc, tč -- matce, letce, matčin, etc.);

ff) alveodentals and sibilants (ts, tš, dz, dž -- dětství, většina, podzim, etc.).

These consonant sequences are frequently simplified in pronunciation. In place of two identical or similar related consonants, only one, the second one is pronounced. Only in the type ff) (dětství, etc.) is the result an affricate c, or č (cf. děcko, in which even the spelling reflects the pronunciation); In these cases we speak of the ~~assimilation~~ merging of consonants.

<—— Note. Concerning the standard pronunciation of these consonant sequences, see §26.4.

c) In consonant sequences we frequently find paired consonants differing in voicing, a voiced and a voiceless consonant. In pronunciation these consonants are as a rule changed, *assimilated*, so that the whole cluster is pronounced either voiced or voiceless: *sbor* - [zbor], *hádka* - [hátka]. This kind of change is called *voicing assimilation*.

As a rule the assimilation takes on the voice characteristic of the final consonant in the cluster; in other words, the assimilation is regressive. Only rarely do we find assimilation to a preceding consonant, or progressive assimilation, e.g. in *sh*- [sch-]; see §26.1.

A paired *voiced* consonant (or a voiced consonant cluster) changes into the corresponding *voiceless* one (or into a sequence of corresponding voiceless consonants) also at the end of a word before pause: *led* [let], *sjezd* [sjest]; see also §25.3.

To the voiceless consonants *c*, *č*, correspond by assimilation the voiced counterparts *dz*, *dž*: *leckdo* - [ledzgdo], *léčba* - [lédžba] etc. As independent phonemes we find them in native words only in *džbán*, *džber* and the interjection *dzin*; in borrowed words, *dž* is more frequent (e.g. *džem*, *džez*, *maharadža*, etc.).

Concerning the standard pronunciation of consonant clusters containing paired consonants differing in voice, see §26.1.

29 d) In some consonant sequences we also sometimes find assimilation according to the place of articulation. For example in the sequence *nb*, *np*, through the influence of the labial (*b*, *p*,) we find (in Common Czech), instead

of the alveodental *n*, the labial consonant *m* [hamba]. In the sequence *nk*, *ng*, through the influence of the velar (*k*, *g*), even Literary Czech has the velar variant of *n* (written in phonetic transcription as [ŋ]; see §15.3; cf. *sponka* but *spona*, *Anglie*, etc.). This is a matter of assimilation in the place of articulation or articulatory assimilation.

Concerning the standard pronunciation of these consonant clusters, see §26.2.

§18. *Native Czech words* and words of *foreign origin* differ in the use of phonemes and phoneme sequences; in addition, such a difference exists between native *conceptual* and *emotionally neutral* words, in contrast to words which are onomatopoetic, interjective or in general expressive.

1. In *emotionally neutral native* words we find the absence of certain phonemes. There is no long *ó*. The consonants *g*, *f* (as independent phonemes, except for *doufat*, *zoufat*) are not used; neither are *dz*, *dž* (except *džbán*, *džber*). These sounds, however, are abundant in borrowed words; cf. *jód*, *bróm*, *chór*, *dóm*, *móda*, *sója*, *nervóza*, *balkón*, *sezóna*; *gesto*, *gigant*, *galvanický*, *gotický*, *guma*, *glycerín*; *faktura*, *fermež*, *film*, *fréza*; *džem*, *džungle*. They are also frequent in *onomatopoetic*, *interjective* words; cf. for example *ó*, *nó*, *haló*; *fuj*, *fičet*, *foukat*; *dzin*, etc.

2. In *native* conceptual words we do not usually find the vowels *a*, *e*, *i* in word initial position; however in *borrowed* words or interjections, they are frequent also in this position; cf. *anténa*, *elektřina*, *integrál*; *ach*, *ejhle*, *inu*, etc.

3. Likewise the *grouping of phonemes* differs, depending on the level to which the word belongs.

a) In *native* Czech words *sequences of vowels*, except of course, for the diphthong *ou*, occur only at the *boundaries of parts of words*, cf. *neomylný*, *neučí se*, *poučný*, *zaostalý*, *přiobjednat*, *doopravdy*, *modrooký*, etc. In *borrowed* words two vowels can be found also outside boundaries, cf. *teorie*, *poezie*, *aorta*, *aero*, *oáza*, *triumf*, *hyena*, etc.

> *Note*: Concerning the literary pronuncaition of vowel sequences in native and borrowed words, see §25.1.

b) Some *sequences of consonants* are similarly foreign to native words; to the extent that they occur in *borrowed* words, they are the mark of their foreign origin. For example in native words we do not find the sequence *rg* (but cf. foreign *chirurg*, *argot*), *rch* (*arch*, *archeolog*), at the ends of words -*kt* (*pakt*, *infarkt*), -*nt* (*abiturient*, *absolvent*) etc.

c) In native Czech words the sequence of the velar consonants k, ch followed by vowel e is not customary; these sequences are however frequent in borrowed words, words of interjective origin or those of the expressive type, cf. kefír, keramika, kepr, chemie, cherub; chechtat se, ochechule, etc.

Similarly Czech avoids in the stems of emotionally neutral native words the sequence of the soft consonants d', t', ň or the consonants š, ž, č, ř, followed by the back vowels u, o. Such a grouping is then a mark of interjective or expressive words, cf. d'obat, t'ukat, t'ulpas, t'ululum, ňouma, šust, žuchnout, št'oura, čuně, čuchat, křupat, etc. These sequences, however, occur without restriction at boundaries of parts of words, cf. chut'ový, koláčový, pojišt'ovat (pojišt'uj), zařad'ovat, ohrožovat, rozšiřovat, oráčů, košů, etc.

Note. Concerning the sequence ej and about the diphthong ou in word initial position, cf. §14.1.

Morphophonemic alternation

§19. Vowels and consonants sometimes alternate in various forms of the same word or in related words, i.e. in a certain place in the stem of the word or the root of the morpheme, we find sometimes one, sometimes another phoneme.

Vowels and consonants or consonant clusters alternate in Czech according to specific rules. This alternation of phonemes occurs in certain kinds of word formation and in certain morphemes in individual groups of nouns and verbs. The same word or morpheme cannot have both a vowel and a consonant (or consonant cluster) alternation.

This alternation is discussed in detail at the appropriate places in the section on word and morpheme formation (cf. esp. §§52, 87, etc.). In the discussion of phonology we need to discuss only which phonemes alternate in related words and forms of the same word, and under what conditions they alternate.

The present-day alternation of phonemes is partly the result of sound changes in the development of the Czech language (cf. §240), and partly it has its roots in alternations inherited by Czech and variously changed in its further development.

31 1. Vowel alternation.

a) In the stems of related words and also in the root in some morphemes of the same word, short and long vowels alternate. They are a-á, e-é and i-í (y-ý), cf. hlásat - hlasatel, prodávat - prodavač, dar - dárek, pták - ptačí, dokázat - dokazovat, létat - letadlo, řídit - řidič, počítat - počitadlo, kniha - knížka, obývat - obyvatel, kráva - krav, jádro - jader, hrách - hrachu, chléb - chleba, nést - nesu, řídit - řiď etc.

The following vowels alternate in a similar way *e*(*ě*)-*í*, *o*-*ů*, *u*-*ou* as in *řídit* - *ředitel*, *opírat se* - *opěradlo*, *květ* - *kvítek*, *most* - *můstek*, *kluk* - *klouček*, *moucha* - *muší*, *umluvit* - *umlouvat*; *díra* - *děr*, *dům* - *domy*, *kůže* - *koží*, *smlouva* - *smluv*, *zamhouřit* - *zamhuř*, etc.

> *Note*. Originally this, too, was a matter of the alternation of short and long vowels (or of short and long diphthongs *ě*-*ie*), *o*-*ó*, *u*-*ú*, but upon the completion of certain sound changes (*é*, *ie* to *í*; *ó* to *ů*; *ú* to *ou*; see §240) they exhibit in present-day Czech not only quantitative but also qualitative differences.

We find the *short vowels* especially in certain ~~nouns~~ substantives derived with the help of the suffixes -*tel*, -*č*, -*dlo* (*obyvatel*, *řidič*, *letadlo*) from verbs with a long vowel in the infinitive; short vowels are also found in adjectives derived by the suffixes -*telný*, -*í*, -*ský* (*dokazatelný*, *řiditelný*, *čapí*, *kravský*), in verbs derived with the suffix -*ovat* from verbs in -*at*, -*it* (*ukazovat* - *ukázat*, *zkracovat* - *zkrátit*); in some forms of feminine nouns of the declension classes *žena* and *nůše* (*dráha* - *drahou*, *kůže* - *koží*, but also *kůží*, etc.), less frequently in masculine nouns of the declension class *hrad* (*hrách* - *hrachu*) and neuter nouns of the declension class *město* (*jméno* - *jmen*), in the imperative of certain types of verbs (*píši* - *piš*, *chválím* - *chval*) etc.

For further detail, see the sections on formation of nouns and verbs (§§ 52, 53, 93 and 118); on declension of nouns (especially about phoneme alternation in the root in the declension of substantives see §87.2) and in the discussion of verb conjugation, see the various conjugation classes.

b) In the stems of related words, we also find alternations of other vowels. Note for example the alternation of the vowels *e*-*o*-(*á*)-(*ů*) (*nesu* - *nosím* - *přináším* - *nůše*, *šel* - *chodím* - *přicházím* - *chůze*), *u*-*y*-(*ý*) (*sluch* - *slyšet*, *vyslýchat*; *suchý* - *vysychat* - *vysýchat*); *i*-*e*-(*ě*) (*viset* - *věšet*, *sil* - *seje*); *i*(*j*)-*o*(*j*) (*vyji* - *závoj*, *piji* - *nápoj*), etc.

The origin of this vowel alternation is in the pre-Slavic period; since then it underwent various changes. The technical term for such vowel alternation is *ablaut*.

c) In the stems of related words or in roots of forms of the same word we sometimes find a vowel (especially *e*); on occasion, it is missing; cf. *keř* - *křoví*, *pes* - *psí*, *lev* - *lva*, *článek* - *článku*, *příjem* - *příjmu* (but *vodojem* - *vodojemu*), *najmy* - *nájem*, *sestra* - *sester*, *beru* - *brat*, *stelu* - *stlát*, etc. Such a vowel is called a *mobile vowel* and the alternation is called the *vowel - zero alternation*.

This mobile vowel is either inserted (as the so-called *inserted vowel*) for easier pronunciation (*sestra* - *sester*), or is the result of older development (replacement for the old so-called strong jers [cf. §240.1] in some forms, it is the so-called jer vowel, cf. *sen* - *snu*, *jezevec* - *jezevce*, *lev*- *lva*, *jeden* - *jednoho*, etc.), or it is the result of ancient alternation, the so-called *ablaut vowel*, e.g. *beru* - *brát*.

The inserted vowel is also called *epenthetic*, the insertion itself *epenthesis*. For further details concerning the mobile vowel *e* in the declension of substantives see §87.4.

2. *Consonant alternation*. Consonants (and consonant clusters) alternate in stems of related words or in root forms of the same word under certain conditions and according to certain rules. Most frequently we find an alternation in the final consonants of the word stem or root.

a) The following kinds of *consonant* alternations are typical for Czech:

aa) Velars *k*, *h* (*g*), *ch* alternate with the consonants *č*, *ž*, *š* or *c*, *z*, *š*: *ruka* - *ručka*, *ruční*; *oko* - *oči*; *noha* - *nožka*, *přinožit*; *hnát* - *ženu*; *mohu* - *můžeš*; *psycholog* - *psycholožka*; *suchý* - *sušit*; *ucho* - *uši*; *páchat* - *páše*; *dělník* - *dělníci*, (*o*) *dělnících*; *ruka* - *ruce*; *soudruh* - *soudruzi*, (*o*) *soudruzích*; *noha* - (*na*) *noze*; *pomohu* - *pomoz*; *psycholog* - (*o*) *psycholozích*; *hoch* - *hoši*; (*o*) *hoších*; *moucha*, *mouše*, etc.

bb) The consonants *s*, *z*, *c* alternate with *š*, *ž*, *č*: *nosit* - *nůše*, *vysoko* - *výše*, *vyhlásit* - *vyhláška*, *psát* - *píšu*; *vozit* - *přivážet*, *porazit* - *porážka*, *mazat* - *mažu*; *noc* - *noční*, *obec* - *občan*, *otec* - *otče*.

cc) The alveodentals d, t, n alternate with the corresponding palatals d', t', ň and the consonants d, t, (d', t') also in some types with the consonants z, c: had - hadi; zed' - zdmi, vedu - ved'; hut' - hutní pronounced both [t] and [t'], pamět' - pamětmi (also pamět'mi), pletu - plet'; ženu - žeň; den - dni; chod - chodit - chůze, hod - hodit - házet, hrad - hradit - hrazen; svit - svítit - svíce, ztráta - ztratit - ztrácet, plat - platit - placen.

dd) The consonant r alternates with ř: dvůr - dvořan, Alžír - Alžířan, bratr - bratře, starý - staří.

b) In clusters some consonants alternate differently from the way they alternate singly:

aa) The consonant cluster sk alternates with the sequence št' or st' but also with sč, sc; the cluster šk, with št', but also with šc, šč:

pískat - píšt'ala, deska - destička - přídeští - desce, písek - písčitý; hruška - hruštička - hrušce, liška - lištička - liščí.

bb) The consonant cluster st (st') alternates with št' and zd (zd') with žd':

pustý - pustina - poušt'; pozdní - opozdit se - opožděn.

cc) The consonant cluster sl alternates with šl: myslit - myšlení - přemýšlet, poslat - pošlu.

c) The labial consonants (b, p, m, v, f) never alternate in related words or forms of the same word.

For further details on the alternation of consonants (or consonant clusters), see the sections on the derivation of nouns and verbs (§§ 58.1; 93.2; 118.1); on comparison of adjectives and adverbs, cf. §97.1 and 163; on declension of substantives, cf. §87.1; on conjugation of verbs (under each conjugation class) cf. §148 - 160.

The alternation of consonants (or consonant clusters) in the present-day language is the result of softening (palatalization), which the consonants k, g, (h), ch; d, t, n and r underwent in the course of linguistic development whenever they occurred adjacent to the consonant j, sometimes also before front vowels (ě, í...) and the consonants s, z in a sequence with j; (see §240.2a).

Sound change

§20. In addition to the sound changes just discussed (merging of consonants or assimilation, palatalization see preceding §§; we find also other changes in the phonemic shape of words; they occur more frequently in popular speech, especially in words of foreign origin.

1. Assimilation occurs not only with adjacent phonemes but also phonemes which are more distant. Note such assimilation in the folk variant žížeň for žízeň, řebřík for žebřík, brabec for vrabec.

At other times, consonants which are alike are differentiated: they undergo *dissimilation*; cf. *kapradí* from the original *papradí* or *legrace* from original Lat. *recreatio* [-kr-ci-] (Cf. newly borrowed *rekreace*), *lejstra* from Lat. *registra*, etc.

Sometimes a change is accomplished by metathesis, an exchange of phonemes in different parts of a word; cf. the folk form *cerel* instead of *celer*, *žlice* for *lžíce*, changes in the form of the word *mlha* (from original *mhla*, which exists to the present day in the dialects alongside with *hmla*) etc.

2. In rapid speech an entire syllable sometimes disappears; cf. dialectal *cák*, *kdák* for *copak*, *kdopak*, vulgar *čéče* for *člověče*, etc. Such a change in the syllable composition of a word is called *haplology*.

3. A change in the number of syllables is accomplished also by *contraction*, yielding in place of two syllables, one long syllable. By contraction arose e.g. the shorter forms of the possessive pronouns *má*, *mé* (from original *moje*), *mí* (from *moji*) etc. (see §110), the verb forms *láti* (from original *lajati*), *báti se* (from *bojati*) etc., the verbal forms *děláš* (from original *dělaješ*) etc. (see §241.5).

← Bibliography. Concerning phonetics in general see Hála 1948 , 1962 , as well as Hála and Sovák 1941 ff. For Czech phonetics consult Hála 1954 ; on the relationship to phonology, Mathesius 1947 , Daneš 1948/49 and Horálek 1949 .

The question of the syllable is discussed by Hála 1956 , Nováček and Lotko 1959 , Horálek 1948/49 , Skaličková 1954 and Renský 1960 .

Phonology is covered by Mathesius 1947 esp. 1947j and 1947k, Horálek 1954 , Isačenko 1966 , Leška 1966 , Romportl 1966 and especially in a monograph by Vachek 1968 .

Word stress

§21. All the syllables of a word are not pronounced with equal intensity; in Czech the syllable most emphatically pronounced is as a rule the first. We call this emphatic pronunciation word stress. The syllables which carry stress are called stressed syllables; the other syllables are called unstressed.

Czech words which carry stress have it on the first syllable, e.g. 'lid, 'vláda, 'východ, 'pracoval.

The stress which we find on the first syllable is called primary word stress. Besides this primary stress, longer words (those of at least three syllables) have a secondary stress, usually on the odd syllables, i.e. on the third, fifth, etc., more rarely on even syllables (especially in compound words), i.e. on the fourth, sixth.

The secondary stress is weaker than the primary stress. It is facultative; it appears especially in slower and careful pronunciation and contributes to clarity of speech. It prevents the so-called swallowing of final syllables.

E.g. 'praco,val jsem, 'nań,zení, 'deva,desátý, 'usta,novení or 'devade,sátý, 'ustano,vení, 'červeno,bílý, 'nejne,spolehli,vější etc.

Stress is also called accent. The main sign of Czech stress is the strengthening of pronunciation; it is therefore called dynamic. As an accompanying sign we also have differences in tone level -- in languages these are the main signs and in such cases we speak of melodic accent or tone.

§22. To attain standard literary pronunciation, one must also take care to observe the following stress rules:

1. A monosyllabic preposition carries the stress, and the word following is attached to it; such a construction is therefore pronounced as one word, e.g. 'do práce, 'po Labi, 'na východě, 'ke škole, 'se sestrou, 'do páté 'třídy etc.

Non-syllabic prepositions, like s, z, v, k, are also pronounced as one word, together with the word with which they belong. They of course cannot carry stress by themselves because they do not form a syllable. Whenever they become syllabic in the shape se, ze, ve, ke, ku, they carry the stress. Whenever the monosyllabic preposition od, nad, pod, bez etc. are augmented by the addition of -e; i.e. by one syllable (ode, nade, pode, beze, etc.), they keep the main stress and the following word is likewise attached to them; e.g. 'ode mne, 'pode mlýnem, 'přese všechno, n. 'přese, všechno etc.

Monosyllabic prepositions do not, however, carry stress, if they are followed by a long word, a word difficult to pronounce, or one which is emphatic, e.g. na 'nejne,přístupnějším 'místě; na 'okresní 'národní 'výbor, nikoli na 'místní.

2. Disyllabic prepositions like mezi, mimo, místo, kromě, kolem, skrze, podle etc. and their monosyllabic (shortened)

forms krom, kol, skrz as well as dle and zpod do not carry primary stress.

For example: mezi 'stromy, mimo 'sobotu, kromě 'tebe, skrze 'les, vedle 'domu,...; krom 'nadání, kol 'továrny, skrz 'řady, dle 'předpisu, zpod 'stolu etc.

These two-syllable prepositions (kromě, kolem etc.) however, may carry primary stress whenever we wish to emphasize them; the three-syllable prepositions usually carry primary stress, (emphatic 'kromě tebe nemám nikoho; trisyllabic 'okolo 'hřiště 'pomocí 'přátel, etc.).

Note. The difference between those prepositions which carry primary stress (1) and those which do not (2) is clear from the point of view of their respective origin. Primary stress is carried by prepositions which are of prepositional origin (true prepositions) and not carried by those which originated from other word classes, from substantives (místo), adverbs (mimo) etc.; of course, today we cannot always immediately see the origin of some of the prepositions (kromě, skrze, etc.) cf. §164.2.

3. Some words do not carry stress in the stream of speech; they are unstressed. They are called clitics. They are attached a) to a stressed word preceding them (enclitics) or b) more rarely to a word which follows them (proclitics) -- among these belong also the unstressed prepositions -- and form with the word one stress unit.

For exx.: a) 'myl‿jsem‿se, 'zapřa,hají‿si 'koně, 'viděl‿jsem‿ho 'přicházet, 'přál‿bych‿mu 'zdraví; 'nebude-li 'pršet, 'nezmoknem;

b) 'po Vltavě i‿'po Labi; mezi‿'otcem‿a‿'matkou; než‿'svítá; 'čekal, že‿'přijde 'včas; můj‿'přítel; 'Julius 'Fučík, náš‿'národní 'hrdina.

Some enclitics never carry primary stress in the stream of speech and are always attached to the preceding word; hence, these cannot occur in sentence-initial position. They are the short forms of the personal pronouns mi, ti, si, tě, se, mu, ho; forms of the verb býti in periphrastic verbal constructions --jsem , jsi... (přišel‿jsem,...), bych, bys, by, bychom, byste (přišel‿bych,...) -- and the conjunction však.

Other enclitics lack stress only under certain conditions, in a certain position in the sentence, though under other conditions they may carry stress. Cf. for example,'Kdo to je? and Kdo 'je to? 'To je muj 'přítel. To 'je pravda.

The proclitics, attached to the following word, are some of the conjunctions -- a, i, že, až... -- and the unstressed prepositions like mezi, krom,... (see 2 , above). They may carry stress if they are followed by an unstressed word; e.g. 'povídal, 'že sem 'přijde, 'až se 'vrátí; 'skrz ten 'les; 'mezi tou 'dobou, etc.

On stress of abbreviations, which may even be stressed on the final syllable, see §42.1.

37a

Bibliography. For a detailed discussion of Czech stress see especially Trávníček 1948 ff. I, Díl IV Přízvuk (or in the same section of later editions). A summary of orthoepic advice can be found in Hála 1955 ~~ff.~~ pp. 48 ff. (2nd ed. 1967, 65 ff.). Consult also Trávníček 1941 and of the less recent works Chlumský 1928.

LITERARY PRONUNCIATION

§23. The literary language has its own standard pronunciation, which in part differs from the pronunciation of Common Czech and from that of the various dialects.

The basis of the literary pronunciation is the pronunciation of those who currently are educated users of the literary language and who do not have any regional or personal peculiarities in their speech.

Orthoëpy is the compendium of the rules of literary pronunciation.

In literary pronunciation just as in other levels of linguistic structure we find stylistic differences (cf. p. 8 ff. and 428 ff.); there is a basic, neutral literary pronunciation, the one which is used in public speaking, in lectures, in radio, television, etc. This is the pronunciation which is the basis of the orthoëpic rules. It is in some ways different (especially in the pronunciation of consonant clusters) from the more free pronunciation of current discourse realized by the colloquial version of the literary language. The pronunciation of ceremonial speeches may also have special characteristics as in the so-called recitational style etc.; it is more complete and closer to the spelling (cf. for example the pronunciation of the words dcera, srdce, the pronunciation of double consonants in words such as povinnost, činný, etc.).

This literary pronunciation is basically *uniform*; only in a small number of instances -- as is the case also in other areas of the literary language (e.g. in morphology we may have two correct synonymous forms) -- is a dual literary pronunciation acceptable, e.g. *shdda* may be correctly pronounced either as [schoda], or as [zhoda].

The pronunciation in theatrical productions follows the same principles as all other pronunciation. These are valid because of the character of verbal art: it makes use of all elements of all levels of the national language, even of individual styles (for characterization etc.) to achieve its artistic aim.

Note. Sometimes a distinction is made between orthoëpy and *orthophony*, i.e. the study of the correct formation of individual sounds (giving instruction about the correct articulation of e.g. *r*, the sibilants *s*, *z* etc.). Speech defects and their correction are the subject of *logopedy*.

§24. The basic principles of correct pronunciation of *individual sounds* are the following:

1. In literary pronunciation, care must be taken to *articulate* properly each individual sound. Deviations are the result of insertion of dialectal regional or individual articulation.

Substandard pronunciation is noted especially in the *vowels* *i*, *e*, *é* and *á*. The vowels *i*, *e* in the pronunciation of some areas, especially in Prague and in central Bohemia, are shifted in the direction of *e* and *a*, i.e. are pronounced more open (e.g. in the words *vid'*, *divadlo*, *maminka*, *hele*, *heled'* etc.). Long *é*, sometimes, especially in some areas of Moravia, is pronounced excessively closed, so that it sounds almost like *í* (e.g. *hodné* *děvče*. Long *á* in southwestern Czech dialects is pronounced with *e* [ä] coloring, e.g. *právo*, *sál*.

Note. The letter [ä] symbolizes a low (wide, open) e, such as is found in the literary Slovak pronunciation; there is is spelled also as ä (mäso, etc.).

Substandard pronunciation is less frequent in consonants; the deviations are as a rule individual in nature; these are often defective pronunciation (e.g. of the consonant r). The sibilants s, z should be formed so that they do not have a lisping quality. The consonant ch is never pronounced soft (it is not formed too far forward), not even after the front vowels i and e.

2. In the literary pronunciation the long and short vowels must be distinguished carefully.

Shortening of vowels, usually because of deviant dialect pronunciation (e.g. mak instead of mák, blato for bláto, etc.) is considered substandard. In the literary pronunciation, more specifically than in Common Czech, we find the vowels i and í, u and ů differentiated in endings; e.g. there is a clear difference between pracuji - pracují, z radosti - s radostí, píli - pílí, domu - domů, etc. The long vowels are pronounced clearly long, as in k horníkům, z krajů, dolů, myslím, následující, prosí. Likewise within the word, í and ů are pronounced long wherever they are thus written, in contrast to the Common Czech pronunciation, where they are often shortened, e.g. in the words říkám, povídám, utíká, upřímný, půjde, můj, stůjte, pumůže, důstojník, trojúhelník, neúprosný etc.

It is also substandard to *lengthen* or to *stretch out* vowels where the literary pronunciation in agreement with the spelling has a short vowel. It happens most frequently in an initial stressed syllable, e.g. *moře*, *prapor*, *dcera*, *pivo* in some words also in other syllables, as in *opačný*, *dosavadní* [-páč-, -vád-], etc. These deviations are the result of the pronunciation in Common Czech or in the dialects.

The pronunciation of a long vowel may also be caused by emotional coloring (e.g. *bóže*, *móře*). Emotional words may have even extra long vowels as in the words *výborně*, *náramně*, etc.

Also at the ends of words before pause (in parts of the speech area, to some extent also in Prague), vowels are incorrectly lengthened, especially in some expressions such as *kam deté* [-té], *co to neseté*? [-te] *Co je ti do tohó*!

On emotive (emphatic) pronunciation, see also §14.3.

Remember that in the literary language

1. The following words have *short* vowels: *dcera*, *nejen*, *včera*, *zelí*, *věril*, *naděje*, *opačný*, *prapor*, *vzadu*, *jinam*; *zboží*, *moře*, *pole*, *nahoře*, *dole*, *spolu*; *kužel*, *tuze*, *usilovný*; *přijde*, *přijd'*, *pijte*, *pivo*, *jitrnice*, *kniha*, *nitě*, *rozčilit se*, *lyže*, *tchyně*;
2. the following have *long* vowels: *pomáhat*; *půl páté*; *jméno*, *naléhat*, *léto*, *spoléhat*; *upřímný* *nyní*, *není*; *půjdu*, *půjčit*, *zůstat*, *různý*, *uzhůru*, *dolů*, *domů*, *neúnavný*.

← When in doubt whether the vowel should be short or long in the literary pronunciation, consult the alphabetical listing of the Pravidla českého pravopisu.

§25. The following rules apply to the literary pronunciation of sequences of vowels, of sequences of vowels and consonants, and to the pronunciation of phonemes in word-initial and word-final position:

1.a) Whenever the same vowel is found at both sides of a morpheme or word boundary, both of the vowels are pronounced without merging (e.g. pootevřít, modrooký, dvaadvacet, u ucha, matka a otec, etc.).

Sometimes the second vowel is preceded by a glottal stop (see §15.3), for example in the compound words [modroʔokíː] and at word boundaries as in [poʔobjeɟe], [matka ʔa otec].

The glottal stop is sometimes also pronounced in a sequence of different vowels at similar boundaries [pravoʔuhlíː], [severoʔamerickíː], [fšichňi ʔostatňíː]. However the pronunciation without a glottal stop in such cases is also frequent; pronunciation without the glottal stop is standard in words with prefixes such a poučný, neobvyklý.

In borrowed words two vowels may follow each other also within words where there is no morpheme boundary, and this type of sequence (even of identical vowels) is always pronounced without a glottal stop (reakce, teorie, poezie, chaos; individuum, konstruuje).

b) A glottal stop is regularly pronounced before a vowel after a pause (indicated in writing by the hyphen or other punctuation). In all other instances the glottal stop is not marked graphically in any way, it is facultative (in free variation); both the pronunciation with and without it is literary.

c) In borrowed words in the sequence i(y) + vowel the consonant j is inserted between them (fialka [fija-], historie [-rije], s génii [-nɨji], stadión [-dɨjón], triumf [trijumf], hyena [hɨje-], v Anglii [-liji], etc.) In the sequence "vowel + i" in borrowed words a very weak j is inserted (druidové [druʲi-], sinusoida [-soʲda], laik either disyllabic [laʲik] or monosyllabic [lajk], etc.).

The consonant j however is not inserted either in native or borrowed words at a word or morpheme boundary. Cf. v pěti obvodech, přiobjednat, pětiaktovka, pětiúhlý, do Itálie, zainteresovat, etc.; The regional pronunciation of j in the numeral třiadvacet is substandard.

2. The pronunciation of a preposition ending in a voiced consonant before a word beginning with a vowel fluctuates (v Evropě, v okně, z úst, pod oknem). In the areas where a (voiceless) glottal stop is pronounced, it devoices the final consonant of the preposition and the consonant remains voiceless even if the glottal stop should not be pronounced: [fʔevropě] or [f‿evropě], [fʔokně, f‿okně], [sʔúst, s‿úst], [potʔoknem, pot‿oknem] etc. Wherever the glottal stop is not pronounced -- especially in the eastern area (Moravia) -- the voiced consonant

in this position is preserved and the pronunciation with voicing is also considered standard [v‿evropě, v‿okně, z‿ústí, pod‿oknem] etc.

Fluctuation occurs also with prefixes ending in a voiced consonant before a stem which begins in a vowel; such a sequence may be pronounced with or without a glottal stop (in the pronunciation with a glottal stop the voiced consonant is devoiced), as in [zocelit] or [sʔocelit], [zorganizovat] or [sʔorganizovat], [bezútěšný] or [besʔútěšný], [pododd'elení] or [potʔoddělení] etc.

> Sporadically two words may be differentiated by the presence or absence of a glottal stop, e.g. sužovat 'to annoy' and zužovat ([sʔužovat], but of course also [zužovat]) 'to narrow'.

3. In word final position before a pause paired voiced consonants (or clusters of paired voiced consonants) are devoiced or changed to the corresponding voiceless consonants (or consonant clusters), e.g. zub, kov, lod', jez, věž, dialog, sníh, příjezd, shromažd' pron. [-p, -f, -t', -s, -š, -k, -ch, -st, -št']. In orthography, of course, we continue to write the voiced consonant because other forms of that word and related words, in other positions such as before a vowel have a voiced consonant, cf. zubu, kovu, lodi, jezu, věže, dialogu, sněhu, příjezdu, shromáždi.

§26. In *clusters* some *consonants* undergo change and sometimes, in Common Czech and especially in the dialects, one of the consonants disappears or merges with another into a single consonant.

The following rules apply for correct *literary pronunciation*:

1.a) A cluster of *paired consonants* (voiced and voiceless) is always pronounced either *all voiced* or *all voiceless*; this is true also of clusters which arise because of prefixation.

The result is determined, as a rule, by the *last consonant* in the cluster. For example, the whole cluster is *voiced* in the words *sbor*, *kletba*, *léčba*, *někdy*, *čtvrthodinka*, pron. [zbor, kledba, lédžba, něgdy, čtvrdhodinka], in the phrases *k bratrovi*, *s bratrem* [g bratrovi, z bratrem]; the whole cluster is *voiceless* in the words *zpěv*, *lehký*, *hádka*, *lod'ka*, *obchod*, *hezky*, *předzpěv* pron. [spjef, lechký, hátka, lot'ka, opchot, hesky, přetspěf] pje, in the phrases *z chalupy*, *v peci*, *nad sebou*, *pod koly* [s chalupy, f peci, nat sebou, pot koly].

The only *exceptions* are sequences where the final consonant is *v* (*tv*-, *sv*-...), and the sequence *sh*- at the beginning of a word stem.

aa) The *consonant v* does not cause a preceding voiceless consonant to become voiced (e.g. we distinguish *tvoje* - *dvoje*, *svolat* - *zvolat*. The standard pronunciation agrees with the spelling in *květ*, *k večeru*, etc. with a voiceless *k* before the voiced *v*). Pronunciation with progressive assimilation [tfuj, kfjet] occurs in some dialects, while regressive assimilation after a preposition [g večeru] is regional. On the permissible two-fold pronunciation of the non-syllabic preposition *s* when preceding words beginning with the consonant *v*, see section c) below.

bb) The *sequence sh-* (*shoda*, *shromáždění*, *shledaná*, *shnít*, etc.) may be pronounced two ways in the literary language. Either the first consonant [s] determines the assimilation and the whole cluster is voiceless [sch] -- this is the rule in Bohemia; or the rule of regressive assimilation applies here as elsewhere in the language and the whole cluster is voiced [zh]-- this is the standard pronunciation current especially in Moravia. However the whole territory agrees on the voiced pronunciation [zh] when it occurs at a word boundary (even if one is the preposition *s*; e.g. *popros ho*, *s hor*) ~~and in the words~~ in adverbial compounds formed w/ the preposition *s* such as *shora*, *shúry*, etc, and in isolated words such as *shluk*, *shluknout se*, *shladit* (a bookish word for 'to make smooth', as distinct from *zchladit* 'to cool off').

> The prepositions *s* and *z* form a cluster with the consonant beginning the next word, and therefore they often are not differentiated in pronunciation: *s hlavy* - *z hlavy*, *s bratrem* - *z bratra*, *s tebou* - *z tebe*; the initial clusters in the pairs are pronounced alike. On the use of the preposition *s*(*se*) and *z*(*ze*), Cf. §30, IV.

b) A *word-final consonant* or consonant cluster is also pronounced *voiced* or *voiceless* as a whole with the word following it if there is no pause between them: *tak zítra* [-g zítra], *zpěv byl radostný*, but: *zpěv se rozléhal* [-f se...], *vjezd byl uzavřen*, but: *vjezd se uzavře* [st se...].

c) In literary pronunciation, the unpaired voiced consonants (m, n, ň, j, l, r) do not cause the preceding voiceless consonants to be assimilated to them either within a word or at a word boundary (slet, směna, k jaru, pták létá, zas jindy, etc.).

Only the non-syllabic preposition s when preceding a word beginning with a voiced unpaired consonant or even v is sometimes also pronounced voiced [z], e.g. s radostí [s radostí] or [z radostí], s Janem [s Janem] or [z Janem], s Věrou [s vjerou] or [z vjerou]; but in position preceding personal pronouns as in s námi, s ním, s nimi, s vámi it is always voiceless [s].

> In Moravian dialects a voiceless consonant at a word boundary preceding an unpaired voiced consonant is voiced, e.g. pták létá [-g l-], zas jindy [-z j-] etc. This pronunciation sometimes penetrates into colloquial Czech.

d) In words like kresba, prosba, svatba the voicing of the consonants s and t is as a rule carried over into the gen. pl. where it occurs before e, but not before a voiced consonant; what is written kreseb, proseb, svateb is also pronounced [krezep, prozep, svadep], but in léčba [lédžba] the gen. pl. is only léčeb [léčep] because dž is not an independent phoneme (cf. § 17.2). In adjectives derived from these substantives, where the sequence -se- -te- is also spelled, the pronunciation agrees with the spelling, cf. prosebný, prosebník, modlitební, modlitebna, etc.

Note 1. A voiced pronunciation is permitted also in the syllabic variant of the preposition s (se) before words beginning with s, thus [ze stolu] or [se stolu], [ze sestrou] or [se sestrou].

2. The preposition přes is pronounced with the final consonant voiced [z] (like the preposition bez), cf. [přez les], [přeze $\overset{f}{\text{v}}$šechno].

3. Before the ending -m(e) in the first person pl. imperative the literary pronunciation has, instead of a paired voiced consonant, usually the corresponding unvoiced one, as in the second person sg. & pl. povězme [pov$\overset{\text{vje}}{\text{ě}}$sme] as in [pov$\overset{\text{vje}}{\text{ě}}s, pov\overset{\text{vje}}{\text{ě}}$ste], nařežme, dokažme [nařešme, dokašme]. The pronunciation with a voiced consonant is dialectal (as is the pronunciation with an assimilated voiced consonant in words like kupme [kubme], učme se [udžme se] etc.) In this case, a consonant cluster is treated the same way as at word boundaries; cf. above.

2. In the literary language, consonants in clusters do not usually change in other ways, even where in Common Czech and in the dialects they do change.

a) The sibilant s- does not change into š- in any initial clusters and the pronunciation s is maintained, as in spelling, in words like skořápka, skulina, slupka, smyčec, stopka, etc. (cf. also §27.B3).

b) The consonants *d'*, *t'* *ň* in word-medial position do not change into *d*, *t*, *n* in words such as *vyjížd'ka*, *tloušt'ka*, *radhošt'ský*, *dršt'ková* (*polévka*), *loňský*, *koňský*, etc., nor does *t* change into *t'* (*vlaštovka*).

c) Consonants in other clusters also are pronounced without change, in agreement with the spelling in words such as *sčítat* (not with *š*), *třináct* (not with *š*), *písčitý* (not *st*), *čtyři*, *čtvrtek* (not *š*), *pošta*, *lepší*, *slabší* (not *č*), *kapsa*, *ženská*, *panský*, *loňský*, *plzeňský* (not *c*), *benzín*, *manžel* (not *dz*, *dž*), *hanba*, *klenba* (not *m*), etc.; also in *doktor* (not *cht*), *tenhle* *tamhle* (not *tendle*, *tamdle*), etc.

> Only in the borrowed word *bonbón* is the literary pronunciation also [bombón] with *m*, with assimilation in the place of articulation.

d) Only the alveodental *n* changes somewhat when followed by the velars *k*, *g*, being assimilated regressively in the place of assimilation, the result being the velar variant of *n*, the so-called back or velar *n* [ŋ], as in the words *trnka*, *sponka*, *tenký*, *Anglie*, *tango*, etc. (cf. §15.3 note 3).

e) Also in the sequence alveodental and palatal in the clusters *tň*, *dň*, *nt'*, *nd'* (also at the boundary of prefix and stem, or even more rarely preposition and noun, the alveodental is sometimes assimilated to the palatal and is thus *softened*; cf. *letní*, *hodně*, *absolventi*, *pondělí*, [let'ňí or letňí], [hod'ňe or hodňe], [absolveňt'i or absolvent'i], [poňd'elí or pond'elí], also *odnímat* [odňímat or od'ňímat], *od* *něho* [od ňeho or od' ňeho].

f) Instead of the regular and most frequent pronunciation [mňe] for what is written *mě* the local variant (dialectal in origin in S. Bohemia and NE Moravia) [mje] is also permitted as standard, thus [mjesto] as well as the more usual [mňesto], etc.

g) The numerals *sedm*, *osm* are pronounced either with a syllabic *m*, or with a [u] inserted in the cluster *dm*, *sm*. Thus the pronunciation [sedum, osum, sedumnáct, osumnáct] is also acceptable but not in the words *sedmi*, *osmi*, *sedmý*, *osmý*. Pronunciation with a syllabic *n* is substandard and dialectal [sedn, osn].

3. In the literary language *consonants* in *clusters* are for the most part *all* pronounced.

a) No *consonant* is omitted in *word initial* position as is sometimes done in Common Czech or in the dialects:

Initial *h-* is pronounced in the words *hřbitov*, *hřeben*, *hříbek*, *hříbě*, *hrozen*, *hřebík*, *hřídel*, *hříva*, *hřmí*;

Other initial clusters are also pronounced completely: *kdy*, *když*, *kdyby*, *který*, *skrz*, *skřivánek*, *stříkačka*, *tkanička*, *všecko*, *však*, *vždycky*;

The prefix *vz-* is likewise never shortened in standard pronunciation but may be altered in colloquial Czech to a simple [s- or z-] (*vzpomínky*, *vzpurný*, *vzbudit*, *vzhůru*, etc.) whenever a clear pronunciation [vz-, vs-] is not necessary to distinguish words such as *vzdělat* - *zdělat*, *vzpínat* - *spínat*, *vztáhnout* - *stáhnout*, etc.

b) The consonant j is never omitted either in initial or medial position in words like jdu, jméno, jmění; půjdu, pojd', přijdu, přijd', půjčit etc.; přijmu, přijmi, října; nebijte, pijte (nor in the ~~words~~ forms bij, pij). Only in the words jsem, jsi, jsme, jste, jsou is the pronunciation without j also allowed in literary Czech (esp. in the past tense: přišel jsem, řekl jsi, byli jsme, byla jste,...); the j is however pronounced in the negative (nejsem, nejsi...), and whenever these morphemes carry stress.

c) Syllabic l is not omitted in literary pronunciation either in word-medial or final position, e.g. jablko, mlha, řemeslník, in the past participle vedl, mohl, etc.

d) Complete consonant clusters are also pronounced in word-medial position in words like prázdný, prázdniny, zdvihnout, švestka, kostka, zaměstnání, šestnáct, št'astný, vlastní, jestliže, zvláštní, deštník, svlékat, schválně, koroptve, takhle, vezme, vezmi, etc.

Only in a few words does orthography indicate a consonant which is not usually pronounced, e.g. ctnost, srdce, dcera pron. [cnost, srce, cera].

Remember to pronounce and write the following initial consonants: jdu, jméno, jmění, kde, kdy, kdyby, který; tkadlec, tkanička, tkát; skrz, svlékat, schválně; vdolek, však, vždycky; lžíce, zvlášt; also to write correctly the prefix vz-: vzmoci, vzpomenout si, vzpamatovat se, vzpoura, vzhůru, etc.

4a) A *group* of *two* *identical* *consonants* usually *merges* into one (except for cases listed below), e.g. *panna*, *měkký*, *kamenný*, *činnost*, *vyšší*, *babiččin*, *oddech*, *rozzlobit se*, *leccos*, (*vzít*) *s sebou*; this is true even of the consonants which have become identical because of voicing assimilation (*vítězství*, *rozsáhlý*, *nižší*, etc.).

Sometimes in word medial position even the clusters *ts*, *tš* (also spelled *ds*, *dš*) merge into *c*, *č*, e.g. *dětský*, *lidský*, *bohatství*, *kratší* (but *t* can also be preserved, cf. *většinou*, *nadšení*).

> *Note*. In some words the pronunciation *c* is already a part of the orthography even though it is a matter of a stem ending in -*t* and a suffix beginning with *s-*: *děcko*, *knížecký*, *knížectví*.

If ~~two morphemes~~ pair of words would become indistinguishable by the merging of consonants, the two consonants are *both* *pronounced* as in *nejjasnější* (superlative of *jasný* -- to be distinguished from *nejasnější*, comparative of *nejasný*), *poddaný* (distinct from *podaný*), *podtrhnout* (distinct from *potrhnout*), *předtančit* (distinct from *přetančit*), *v pecce*, *oznamme*, *odsoudit*, *podstavec*, *podšívka*, etc. The unmerged pronunciation is also the rule at word boundaries (also in the case of preposition plus noun, cf. *tam měl*, *když šel*, *před domem*, *bez slevy*, *nad střechou*, *pod šaty*, etc.) and at morpheme boundaries in compound words (*půlletý*, *čtyrrozměrný*).

> In the case of geminite consonants which are preserved (e.g. *jj* in *nejjasnější*), the closing occlusion of the first consonant is weakened and so is the beginning occlusion of the second, so that the impression is of a *lengthened* single *consonant* with an articulatory weakening in its center.

b) In the clusters *tc*, *tč* (spelled also *dc*, *dč*), *both* consonants are pronounced because such clusters occur only where the pronunciation preserves the composition of the word, i.e. at morpheme boundaries, cf. *matce*, *Jitce*, *Jitčin*, *Lidce*, *Lidčin*, *ze Skutče* (nom. *Skuteč* -- in Common Czech there is merging [ze Skučce] which leads to the formation of a new nom. *Skuč*), *Hradčany*, etc.

> *Note*. However in the words *dcera*, *srdce* the pronunciation [cera, srce] is the rule; the unmerged pronunciation [tcera, srtce] has a recitational flavor.

Neither is there merging in clusters differing in softness, such as *t't* (spelled also *d't*), *tt'*, *dd'*, nor in clusters related in other ways, such as *sš*, *zž*, *šs* (also spelled *zš*, *sž*, *žs*), *cč*, *čc*, *čs*. Such clusters are fully pronounced both medially and at word boundaries, cf. *plat'te*, *nahrad'te*, *odd'elení*, *rozšířit*, *zženštilý*, *sšíravý*, *pražský*, *mužský*, *krkonošský*, *vlašský*, *lecčemu*, *babičce*, *třebíčský*, *skutečský*; *když sem přijde*, *skoč si*, také etc.

However, *sš*, *šš* (also spelled *zš*, *žš*) is *merged* in the clusters *sšt'*, also spelled zšt', žšt') *ššt'* into [š] and *čš* in the cluster *čšt'* merges into [č], cf. *francouzští*, *slezští*, *dobříšští*, *pražští* [-ští], *třebíčští* [-čtí], etc.

Note. The cluster -*šs*- is however traditionally written and pronounced as a single *s* in the word *český* (in contrast to *vlašský*), but we do have *češství* (both in spelling and pronunciation). Also the sequences -*čs*- and -*cs*- are pronounced and spelled *c* in the suffixes -*cký*, -*ctvo*, -*ctví*, cf. *dělnický*, *dělnictvo*, *rolnictví*, *mělnický*, *pardubický*, etc., see also §93.2 and §59.1.

In Common Czech, consonants in clusters are often left out or are merged and such a pronunciation, also in some of the above mentioned types, penetrates into Colloquial Czech.

§27. *Pronunciation of foreign words*. Words borrowed from foreign languages often do not agree with their *original pronunciation*, i.e. with the pronunciation in their country of origin. Standard Czech pronunciation sometimes differs from this original pronunciation. This is not only the case when Czech lacks sounds occurring in the original language (in such cases a Czech sound which is closest is substituted, cf. Czech *e* for German *ö* [also spelled oe] in the word *rentgen*, where the pronunciation has already influenced the spelling -- written now with *e* instead of the older *roentgen*), but also in other cases.

Pronunciation of loanwords is also influenced by orthography in cases where the original spelling is preserved in whole or in part; thus we get the spelling pronunciation [trust] in the word trust along side with [trast] which is closer to the English pronunciation. We do not, however, pronounce loanwords, even in such cases, always in complete agreement with their spelling (as we are more likely to do in native words). This is due to the fact that the relationship of spelling to pronunciation is in part different for foreign words (cf. §31A).

A. The main principles of standard pronunciation of foreign words, in cases when they do not agree with those for native words, are as follows:

1. In loanwords vowels which are pronounced long are sometimes not spelled long. This is true especially in the syllables di, ti, ni, in the suffix -ura, etc. (see ~~pp. 64, 65~~ §31. A ii 6). It is thus necessary to be careful in preserving the literary pronunciation of words such as aktiv [-tý-], kolektiv [-tý-], serpentina [-tý-], recidiva [-dý-], kultura [-ú-], literatura [-ú-], tribuna [-ú-], gymnasium [-ázium], Asie [á-].

It is also important to pronounce long vowels in words where spelling with and without a long vowel is acceptable, e.g. archiv or archív, but only one pronunciation is acceptable [archív], pasivum or pasívum, pron. [-sí-], Analysa or analýza, pron. [-lý-], nervosa or nervóza, pron. [-vóza], etc.

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In some words there is also a double pronunciation, e.g. in adjectives ending in -urní, -ivní such as kulturní [-tu-] or [-tú-], aktivní [-ty-] or [-tý-], etc.

More frequently however we find in loanwords the spelling of long vowels helping to support the standard pronunciation, cf. árie, tón, móda, sérum, schéma, túra, kostým, reálný, problém, bazén, spartakiáda, konkrétní, vatelín, disciplína, etc.

The fact that long vowels were formerly not spelled, led to a partial inconsistency of length in loanwords. A long vowel is then sometimes also mispronounced where the standard pronunciation requires a short vowel, e.g. in the words datum, patos, drama, retie, primář, krize, etc., or on the other hand length was incorrectly supressed, e.g. in the word Itálie, etc.

2. The symbol s between vowels or after unpaired consonants is pronounced sometimes [s] and sometimes [z].

In the majority of domesticated, i.e. assimilated loans wherever s is spelled, it is also thus pronounced; care must be taken to pronounce s especially in words such as diskuse, demise, agrese, absence, disonance, disertace, resort, pesimista, režisér, personál, unisóno, etc., and in forms of words los - losu, losy, v losech, etc., dres - dresu, dresy, etc., chaos - chaosu, etc., patos - patosu, etc.

Formerly when even what was pronounced *z* was spelled *s*, incorrect pronunciation of words which could only be pronounced with *s* became current [diskuze], etc. Often people incorrectly feel that all borrowed words spelled with *s* should be pronounced [z] even if they are from Russian; care must therefore be taken to pronounce *s* as spelled in words such as *Komsomol*, *Vasil*, etc.

Only rarely is what is spelled *s* pronounced [z]; this is the case in the words *president*, *presidium*, *universita*, *filosofie*, *gymnasium*, regularly in the ending *-ismus*, in forms of words such as *kurs*, *puls* (which have [s] in nom. sg.), in the gen., dat., or loc. sg. *kursu*, *pulsu*, instr. sg. *kursem*, *pulsem*, in nom. pl. *kursy*, *pulsy*, etc., and in words such as *kursov$\overset{\text{né}}{\text{ý}}$* (from *kurs*), *pulsovat* (from *puls*), etc.

In words in which double spelling is allowed, either etymological *s* or according to pronunciation *z*, only the latter (voiced) pronunciation is allowed; cf. *pausa* or *pauza* pron. only [-za], *poesie* or *poezie* [-zi-], *organisovat* or *organizovat* [-zo-], etc. There are a few words which are exceptions because both a dual spelling and a dual pronunciation is literary, cf. *desert* or *dezert*, *resignace* or *rezignace*, *resistence* or *rezistence*, *resonance* or *rezonance*, *pinseta* or *pinzeta*, etc.

In some fully assimilated loans only *z* is spelled, in agreement with the pronunciation, helping to support the stabilization of their literary pronunciation, cf. *krize*, *inzerát*, *traverza*, *drezúra*, *bazén*, *fáze*, *sezóna*, etc. (see ~~p. 65~~ §31, A II 5).

3. The cluster spelled with the letter *x* is pronounced in some words voiceless [ks], in others voiced [gz]. Voiced [gz] is pronounced in *ex-* before a vowel or before *h*: *existence*, *exemplář*, *exotický*, *exhumace*, etc. Elsewhere, pronunciation is [ks]: *exkurse*, *expedice*, *praxe*, *taxa*, *text*, *maximální*, etc.

4. The letters *th*, written in very technical words (such as *dithyramb*) and in some more widely used words which are spelled both with the original *th* and with the spelling adapted to Czech, i.e. with *t* alone (e.g. *these*, or *teze*, *thema* or *téma*, *pathos*, or *patos*, *the* or *té*), are read as a rule as [t], rarely as [tch]; cf. also ~~p. 64~~ §31. A II 2.

B. Sometimes substandard pronunciation of loanwords differs from the spelling in words where literary orthography and pronunciation do agree. This is the case especially in the following examples:

1. The letter *k* before a vowel or *r*, *l* has the standard pronunciation [k] (not [g] which is either Common Czech or dialectal), e.g. *demokracie*, *dekret*, *krém*, *brikety*, *cyklus*, *motocykl*, *balkón*, *lokál*, etc. Dual pronunciation is allowed only rarely, cf. *inkoust* [ink-] or [ing-], *plakát* [-kát] or [-gát] and *akát* [-kát] or [-gát].

2. The sequence *sch* in words like *schéma*, *ischias*, *regenschori* are pronounced as spelled and also ~~in agreement~~ agree with the

original Greek or Latin pronunciation [sch] (not š as is the German sequence sch).

Note. Of course in proper names which are German or of German origin the spelling sch is pronounced [š], as in Schiller, Fischer, Schulz, Schönbrunn (in Vienna), etc.; Czechs bearing such names often write the cluster as š: Fišer, Šulc, etc.

3. The initial clusters written sp, st, sk (as in the words spekulace, sport, studovat, styl, instalatér, skica) are pronounced as spelled and not [šp, št, šk] as is the case in Common Czech (športka) or in slang (škicák), or often in terms indicating expressiveness (špekulace, inšpekce pejoratively). This pronunciation has however partially penetrated into standard Czech (and the pronunciation is also partially reflected in spelling), e.g. in the words spurt or špurt, skandál (expressively škandál), skot (škot 'a miser').

Folk terms (often obsolete) occur only with šp, št, šk, cf. dišputát, diškurs, diškutýrovat, diškrece, etc.

4. It is affected and substandard to preserve sounds foreign to Czech, e.g. the pronunciation of French nasals in words such as abonnement [abonmá], engagement [angažmá], impromptu [emprompt~~y~~i] etc., and even more so in sequences spelled en, in, em, im in international terms from Latin elements, as in dementovat, impresionismus, zainteresovat, etc. (the correct pronunciation agrees

with the spelling [-men-, im-, -in-]). The same is true of the French pronunciation of the sequences gi, ge as [ži, že] in words of Latin or Greek origin such as energie, geniální. This pronunciation is unnatural in Czech.

The pronunciation of the sequence ge as [je] is substandard (archaic and expressive) in words such as generál.

It is also affected to preserve in loanwords stress on other than the first syllable (following the stress of the original language, e.g. in kolchoz from Russian, impromptu from French, etc.). This is distinct from a citation in a foreign language when a pronunciation as close as possible to the appropriate language is in order.

Bibliography. The principles and rules of Czech pronunciation can be found in Hála 1955ff. ←----- written in agreement with the proceedings of the orthoepic commission of the Ústav pro jazyk český of the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences. Also in agreement with this commission's proceedings is Jedlička 1954; the same volume (O mluveném slově 1954) contains a bibliography on p. 115. -- A systematic introduction to the problems of Czech orthoepy can be found in Weingart 1932; cf. also Chlumský 1933. -- The first summarization of orthoepic rules is Trávníček 1935, (2nd ed. 1940c).

On individual questions: The stress of prepositional phrases is recently discussed by Krčmová - Hrabáková 1964, and by Habětínová 1966.

Pronunciation of loanwords is covered by the basic study of Mathesius 1935 also included in his 1947 volume on pp. 110-129; this subject is also covered by Daneš 1965c. On the pronunciation of words borrowed from individual foreign languages as well as of foreign personal names cf. discussions in SaS, ČMF and NŘ listed in Daneš et al. 1954. The word

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list of Pravidla českého pravopisu as well as its school edition indicate copious examples of borrowed words indicating their pronunciation as does also the recently completed academy dictionary Slovník spisovného jazyka českého 1960-1971.

II. Orthography

§28. Language is recorded by means of written or printed symbols. The set of these symbols is called the alphabet. In our system of writing we have letters and diacritics.

The letters which we use are Latin in origin and called the Roman alphabet. For Czech, the original Latin letters are augmented by differentiating diacritic symbols, i.e. with a *háček* (*č*, *š*, *t'*, *d'*...), a *čárka* (*á*, *é*...), and a *kroužek* (*ů*). The diacritic called *čárka* (over *u* also the *kroužek*: *ů*) is used ~~as a rule~~ to distinguish long vowels from their short counterparts. The *'* is the form of the *háček* used with 'tall' letters

In addition to the alphabet, we also make use in writing of punctuation marks such as the period, the comma, the semicolon, the colon, etc. (see §36).

The way in which these graphic symbols represent any given language is called its spelling system or orthography. Orthographic rules are the norm for the spelling of the standard variety of a language.

The most recent basic codification of Czech orthography dates from 1957 and is published in *Pravidla českého pravopisu*. The 1966 edition contains minor modifications which were deemed necessary (especially in the spelling of individual loanwords, of certain words with the prefixes *s-*, *z-*, etc.). In addition to these editions published by the Academy, there is a school edition dating from

1958 with its most recent reprinting in 1968 containing the changes of the 1966 Academy edition. The school edition has a shortened and simplified introduction to Czech spelling and in the alphabetical listing contains also notes on forms of individual words.

The Czech spelling system, because of its use of diacritics, is called diacritic in contrast to the digraph system (see §250, 2 and 3).

The Representation of Sounds by Letters

§29. Czech uses an alphabet; every independent sound is as a rule represented by a separate letter.

The digraph ch, though a combination of the letters c and h is also considered a letter of the Czech alphabet where it follows the letter h.

Letters symbolize only independent sounds or phonemes i.e. sounds which help to distinguish meanings and thus are important for communication, but not the variants of these sounds; thus, in Czech there is no letter for the voiced variant of ch [ɣ], the voiceless variant of ř [ř̭], or for the velar variant of n [ŋ] (cf. §9.1; 15.1). The symbols in brackets are used only for phonetic transcription, for example in accurate recording of dialects, to aid in the pronunciation of a foreign language, etc.

The principle of using a different letter for each different phoneme has some exceptions, these exceptions are different in native words and in those of foreign origin.

Native Czech words have the following exceptions:

1. Two different letters represent the same sound: i (í) and y (ý) both represent the sound [i] ([í]) as in bil - byl, píchá - pýcha, etc.; both ú and ů represent the sound [ú] as in útok, neúčinný, důraz, úmyslů, etc.

2. The palatal consonants are symbolized with the letters d', t', ň (lod'ka, t'al, trat', píseň, vzňal se), but in the syllables di, ti, ni, dí, tí, ní, dě, tě, ně, the vowel letters symbolize also the softness of the preceding consonant (divadlo [d'ivadlo], tisknout [t'isknout], dívat se, [d'ívat se], cítit [cít'it], horník [horňík]; dělník [d'elňík], těleso [t'eleso], někdo [ňegdo]).

3. After the labials b, p, v, f, the letter ě represents two sounds, j plus e (běh [bjech], pěst [pjest], věc [vjec], fěrtoch [fjertoch]), and after the consonant m also two sounds which are as a rule ň and e (město [mňesto]). There is thus no difference in the pronunciation of bje, vje and bě, vě (objel - oběd, objeti - obětí ~~and~~ all [obje-]) and between mně and mě.

4. In the paired consonants (such as b-p, z-s... see §15) whenever a voiced one, or a voiced cluster, falls at the end of a word where it undergoes devoicing, the spelling retains the voiced consonant symbol:

a) whenever the voiced consonant or consonant cluster occurs in other forms of the same word or in related words (*chléb* - *chleba* [chlép] - [chleba], *soutěž* - *soutěže* [sout'eš] - [sout'eže], *než* - *nežli* [neš] - [nežli], *příjezd* - *příjezdu* [příjest] - [příjezdu]);

b) sometimes this is only the result of established writing tradition e.g. (*když* [gdiš], *až* [aš], etc., which as a rule goes back to the word's original (-*ž* from -*že*).

5. Whenever two or more paired consonants (voiced and voiceless) occur in a sequence, the spelling differs from the pronunciation in that, although the whole sequence is pronounced either voiced or unvoiced, the initial sound is spelled with a voiced or voiceless consonant symbol contrary to the pronunciation:

a) whenever the voiced or voiceless consonant occurs in other forms of the word or in related words before a vowel (*hladký* - *hladit* [hlatkí] - [hlad'it], *předzpěv* - *předehra* [přetspjef] - [předehra], *prosba* - *prosit* [prozba] - [prosit] etc.);

b) according to the derivation of the word (*množství* [mnošství], *družstvo* [društvo], *rozšiřovat* [rosšiřovat] etc.).

c) according to established tradition (*způsob* [spúsop], *zpěv* [spjef] etc.).

Paired *v* - *f* in native words is in such cases always spelled *v* (*všední* [fšední], *všichni* [fšichňi], *dávka* [dáfka] etc.); before a vowel *v* and *f* are of course distinguished and *f* is also written (*doufá* - *nadouvá* [doufá] - [nadouvá], *foukat* [foukat] etc.).

6. Spelling of consonant clusters may differ from their pronunciation also in other ways. Two identical or similar consonant letters are written even where only one consonant is pronounced (*kamenný*, *jednoramenný* [-ení], *měkký* [-ekí], *dražší* [-aší], *pražští* [-ašt'í], *vítězství* [-eství]). Similarly we preserve in writing other consonant clusters which in the standard pronunciation become merged or otherwise changed (see §26); we write *dětský* [d'ecký] (but *děcko* where the letter *c* already is in agreement with the pronunciation), *větší* [vječí], *chudší* [chučí], *ctnost* (spelled in agreement with *čest*, *cti*) [cnost], *srdce* [srce], *dcera* [cera] etc. In both cases the spelling reflects the composition of the word (i.e., it is morphophonemic), and sometimes also the origin of the word.

§30. Of the deviations from the principle of one symbol for one sound in native Czech words, the following need to be explained in more detail:

I. When to write *i*, *í* and *y*, *ý*.

The letters *h*, *ch*, *k*, *r* (the so-called 'hard' consonants) must be followed by *y*, *ý* (*hynout*, *hýbat*, *chyba*, *měchýř*, *kynout*, *kýta*, *ryba*, *rýt*, etc.)

An exception to this rule (besides loanwords, see §30.A.II ~~p. 64~~) is found in words of interjectional origin such as *hihi*, *chichotat se*, *kikiriky* (or *kykyryký*).

The letters *j*, *ž*, *š*, *č*, *ř*, and *c* (the so-called 'soft' consonants) must be followed by *i*, *í* (*jistý*, *jíst*, *živý*, *žít*, *široký*, *šít*, *čistý*, *číslo*, *hřib*, *říci*, *cit*, *cítit*, etc.).

The letters *d*, *t*, *n* are followed by *y*, *ý* if they symbolize an alveodental (hard) consonant (*jindy*, *dýchat*, *ty*, *týkat se*, *nynější*, *nýbrž*); if, however, they symbolize a palatal (soft) consonant they are followed by *i*, *í* (*divoký* [d'ivokí], *dítě* [d'ít'e], *ticho* [t'icho], *tíseň* [t'íseň], *nikdo* [ňigdo], *níž* [ňíš], etc., see also §29.2).

The letters *b*, *f*, *l*, *m*, *p*, *s*, *v*, *z* (the so-called 'ambiguous' consonants) are sometimes followed by *i*, *í* and at other times by *y*, *ý*.

> The symbol *i* is sometimes called *jota* and the symbol *y* *ypsilon* according to the names of the corresponding Greek letters.

1. The letters *y*, *ý* are written after ambiguous consonants in the stems of the following words:

After *b*: *být* (*byt*, *dobytek*, *nábytek*, *příbytek*, *zbytek*, *obyvatel*, *bydlit* etc.), *obyčej*, *bystrý* (*Bystřice*), *bylina*, *kobyla* (*Kobylisy*), *býk*, *babyka*; the proper nouns *Bydžov*, *Přibyslav*, *Zbyněk* etc.

Remember to spell *bít*, *bije*... 'to beat', *bidlo* 'rod' but *být* (*jsem*...) 'to be', and *bydlo* 'livelihood'.

After *l*: *slyšet*, *mlýn*, *blýskat se*, *polykat*, *plynout* (*plyn*), *plýtvat*, *lýko*, *lysý*, *lýtko*, *lyže*, *pelyněk*, *vzlykat*, *slynouti*, plyš, plytký, vlys; the proper nouns Lysolaje, Volyně, etc.

Remember to spell mlít 'to grind' (but mlýn 'mill'), lis, lišaj, lišej.

After m: my (pron 1st sg.), mýt, hmyz, myslit (also myslet), (smysl, průmysl, myslivec, Přemysl, Nezamysl), mýlit se, myš, hlemýžď, mýto (Mýto), mýtit, mykat (zamykat, vymykat se, přimykat se), smýkat (smyčec, průsmyk), dmýchat, chmýří, nachomýtnout se, mys; the proper nouns Kamýk, Lytomyšl, etc.

Remember the difference between mi (dat. of the personal pronoun já) and my (nom. pl.), mít 'to own' and mýt 'to wash', vymítat 'to expel' and vymýtit 'to clear (a forest)'.

After p: pýcha (pýchavka, přepych), pytel (pytlák), pysk, netopýr, slepýš, pyl, kopyto, klopýtat, třpytit se, zpytovat, pykat, pýr, pýří, pýřit se, čepýřit se; the proper nouns Pyšely, Spytihněv etc.

Remember to write píchat 'to prick' and pisk 'whistling' or '~~stalk of a~~ pin feather' but pysk 'lip'.

After s: sytý, syn, sýr (syrovátka), syrový, syrý, sychravý, usychat (also usýchat), sýkora, sysel, sýček, syčet, sypat (sypký, sýpka, osypky); the proper noun Bosyně, etc.

Remember to spell sirup (also sirob), sípat and sirý bookish for 'orphaned' but syrý poetic for 'raw, damp'.

After v: vy- vý- (the prefix in vyhodit, výborný, etc.), vy (pron. 2nd pl.), vykat, vysoký (Vysočany, Vyšehrad), vydra, výr, zvykat (obvyklý), žvýkat, výt, výskat, povyk, vyza, vyžle, *cavyky*; the proper names *Vyškov*, *Výtoň*, etc.

Remember to spell *vískat* 'to run ones fingers through ones hair', *vír* 'a whirl', *vít* 'to braid', but *výskat* 'to whoop', *výr* 'eagle owl,' *výt* 'to howl' and also *viset* (*visím*..., *visutý*) 'to hang,' *vidět* 'to see,' etc.

After *z*: *brzy*, *jazyk*, *nazývat* (*ozývat se*, *vyzývat*, *vzývat*); the personal noun *Ryzyně*.

Remember to write *brzíčko* 'very soon' (it is formed with the suffix -*ičko* just like *maličko* is from *málo*), *zívat* 'to yawn,' *nazívat se* 'to yawn a lot,' but *nazývat* 'to name.'

Surnames sometimes do not follow orthographic rules so that we find both *Syrovátka* and *Sirovátka*, *Synek* and *Sinek*, etc.

The letters *y*, *ý* are written in all the words which are formed from or compounded with the above mentioned stems, c.f. *byt*, *obyvatel*, *živobytí*, *starobylý* (from *být*), *splývat*, *vyplývat*, *plynoměr* (from *plynout*), *lýkovec* (from *lýko*), *umývadlo* and *umyvadlo* (from *mýt*), *myšlenka* (from *myslit*), *omyl* (from *mýlit se*), *pyšný* (from *pýcha*), *jazykozpyt* (from *zpytovat*), *zlosyn* (from *syn*), *zasypávat*, *sypký* (from *sypat*), *zvýšit* (from *vysoký*), *zlozvyk* (from *zvykat*), *cizojazyčný*, *jazykověda* (from *jazyk*) etc.

The following suggestions will help to remember when to spell *i*, *í* and *y*, *ý*:

Wherever *ý* is written after ambiguous consonants (or in other forms of the word or related words also *y*), the Common Czech pronunciation as a rule is [ej]: *mýdlo* [mejdlo], *bývalý* [bejvalej], *výška* [vejška], *sýpka* [sejpka], etc. Only after the consonants *z*, *s*, *c* is [ej] pronounced also where the standard orthography demands *í* as for example in *vozík* [vozejk], *nosík* [nosejk], *cítit* [cejt'it], *cícha* [cejcha], etc.

The long *í* is written where in another form of the same word or in a related word we find *e* or *ě*: *vítr* - *větru*, *víska* - *ves*, *míra* - *měřit*, *smích* - *smějí* *se*, etc. (see §14.2 and §19.1a).

2. The writing of *i* or *y* after ambiguous consonants in the endings of substantives and adjectives depends on whether the word belongs to a hard or soft declension class.

a) In the endings of soft nouns (i.e. in the endings of those declined like *muž*, *stroj*, *nůše*, *moře* and of soft adjectives declined like *jarní*) as well as in the endings of substantives declined like *píseň*, *kost* and *stavení*, only *i* (*í*) is written, cf. the dat. and loc. sg. *učiteli*, *pytli*, *chvíli*, *hrázi*, *obuvi*, *poli*, *obydlí*, the instr. pl. *učiteli*, *pytli*, *penězi*, *poli*, the forms of adjectives declined like *jarní* such as *cizí* *jazyk*, *cizímu* *jazyku*, *z* *cizích* *zemí*,... *o* *včelím* *medu*, etc.

b) In endings of hard substantives declined like *hrad*, *předseda*, *žena*, *město* only *y* is written, cf. gen. sg. as well as nom. and acc. pl. vrby, lípy, nom. and acc. pl. stoly, vozy, instr. pl. stoly, nemluvy, křídly, družstvy, etc.

c) In endings of hard masculine animate substantives declined like pán in the nom. pl. the spelling is with i (holubi, psi - like páni) but in the acc. and instr. pl. we find (holuby, psy - like pány).

d) The letter i, í is in the suffix -mi in the endings of instr. pl. (-ami, -emi or -ěmi, mi, ími, ými): ženami, nůšemi, kostmi, obydlími, orlími, zdravými, in the ending -ích in loc. pl. nouns: o učitelích, v pytlích, v lesích, ve směsích, na polích, etc., and in the ending -ovi in dat. and loc. sg. masculine nouns: pánovi, mužovi, předsedovi, etc.

Cf. also §37.2d and in more detail in appropriate portions of the section on noun declension.

After the so-called 'soft' consonants which here include c, i is spelled also in the endings of nouns declined like the hard classes, e.g. the gen. of Píša is Píši, of Vašica - Vašici, of Růža - Růži, of skica - skici, etc. (cf. section on declension §73.2). ~~Some~~ a few masculine common nouns ending in -c and declined like the hard class hrad (tác - tácu), however, have y in the nom., acc., and instr. pl. (tácy etc. see §70.1.).

II. The writing of ú (with a čárka) and ů (with a kroužek). The letter ú is written in the following positions:

a) in word initial position (*úřad*, *údolí*, *úloha*, *úmysl*, *ústí*, *ústřední*),

b) in derived words after a prefix (*neúroda*, *bezúčelný*, *zúčastnit se*) and in compound words after the first part of the compound (*trojúhelník*),

c) in the interjections *bú*, *hú*, *cukrú*, *vrkú*, etc.,

d) occasionally in medial position in the word *ocún* and in a number of loanwords such as *fúze* (*transfúze*), *fúrie*, *múza*, *drúza*, *kúra*, *túra*, *túje*, *drezúra*, *ragú*, *manikúra*, *pedikúra*, *Porúří*, *skútr*, etc., consistently in substandard loanwords such as *mundúr*, *pozitúra*, etc.

> *Note*. In loanwords with the ending -*ura*, -*urka*, such as *kultura*, *brožurka*, what is pronounced [ú] is as a rule not written with a long *ú*, see §31, II, 6.

In medial and word final position the spelling requires *ů*:

a) medially where in another form of the word or in a related word we find *o*: *důl* - *dolu*, *dolní*, *můj* - *moje*, *bratrův* - *bratrova*, *můžeš* - *mohu*, *stůj* - *stojím*, *průchod* - *procházet*, etc.;

b) in the endings of some cases of substantives; in gen. pl. *mužů*, *strojů*, in dat. pl. *mužům*, *strojům*, *městům*, etc.;

c) in the endings of the adverbs *domů*, *dolů*.

The symbol *ů* is spelled also in a few loanwords such as *trůn*, *blůza*, *lůza* (also *luza*), *růž* (also *rouge*); and the completely assimilated loan *růže*.

The above as a rule originally had -o-, cf. Lat. rosa > růže etc.

In some native words in which ů is written, the kinship to a related word with o is now lost, e.g. půjčit (from earlier požitčiti cf. požitky), vůbec (from earlier v obec), vůči (from earlier v oči), etc.

III. The letter ě, when preceded by labials. What is pronounced [je] is spelled two ways after the labials b, p, v, f. As a rule the spelling is ě: oběd, zpěv, vědět, fěrtoch; hríbě, lípě, v trávě, na harfě, etc. Only in words with the prefixes ob-, v-, where the ~~root~~ stem of the word begins with the syllable je-, do we spell -je- in agreement with the composition of the word: objednat (jednat), objevit (jevit, zjevit), objem, vjem (zájem), vjezd, vjet (sjezd, sjet), etc.

The syllable pronounced [mňe] is spelled either mě, or mně. The spelling is mně whenever the sequence mň (mn) occurs in related words: zapomněl (pomníti), domněnka (domnívat se), rozumně (rozumný); the same spelling appears in dat. and loc. of the pronoun já (mně to dal, o mně). The spelling is, however, mě in the words město, měkký, měřit, změna, rozumět (rozum), tamější (tam), soukromě (soukromý) etc. and in the endings of substantives (dat. and loc. sg. f. zimě, los. sg. m. v domě etc.), because other forms of the same word or related words have only m: místo, míra, rozumí, tam, soukromý, zima, dům, etc.;

the spelling with *m* alone is also in the acc. (and in gen.) sg. of the pronoun *já* (*vidíš mě*), (ptal se mě).

IV. The writing of the prepositions and prefixes *s*, *z*. The prepositions *s* and *z* as well as the prefixes *s-*, *z-* are by origin, and up to a point in the contemporary language, different in meaning; in pronunciation they are, however, frequently not differentiated. This is due to the fact that the non-syllabic preposition and prefix *s* (like other paired consonants) is assimilated in voice to the following voiced paired consonant and assumes a voiced pronunciation, e.g. *s bratrem* [z], *s dítětem* [z], *sbírat* [z-], *s dostatek* [z-], etc. And conversely the non-syllabic preposition and prefix *z* is assimilated to the following paired voiceless consonant and assumes a voiceless pronunciation, e.g. *z cihel* [s], *z knihy* [s], *ztratil* [s-], *zčernal* [s-], etc. However in other positions where we do not have conditions for assimilation, the two forms are differentiated in pronunciation: *s námi*, *s ním* - *z nás*, *z něho*, *svolat* - *zvolat*, *směnit* - *změnit*, etc. (see ~~p. 43)~~ § 26.1c).

The writing of the prefixes *s-*, *z-* is therefore not always in agreement with pronunciation but is in principle determined by meaning. The writing of the prepositions *s*, *z* is determined primarily by the case of the noun with which it combines.

1. The prepositions *s* and *z* (*se* and *ze*)

a) Only the preposition *s*, *se* combines with the locative case (where it has the meaning of association in a broad sense) as in *s ním*, *s námi*, *se sestrou*, *se mnou*, *s bratrem*, *s nadšením*, *s úspěchem*, etc.

b) With the genitive case is combined most frequently the preposition *z* and *s* only to a limited extent.

The preposition *z* (ze) when combined with a substantive is used primarily to indicate the following:

origin or material: *z kamene*, *ze dřeva*, in the transferred meaning: *pochází z Prahy*, *prst' z bojiště*, etc.;

a whole, from which a part is excepted: *jeden z nás*, *nejlepší ze třídy*;

manner, *degree*, *reason and instigation*: *znát z doslechu*, *milovat z celého srdce*, *radost z úspěchu*, *nemoc z nastydnutí*, *udělat to z lásky k někomu*;

a starting point in time or place: *jíst z talíře*, *vstat ze židle*, *přijít z náměstí*, *z lesa*, *odejet z pátého nástupiště*, *vrátit se z hor*, *přenášet z květu na květ*, *hudba z gramofonových desek*, *ze soboty na neděli*, *ze dne na den*, etc.;

motion from within (see b above): *vyndat ze stolu*, *ze skříne*, *vytékat ze skály*, *vyjít z domu*.

The preposition *z* is also used in all cases of transferred meaning: *sejít z cesty*, *z mysli* , *ze svatby sešlo*, *mluvit z cesty*, *snížit cenu z 50 kčs na 40 kčs*, *spadnout ze srdce*, *vzít z pořadu*, *pustit ze zřetele*, *ze strany*, *ze všech stran*, *z hlediska*, *ze stanoviska*, etc.

The preposition *s* (*se*) is used only in combination with names of tangible objects and parts of the body whenever the meaning is 'off the surface' or 'along the surface downward' (in contrast to the meaning 'from the inside of' expressed by the preposition *z*): *shodit se stolu*, *sundat se skříně* (but *vyndat ze stolu, ze skříně*), *slézt se skály*, *zvednout se země*, *stáhnout s prstu* (but *krev teče z prstu*), *dát klobouk s hlavy* (but *říkat z hlavy* 'from memory') etc. (Concerning the pronunciation of *s*, *se* see §26, 1c.)

The preposition *s* is also written in certain obsolete and regional set phrases in which it signifies a close succession in time as in the phrases *hodina s půlnoci*, *přijdeme s neděle*, etc.

c) The original combination of the preposition *s* with the acc. is preserved only in the bookish cliches *být s to*, *kdo s koho* and in dialectal expressions signifying approximation, e.g. *s hodinku si pospat*, *s pytel odnést*, etc.

2. The prefixes *s-* (*se-*), *z-* (*ze-*).

The prefixes *s-* and *z-* in verbs (and in nouns derived from them) are spelled in accord with their meaning, wherever the meaning is completely clear (*sbíhat se*, *zpozorovat*). Verb pairs formed with these prefixes, where *s-*, *z-* occur before unpaired voiced consonants, are as a rule distinguished also in pronunciation, e.g. *svolat* - *zvolat*, *směnit* - *změnit*, *sjednat* - *zjednat*, etc.; in other positions when *s-*, *z-* occurs before paired consonants, with which it assimilates according to voice, such pairs are distinguished only in writing, e.g. *spravit něco* -

zpravit *někoho*, *sběh* (*lidu*) - *zběh* (*vojenský*), etc.

a) The prefix *s-* is written primarily in two meaning groups (before *v* and before unpaired voiced consonants it is also pronounced [s], as in *svolat*, *sloučit*, *snést*, in its syllabic form [se-], in *sejít* *se*, *sestoupit*):

aa) wherever the verb (and words connected with it) having this prefix has the meaning 'heading together' (to one place, together): *sejít* *se*, *shromáždit* *se* (*shromáždění*), *smísit*, *slepit*, *sdružit se*, *sbírat* (*sbírka*), *spínat*, *skloubit*, *sblížit*, etc.;

bb) wherever the verb (and words connected with it) having this prefix has the meaning of 'direction downward' or 'away from a surface': *sestoupit* (*sestup*), *sejmout*, *setřít*, *smýt*, *sloupat*, *smazat*, *shodit*, *strhnout*, *svléci*, *spadnout*, etc.

b) The prefix *z-* is also written in two meaning groups (before *v* and before unpaired voiced consonants it is also pronounced [z], as in *zvolat*, *zničit*, *změnit* in its syllabic form [ze-], in *zevšednět*, *zesměšnit*):

aa) wherever it helps form a simple perfective verb expressing a resulting action corresponding to a basic imperfective verb: *změnit* (*měnit*), *zranit*, *zrušit*, *zpozorovat*, *ztlouci*, *zkombinovat*, *zkonstruovat*, *zorganizovat*, etc.;

bb) wherever it forms perfective verbs (and imperfectives derived from them) directly from substantives or adjectives with the meaning 'to make' or 'become what the basic word means: *znázornit*, *znechutit*, *zhudebnit*, *zobecnit*, *zesměšnit*, *zdokonalit*, *ztělesnit* (*znázorňovat*, *znechucovat*...) etc.

Whenever we cannot classify a word with the prefix *s-*, *z-* into one of the above meaning groups, we follow the traditional spelling; this tradition usually agrees with the pronunciation, e.g. *sklesnout*, *sklidit*, *skončit*, *spáchat*, *splatit*, *strpět*, *spolknout*, *spotřebovat*, *stvořit*, *sužovat*, *sezobat*; *zběh*, *zboží*, *zřídit*, etc. In the same way we ~~also~~ write the prefix *s-* also in several cases stabilized by tradition (e.g. *strávit*), even though the prefix in these cases has an aspectual meaning (signifying perfectiveness).

In several traditionally established cases we write contrary to the pronunciation *z-* (mostly in words which are no longer felt as derived by a prefix), e.g. *zkoušet* (*zkouška*), *zkoumat*, *zpět*, *zpěv*, *zpívat*, *zpověď'*, *zpravit*, *zprostit*, *zpupný*, *způsob*, *zpytovat*, *ztéci* (*hradby*), *ztepilý*.

Note. ~~Currently~~ Now the following verbs ~~are~~ are being written with *z-*. *zdrhnout* (to crease, to join with a zipper' -- in contrast to the more rare *sdrhnout* 'to scrub off from a surface') and *zkreslit* ('to distort' - in contrast to the technical term *skreslit* 'to join in one drawing'), with the prefix *s-* the verbs *scípat*, *schrupnout si*, *schumlat*, *skropit*, *schvátit*, *splasknout*, *splichtit*, *strnout* and *smontovat*.

Preceding h, the prefix s- is written wherever it was there originally and in agreement with the pronunciation current in Bohemia [sch-] (with the exception of cases of deviant pronunciation in words like shora, shluk, etc., see §76, 1a b) e.g. shořet, shledat, shnít, shromáždění, etc.) the prefix z- wherever it was there originally and in agreement with the pronunciation current in Bohemia but also in agreement with the Moravian pronunciation, e.g. zhostit se, zhlédnout, etc.

c) The writing of the prefixes s- and z- in some cases distinguishes meanings (sometimes very conspicuously, sometimes less so) in pairs of words which are in all other respects identical (in some cases also identical in pronunciation and differentiated only in writing); some of them are the following:

sběh 'concourse'	-	zběh 'deserter'
sběhnout se 'to gather'	-	zběhnout se 'to happen'
		zběhlo se 'it happened'
zpráva, spravit (something)	-	zpráva, zpravit (someone)
stěžovat si 'to complain'	-	ztěžovat 'to make difficult'
stvrdit 'to certify'	-	ztvrdit 'to harden'
sužovat 'to vex'	-	zužovat 'to make narrow'
sbít 'to beat together'	-	zbít 'to beat' (someone)
stlouci 'to knock together'	-	ztlouci 'to beat up' (someone)
skopat 'to kick down or together'	-	zkopat 'to kick' (someone)
shlédnout 'to look down from above'	-	zhlédnout 'to catch a glimpse c
strhat 'tear down'	-	ztrhat 'to ~~strain~~ exhaust'
svrhnout 'to throw down'	-	zvrhnout 'to capsize'

d) The prefixes *s-*, *z-* in adverbs derived from prepositional phrases (the so-called adverbial compounds, see §162, 7a) are spelled in agreement with the preposition of the original phrase, e.g. *sbohem*, *stěží*, *shora*, *sdostatek* (originally *s* + acc., see above), *zcela*, *zčásti*, *zleva*, *zprava*, *ztěžka*, *zticha*, etc.

> The following rule can in some cases help us determine when to write the prefix *s-* and when *z-*: if a related word has *se-*, we spell *s-* (*sbírat*, *sbor* as in *sebrat*); if a related word has *ze-*, we spell *z-* (*zdírat* as in *zedřu*).

§31. The spelling of loanwords. In the spelling of words borrowed into Czech from foreign languages, we distinguish common words from proper nouns.

A. Loanwords which are *common* are spelled partly according to the rules of Czech orthography and partly according to their original spelling:

I. The words which keep their *original spelling*, i.e. retain the spelling of the language of origin, are those limited to a narrow circle of users, narrowly technical and bookish words and words having the character of international signs (in chemistry, etc.), e.g. *lawn-tennis*, *quadriennium*, *netto*, *watt*, *wolfram*, *ruthenium*, etc.; also words (for the most part French and English), which although partly assimilated, have a pronunciation which is strikingly different from their spelling (cf. *bulletin* [biltén], *causerie* [kózrí], *interview* [intervjú], *handicap* [hendikep], *outsider* [autsajdr], *resumé*, *résumé* [rezimé,] etc.). They are mostly bookish words encountered most frequently in writing.

> We consistently use the original orthography in writing foreign quotations from languages using the Roman alphabet (they are of course pronounced as closely as possible to their original pronunciation); this flavor of foreign quotation is also found in musical expressions: *ad hoc* [-ók], *fair play* [fér plej], *chef-d'oeuvre* [šédévr]; *allegro*, *capriccio* [kapričo], etc.).

II. The words spelled with Czech orthography (according to their standard Czech pronunciation) are assimilated loans widely used in the language as well as current technical terms, e.g. *bazén* *sféra*, *fráze*, *krize*, *hokej*, *repertoár*, *atlet*, *adresa*, *buldozer*, *fotbal*, *ilegální*, etc.

> Of course boundaries between assimilated and unassimilated loans are not always easy to determine; for that reason, some words have a double spelling, e.g. *engagement* or *angažmá*; *essay* or *esej*, *budget* or *budžet*; cf. especially double spelling with *th* and *t*, *s* and *z* vacillation in writing of long vowels; see also 2.5 and 6 below.

However, also in words written with Czech orthography the relationship between spelling and pronunciation is in ~~some~~ a number of cases somewhat different from that valid for native words (cf. §27). The most frequent differences are the following:

1. The letter *x* is used in them; it symbolizes two consonants in pronunciation [ks] or [gz] (*text*, *praxe*, *existovat*, *exemplář*, etc.); see §27 A. 3.

2. In a very small number of words (and their derivatives) the spelling of original *th* is allowed along side with the assimilated spelling *t*, e.g. *téma* or *théma*, *teze* or *these*, *mýtus* or *mythus*, *teologie* or *theologie*, *éter* or *ether*, (narrowly technical words are, of course, spelled only with *th* and so are some obsolete words such as *dithyramb*, *paramythie*, see §27 A. 4.

> Words which originally had *th* are as a rule written with *t* alone, e.g. *atlet*, *matematika*, *metoda*, *teorie* and many others. In proper nouns *th* is of course preserved, e.g. *Thukydides*, *Thermopyly*, *Thajsko*, etc.

3. The letter *i* does not signal the softness of preceding *d*, *t*, *n* (does not help spell [d', t', ň] and the sequence *di*, *ti*, *ni* merely symbolizes the pronunciation [di, ti, ni], e.g. *dialekt*, *diktát*, *kritika*, *politika*, *organizace*, *nikotin*, etc.

4. After orthographically 'hard' consonants which in native words may be followed only by *y*, loanwords may, according to the spelling of the original, have *i* e.g. *historie*, *chirurg*,

kilogram, *kritika*, etc.); *c*, on the other hand, is sometimes followed by *y* (*cyclus*, *cyklostyl*, *motocykl*, etc. but *circus*, *cimbál*, etc.).

In completely assimilated loans we find, regardless of the original spelling, *y* after *r*, *d*, *t*, *n*, *k* (*h*, *ch*), e.g. *rytíř*, *krokodýl*, *bernardýn*, *terpentýn*, *kantýna*, *pionýr*, *kýč*, *kyz*, *kyt*, etc.

5. What is pronounced [z] between two vowels is also spelled *z* in most cases, but the original spelling with *s* may be preserved alongside with it, e.g. *pauza* - *pausa*, *epizoda* - *episoda*, *fyzika* (*metafyzika*) - *fysika* (*metafysika*), *poezie* - *poesie*, *rezoluce* - *resoluce*, *dezinfekce* - *desinfekce*, *revize* - *revise*, *organizovat* - *organisovat*, *analýza* - *analysa*, *nervóza* - *nervosa*, etc. Only some completely assimilated loans are now written only with *z*, e.g. *bazén*, *bizam*, *bizon*, *dóza*, *drezúra*, *fáze*, *fráze*, *fréza*, *garnizóna*, *gejzír*, *chryzantéma*, *inzerát* (*inzerovat*), *klozet*, *kombinéza*, *korzár*, *krize*, *kurtizána*, *majonéza*, *polonéza*, *protéza*, *rizoto*, *sezóna*, *traverza*, *váza*.

In some words we have two spellings with *z* and with *s*, which is really the reflection of a dual standard pronunciation, and these are not, therefore mere spelling doublets, cf. *dezert* or *desert*, *rezignace* or *resignace*, etc., see §27 A. 2.

A number of words have only the spelling *s* between vowels for what is pronounced [z], cf. *president*, *universita*, *filosof*, *filosofie*, *gymnasium*, always in the suffix -*ismus* as in *socialismus*, *komunismus*, etc., and also in forms of words such as *kursu* [kurzu] - *kurs*, *impulsu* [-zu] - *impuls*, *komparzu* [-zu] - *kompars*, *reversu* [-zu] - *revers*, *pulsu* [-zu] - *puls*, and in words derived from them such as *pulsovat* [-zo-] from *puls*, *kursovně* from *kurs*, etc. See §27 A. 2.

6. Loanwords which have a stabilized standard pronunciation with a long vowel reflect this length also in the spelling both of stems and endings, e.g. *akvárium*, *konkrétní*, *schéma*, *sériový*, *tón*, *kostým*, *túra*, *estráda*, *spartakiáda*, *ateliér*, *kariéra*, *vatelín*, *disciplína*, *angažmá*, *balkón*, *dyftýn*, etc.

Sometimes the symbolization of vowel length fluctuates; this is true especially in words where what is pronounced [z] permits a dual spelling with *z* or *s*, fluctuation also appears in the endings -*ív*, -*íva*, -*ívní* which are also spelled -*iv*, -*iva*, -*ivní* (after ~~all~~ other consonants except *d*, *t*, *n* see below): *analýza* - *analysa*, *vízum* - *visum*, *celulóza* - *celulosa*, *nervózní* - *nervosní*, *archív* - *archiv*, *archívní* - *archivní*, *kurzíva* - *kursiva*, *ofenzívní* - *ofensivní*, etc.

Vowel length does not have to be indicated in technical terms for chemical elements and compounds when they are used in a technical text, e.g. *jod*, *brom*, *chrom*, *benzin*, *methylen*, *glycerin*, *ether*, etc. (in other texts the length is indicated, *jód*, *bróm*, *chróm*, *benzín*, *metylén*, *glycerín*, *éter*, etc.).

In some cases and under certain circumstances pronounced long vowels are not distinguished in spelling: for what is pronounced [dí, tí, ní] we have the spelling *di*, *ti*, *ni* (to prevent a possible pronunciation with a palatal [d', t', ň]), e.g. *recidiva*, *aktiv*, *kolektiv*, *serpentina*, etc.; the endings pronounced [-úra, -úrka] are as a rule spelled -*ura*, -*urka*, e.g. *kultura*, *literatura*, *inventura*, *brožura*, *brožurka*, etc. See §27A, 1.

B.1. Personal and geographic proper nouns from languages which use the Roman alphabet are as a rule written in their original spelling, frequently at variance with the pronunciation. E.g. *Goethe* [gé-], *Schiller* [ši-], *Engels* [-gls], *Thomas Mann*, *Rousseau* [rusó], *Shakespeare* [šejkspír]; *Karl-Marx-Stadt* [-štat], *Bordeaux* [-dó], *Cambridge* [kembridž], etc.

> Given names of foreign origin, especially when they are names of Czechs, are spelled with Czech orthographic rules (and just as in loanwords which are common nouns, length which does not fluctuate is indicated), cf. *Ludvík* (from *Ludwig*), *Alfréd* (from *Alfred*), *Otýlie* (from *Otilie*), *Ámos* (but also *Amos*) etc.
>
> Some geographic names (as a rule for those which are noteworthy for geographic or historical reasons) we use the long established Czech forms, as for example *Drážd'any* (*Dresden*), *Paříž* (*Paris*), *Londýn* (*London*), *Benátky* (*Venezia*), *Krakov* (*Kraków*), *Varšava* (*Warszawa*), etc.

2. Personal and geographic proper nouns from a language using other than the Roman alphabet, are spelled according to established rules of transliteration or transcription (rules

for transliterating names from languages using the Cyrillic alphabet are given in a special appendix to the *Pravidla českého pravopisu*).

Oriental names (Chinese, Korean, Indian, Arabic, etc.) are usually transcribed so as to indicate their original pronunciation (Chinese, Indian, etc., and not their French or English etc. pronunciation as was formerly the case), e.g. *Kalkata* (formerly Kalkuta), *Keňa* (formerly Kenya, Kenja), *Tanganika* [-ňi-] etc.

> Only in the transcription of Chinese names have some symbols been introduced which are unusual for Czech orthography (e.g. the writing of ' for a special indeterminate vowel, the spelling *t'* also before *i* and the writing of *ng* for the velar [ŋ], which in Chinese is a phoneme, a sound which distinguishes meanings (cf. *Jang-c'-t'iang*).

§32. *The writing of capital letters.* The orthography makes use of two shapes of the letters, the so-called lower case or small letters and upper case or capital letters. Both have the same sound value. Capital letters -- with the exception of their special use in symbols -- are used only at the beginnings of words. Such capitalization has a double value: a) for a word -- indicating the special character of what is designated, b) for a sentence -- indicating the beginning of a sentence unit.

I. Proper nouns and titles, playing the part of proper nouns have a capital initial letter. (Concerning proper nouns see §55a and §218).

Titles (mostly composed of several words, rarely one-word), are designations which in other circumstances are common, and which do not even in a given case lose their common meaning, but at the same time they serve to mark unique things which do not have a proper name but the uniqueness of which must be indicated (e.g. Ústav pro výzkum rud 'Ore Research Institute').

A. The spelling of capital letters in proper nouns and titles is guided by the following orthographic principles:

a) In a title composed of several common words, only the first word of the whole designation is capitalized, e.g. *Svaz sovětských socialistických republik* (*Sovětský svaz*), Socialistický *Československý svaz mládeže*, *Pražske papírny*, *Národní divadlo*, *Naše řeč* (a periodical), etc.

b) Whenever a multi-word title has a proper noun as a part, that noun preserves its capitalization, e.g. *Komunistická strana Československa*, *Ústav pro jazyk český československé academie věd*, *Ústí nad Orlicí*, *Králický Sněžník*, etc.

c) In some titles, especially geographic names containing a generic noun such as *poloostrov* 'peninsula,' *náměstí* 'square,' *ulice* 'street,' *most* 'bridge' etc. and an agreeing or not agreeing attribute, only the differentiating attribute is considered as the title and it is therefore capitalized whatever its position in the sentence may be, e.g. *Jaderské moře* or *moře Jaderské*, *poloostrov Balkánský* or *Balkánský poloostrov*, *Středočeský kraj* or *kraj Středočeský*, *náměstí Míru*, *třída Osvobozených politických vězňů*; but *nábřeží kapitána Jaroše*, *náměstí Krále Jiřího* (here the individual character of the closer designation is sufficiently marked by the proper noun -- Jaroše, Jiřího) etc.

d) In place names of more than one word, designating settlements all completely meaningful words with the exception of prepositional attributes are capitalized, e.g. *Malá Strana*, *Kutná Hora*, *Špindlerův Mlýn*, *Janské Lázně*, *Spišská Nová Ves*, etc.

In prepositional phrase attributes only a proper noun following the preposition is capitalized if such is a part of the attribute, cf. *Pec pod Sněžkou*, *Rokytnice v Orlických horách*, (the unique) *Hněvkovice na levém* (*pravém*) *břehu Vltavy* etc.; if such an attribute does not contain a proper noun, the first word following the preposition is capitalized, cf. *Kostelec nad Černými lesy*, *Kamenice nad Lipou*, *Lhota pod Strání*, *Hradiště na Písku* etc.

B. According to these principles the following proper nouns and titles are capitalized as follows:

1. Proper nouns and titles designating living beings (personal names, i.e. given names, surnames, nicknames, stage

names, animal names, names of nations, tribes and inhabitants as well as names of fairy-tale or unique supernatural beings): *Božena Němcová*, *Olbracht*, *Rek* (a dog), *Šemík* (a horse), *pták Ohnivák*, *racek Bílá perut'*; *Čech*, *Lužický Srb*, *Žid* (as a national), *Pražan*, *Brněnští*, *Červená karkulka* (*Karkulka*), *Krakonoš* (but *vodník*, *rusalka*) etc.

Posessive adjectives formed from the above proper nouns with the endings -*ův* (-*ova*, -*ovo*) and -*in* (-*ina*, -*ino*) are also capitalized, e.g. *Jiráskovo dílo*, *příběh Viktorčin*, *Hurvínkovy příhody*, etc. (but *leninské zásady*, *čapkovský humor* -- adjectives formed with the suffix *-ský*, *-ovský*).

Names of adherents of movements derived from the names of their founders, leaders etc. or from their place of origin, names of members of religious groups, associations, clubs and organizations, employees of factories are all not capitalized, e.g. *lumírovec*, *stachanovec*, *husité*, *pražané a táboři* (Hussites of the Prague and Tábor wings), *katolík*, *čeští bratří*, *sokol*, *pionýr*, *komsomolec*, *tatrovák* (slang), etc.

2. Placenames (names of continents, their parts, nations, regions, areas; names of islands, mountains, valleys etc., names of oceans, seas, lakes, rivers, etc., local names, i.e. of settlements and their parts, names of field and forest tracts, names of buildings and other significant structures) and names of heavenly bodies:

Evropa, Balkán, Morava, Polabí, Královéhradecko, Východ, Západ (but východ, západ as points of a compass); Středočeský kraj, kraj Jihomoravský (formerly kraj Pražský, Brněnský kraj, but pražský kraj 'the area around Prague'); only okres benešovský (the official title is okres Benešov); Cejlon, Střelecký ostrov, poloostrov Pyrenejský, Krkonoše, Jizerské hory, Český les, Českomoravská vrchovina, Vysoké Kolo, Dívčí kameny, Hornomoravský úval, Černé moře, Čertovo jezero, Skalnaté pleso, Volha, Vranovská přehrada;

Praha, Vršovice, Lhota;

Na poříčí, Na můstku, Na Smetance, U Santošky, náměstí krále Jiřího, Mánesův most, Vrchlického sady;

Obecní dům v (Praze), Kulturní dům v (Benešově), Pražský hrad (Hrad), Svatovítský chrám, Staroměstská radnice, Zimní stadión v (Praze, Brně and elsewhere); U hybernů, hostinec U tří lip, etc.;

Země, Měsíc, Slunce, Jupiter, Velký vůz, etc.

Note 1. In local placenames (settlements) all fully meaningful words (with the exception of special cases with attributive prepositional phrases, see above) are capitalized, but in geographical names, names of squares, parks, houses, etc. the specifying characterization is not capitalized according to the principles stated in c) and d) noted above.

2. Whenever the proper noun designating a street, a railroad line, a public house, etc. is a prepositional phrase, in addition to the preposition, the noun in it

is also capitalized whenever it itself is a proper noun in its own right, cf. *Na můstku*, *Na příkopě*, *Na pískách*, *U vodárny*, but *Na Smetance*, *Ke Karlovu*. When occurring within a sentence the capitalization, even in names of the first type, is shifted from the preposition to the noun, for example: *Šel jsem z Můstku na Příkopy*, *bydlím na Pískách* (cf. also the colloquial usage of this kind of naming in the nom. as in *Můstek*, *Příkopy*, etc.).

3. In names of administrative regional subdivisions such as *Praha-západ* or in names of railroad stations such as *Praha-střed*, *Ivančice-letovisko*, *Kornatice-rybník*, etc. the differentiating attribute following the noun is not capitalized if it is not in itself a proper noun (e.g. *Praha-Těšnov*, etc.).

4. When used in other than technical astronomical contexts the words *země*, *měsíc* and *slunce* are not capitalized, e.g. *při svitu měsíce*, *na horách svítí slunce*, etc.

3. The names of social institutions and other human creations (names of states and administrative units, official names of unique public institutions, political organizations, colleges and universities, institutes, establishments, business concerns, names of important historical events, names of actions, congresses, competitions, prizes and laws, names of festive and memorable days, titles of books, periodicals and musical, artistic and film creations, etc., names of some modes of

transportation, trademarks of serial products or kinds of goods, patent names of fruit trees and other plants, etc.)-- of course only the first word is capitalized (other words only when they are proper names per se), e.g.:

Československá socialistická republika, Bulharská lidová republika or Lidová republika bulharská, Království české;

Národní shromáždění, Západočeský krajský národní výbor, Místní národní výbor v (Oslavanech) (but: žádosti přijímá národní výbor, předsedové okresních narodních výborů, etc.), Československá lidová armáda, Sovětská armáda, Komunistická strana Československá, Revoluční odborové hnutí, Sdružení rodiců a přátel základní devítilete školy v (Praze 10);

Universita Karlova, Vysoká škola zemědělská, Výzkumný ústav pedagogický, Ústav pro jazyk český ČSAV, Národní divadlo, Československý rozhlas;

Státní pedagogické nakladatelství, Pramen, Důl Hlubina;

Dekret kutnohorský or Kutnohorský dekret, Ústava 9. května, Varšavská smlouva, Velká říjnová socialistická revoluce (Říjnová revoluce, Revoluce), Slovenské národní povstání, Velká vlastenecká válka (but: třicetiletá válka, druhá světová válka);

Stavba mládeže, Týden bezpečnosti, Desátý (X.) sjezd KSČ, Třetí (III.) celostatní spartakiáda, Divadelní žatva, Závod míru, Řád práce (but spartakiáda, národní umělec, zasloužilý mistr sportu), První máj, Mezinárodní den žen, Nový rok, Hod boží vánoční or Boží hod vánoční (but vánoce, velikonoce);

Babička, *Reportáž psaná na oprátce*, *Bible kralická* or *Kralická bible*, *Naše řeč* (periodical), *Mladá fronta* (newspaper), *Rusalka* (opera), *Z mého života* (a quartet by Smetana), *Píseň práce*, *Raněný* (a statue by Šturs);

Slovenská strela, *Ostravan* (express train);

automobil Spartak, *letadlo typu Iljušin*, *mýdlo Helada*, *cigareta Partyzánka*, *Blafácké zlato* (cheese), *Panenské české* (apple), *Sněhová Koule* (cauliflower) -- but: *přijet spartakem*, *kouřit partyzánky*; *koupit panenská jablka*; *rokfór*, *romadúr* (kinds of cheeses), etc.

In contrast the following types of expressions are not capitalized: a) names of institutions which basically indicate, by their widespread meaning in practice only a certain unique institution, and which therefore do not need to indicate this uniqueness also graphically by capitalization, e.g. *ministerstvo školství*, ~~a kultury~~, *vláda Československé socialistické republiky*;

b) names of institutions which are not one of a kind, but are repeated in individual administrative units, e.g. *střední všeobecně vzdelávací škola J.K. Tyla v Hradci Králove*, *střední škola pro pracující v Praze*, *krajský soud v Olomouci*, *pošt~~ovní úřad~~a Praha 022*, *velvyslanectví Československé socialistické republiky v Moskvě*, etc.;

c) names of parts and organs of unique institutions, e.g. *rada Okresního národního výboru v Příbrami*, *předsednictvo vlády*, *katedra české literatury filosofické fakulty Karlovy university*, etc.

II. Capitalization may be used to express respect of a social, religious, or emotional nature:

a) in personal pronouns of the second person (*Ty*, *Tebe*, *Tvůj*, *Vy*, *Vás*,...*Váš*) in letters to an individual or to a group (see §101);

b) in titles, historical in nature, such as *Vaše Magnificence* (official address for a university rector), *Mistr Alois Jirásek* (designation of an artist, in this case a writer) -- but *mistr Jan Hus* (old academic title, when abbreviated it is of course *M. Jan Hus*);

c) in common nouns, religious in nature, such as *Bůh*, *Pánbůh*, *Hospodin*, *Spasitel*, *Matka boží*; when it is not a matter of religious respect they are not capitalized, e.g. *bůh*, *pánbůh*, etc.

d) in some other instances in order to express an emotional relationship, emphasis or a special concept, e.g. *Ona*, *Láska*, *Život*, etc.

III. Established abbreviations, some symbols and acronyms are also capitalized, e.g. *ČSSR*, *KSČ*, *Čedok*, etc. (see §42).

IV. Capitalization is in order also for initial words of sentence units, i.e. at the very beginning of a piece of writing, or after a period, question mark or exclamation point, whenever these signal the end of a preceding sentence (this is true also after a colon whenever there is a sentence within a sentence such as direct speech in the form of a quotation, an example, etc.).

After a colon, words are capitalized above all in the case of a following direct quotation, and sometimes when the colon is followed by an inventory, especially if it is expressed in a sentence, or when an independent sentence is attached to it (cf. also §36,5 and the examples in this section on ~~pp. 67 and 68~~).

> Note. A more detailed discussion of capitalization with a large number of examples is found in *Pravidla českého pravopisu* §121 - 153 and in its school edition §102-131.

§33. The spelling of abbreviations and symbols. In the case of some words as well as word sequences complete words are not always spelled out but are sometimes written in abbreviated form using some letters or letter sequences. The words which are abbreviated are as a rule those of high frequency. Such writing is frequent especially in written technical style, where we abbreviate recurring basic terms (cf. for example, the inventory of abbreviations used, listed at the end of this book). Some cases of shortening of words, i.e. their abbreviations, have become fixed and are always spelled in the same way.

1. Established abbreviations consist of either the first letter(s) of the word(s); or of the initial sequence of letters (always ending in a consonant); such abbreviations are followed by a period.

For example
E.g. *s*. -- *soudruh*, *soudružka* or *soudruzi*, also *sestra*; *p*.-- *pan*; *sl*. -- *slečna*; *č*. or *čís*. -- *číslo*; *odd*. -- *oddělení*; *r*. -- *rok*; *t.r.* -- *toho*, *tohoto roku*; *n.m.* -- *nad mořem*; *př*. *n*. *l*. -- *před naším letopočtem*, *J*. -- *Jan*, *Jiří*, *Josef*; *Fr*., *Frant*. -- *František*; *B*., *Boh*. -- *Bohuslav*, *Bohumil*, etc.

Rarely an abbreviation is formed by the combination of the first and last letter or letters of the word; such abbreviations are not followed by a period, e.g. *pí* -- *paní*, *fa* -- *firma*, *čce* -- *července*. We do however write a period after the invariable abbreviation of the academic title *doctor* (*doktorka*), never changing even when declined: *dr*. *Novák*, *dr*. *Novákovi*, *dr*. *Nováková*, *dr*. *Novákové*, etc.);similarly written are also abbreviations of other titles or new scientific ranks, formed in the usual way; cf. *inž*., *ing*. -- *inženýr*; *kand*. *fil*. *věd* -- *kandidát filologických věd*; *akad*. -- *akademik*, etc.

Established titles of older origin also have their abbreviation followed by a period: *MUDr*. (from Lat. *medicinae universae doctor* -- 'doctor of all medicine'), *PhMr*. (from Lat. *pharmaciae magister* -- 'master of pharmacy'). So do the abbreviations of newer scientific degrees: *CSc.*, *DrSc.* (from Lat. *candidatus*, *doctor scientiarum*).

Some abbreviations of set phrases are written together, as if they were an abbreviation of a single word, for example *atd.* -- *a tak dále*; *aj.* -- *a jiné*; *ap.*, *apod.* -- *a podobně*, *a podobný*; *tj.* -- *to jest*; *tzn.* -- *to znamená*; *tzv.* -- *tak zvaný*; *např.* -- *například*; *popř.* -- *popřípadě*; *čp.* -- *číslo popisné*, etc.

Abbreviations are a convention of writing and therefore reflect the spelling, not the pronunciation, cf. *lat.* (*latina*, *latinský*, never *lat'.* as in the pronunciation), *odd.* (*oddělení*), etc.

2. Abbreviations of native or foreign words or phrases were the source of the established symbols, of measure, weight, physical quantities and units, chemical elements, mathematical and musical concepts, etc. Symbols are not followed by a period. E.g. *m* - *metr*, *kg* - *kilogram*, *l* - *litr*, *Kčs* - *koruna československá*, *t* - *čas* (from Lat. *tempus*), *W* - *watt*, *O* - *kyslík* (*oxygenium*), *sin* - *sinus*, *r* - *poloměr*, *f* - *forte*, etc.

Symbols may be also letters from other than the Roman alphabet (*μ* - *mikron*, *π* - *Ludolfovo číslo*, etc.) or special signs (*°* - *stupeň*, *16°C*; *%* - *procento*, *5%*, *§* - *paragraf*, etc.).

The so-called acronyms or initial abbreviations are also considered as symbols (see §42), they are formed from initial capital letters of the words in the term; they too are written without a period, e.g. *ČSSR*, *SSSR*, *SSM*, *ROH*, *KNV*, *MNV*, etc.

§34. Word boundaries in writing.

1. Writing clearly marks words by leaving spaced between them, i.e. writing (printing) each word separately. This is true also of prepositions even though they attain a definite meaning only together with nouns and are pronounced together with them (*na hoře*, *v městě*, etc.); it is of course as a rule possible to insert an adjective, pronoun etc. (an attribute) between the preposition and the noun, e.g. *na hoře*, *na té hoře*, *na vysoké hoře*, etc., which is one of the features characterizing a preposition as a word (see §38).

Sometimes, however, in a prepositional phrase (preposition plus noun, adjective, pronoun or numeral) or in a preposition plus adverb the individual meanings of the preposition and the other word are lost and the phrase acquires the meaning of a simple adverb. In such cases the spelling is that of one word, a so-called adverbial compound. Such one word spelling is the rule for example in *nahoře*, *nahoru* because in these expressions we no longer feel the original meaning of the preposition *na* 'on' and the noun *hora* 'mountain', but a meaning of a simple adverb meaning 'up', the opposite from *dole*, *dolů* 'down' -- in contrast to the true prepositional phrase *na hoře* 'on the mountain,' *na horu*; similarly, we also spell in one word the expression *vtom* 'suddenly' in contrast to the prepositional phrase *v tom okamžiku* 'at that moment' written separately.

In some cases it is of course, not completely clear whether the meanings are still separate or are the single meaning of an adverb, therefore considerable fluctuation occurs in the writing of such expressions.

a) Adverbial compounds spelled as one word are preposition plus adverb and very often also preposition plus pronoun. E.g. *najednou*, *napřed*, *naproti*, *navždy*, *odkdy*, *dokdy*, *odevšad*, etc.; *beztoho*, *předtím*, *přitom*; -- but there is vacillation in the expressions *mimoto* or *mimo to*, *pokaždé* or *po každé*, etc.

b) Compounds of preposition and substantive, adjective or numeral often occur in both spellings but in many of this type the one word spelling indicating a clearly felt adverbial meaning has become established. E.g. two spellings are current in *kupolivu* or *ku podivu*, *napohled* or *na pohled*, *přesčas* or *přes čas*, *zjara* or *z jara*, *zpočátku* or *z počátku*, *donedávna* or *do nedávna*, *načerno* or *na černo*, *zblízka* or *z blízka*, *poprvé* or *po prvé*, *půlčtvrta* or *půl čtvrta* -- but only a one word spelling in *dohromady*, *dokonce*, *nahoru*, *nahlas*, *naoko* 'apparently,' *vcelku*, *zčásti*, *zpravidla*, *doprava*, *zprava*, *potichu*, *zřídka*, *zvolna*, etc.

> *Note*. When in doubt consult *Pravidla českého pravopisu* (§155-163, school edition §131-141) and its alphabetic listing.

2. Closer ties between adjacent words are symbolized by a *hyphen*.

a) The hyphen is used to attach the conjunction *-li* as a rule to the first word in the sentence, e.g. *víš-li*, *známe-li*, *mohl-li bys*, *ne-li* (but conjunctions which contain *-li* are not hyphenated: *čili*, *jestliže*, *neboli*, *nežli*, *zdali*, etc.).

b) Hyphens are also used between the parts of double proper names (surnames or placenames) which are composed of two separate names but forming an inseparable unit, e.g. *Otýlie Sklenářová-Malá*, *Čapek-Chod*, *Ostrava-Kunčice*, the station *Jince-Čenkov*, etc., also between the parts of fused compounds such as *marxismus-leninismus*, *Hanzelka-Zikmund*, *Afrika snů a skutečnosti*.

> Hyphens are not as a rule written in apossitive constructions of the type *učitel průkopník*, *Neruda básník* (only when we wish to emphasize the closer meaning tie between the two words we may also write *učitel-průkopník*).

c) *Compound adjectives* are written with a hyphen whenever their parts have a relationship of reciprocity, e.g. *styky česko-polské* (between Czechs and Poles), *slovník česko-ruský*, *Volžsko-donský průplav*, etc. Sometimes such adjectives are hyphenated where the relationship between the parts is only a fusion of two relatively independent words or when the hyphen is necessary for clarity, e.g. *marxisticko-leninský názor*, *ostravsko-karvinský revír*, *žluto-zelený* (i.e. 'yellow and green in contrast to *žlutozelený*, i.e. 'green with a shade of yellow'), but only *červenobílý*.

Unhyphenated and written in one word are such compound adjectives where the first member characterizes the second, e.g. *občanskoprávní* (from *občanské právo*), *vědeckovýzkumný* (from *vědecký výzkum*), *politickovýchovny* (from *politická výchova*), Bibliography. On the grammatical meaning of the noun in general see Miko 1962 and on this problem, as well as on morphology in general, Ružička et al. 1966.

On gender see the older monograph of Oberpfalcer (Jílek) 1933, more recently Těšitelová 1967, 1966; on the expression of natural gender in Czech, Novotný 1960.

On the category of number: Hlavsa 1964.

On the general problem of case, see Skalička 1950; on individual cases Hausenblas 1958c, Trávníček 1938, 1961d, Daneš 1949, Ertl 1922 and Nováková 1949.

lehkoatletický (from *lehká atletika*), *mladoboleslavský* (from *Mladá Boleslav*), etc. Also in one word are written such compound adjectives which simply have a fused relationship and no misunderstanding is possible, such as *červenobílý*, *hluchoněmý*, *československý*, etc.

In one word (unhyphenated) are spelled attributive compounds in which the first member ends in *-e*(*-ě*) and is felt to be an adverb, e.g. *lidově demokratický*, *kulturně politický*,*ideově výchovný*, *světle žlutý* (but *literárněvědný*, *literárněhistorický*, *církevněslovanský*, *trestněprávní*); similarly as two words are spelled compounds where the first member (adverb) ends in *-y* (*politicky administrativní*, etc.).

§35. Division of words. A hyphen indicates the unity of a word whenever the necessity arises to divide it graphically, e.g. at the end of a line.

Line final words are divided according to syllables: *bí-lý*, *dě-ku-je-me*, *člá-nek*, *čer-ný*, *ro-zum*, *spl-nit*, *vr-bo-vý*, *bra-tr*, *mu-ze-um*, *ne-ú-čast-ný*, *po-u-čit*, *na-u-čit* (but *lou-ka*, *pau-za* in this manner only because the diphthongs *ou*, *au* must belong to the same syllable).

Syllable boundaries are not always very clear in pronunciation wherever at such boundaries we find two or more consonants (see §10.2 above). The principle of word division is thus complemented in such cases ~~in~~ with a view ~~of~~ to the composition of the word or form. Boundaries between ~~root~~ and prefix or suffix (or between stem and ending) and between parts of a compound are as a rule also syllable boundaries.

Whenever such boundaries are completely obvious we divide words as follows: *zá-klad*, *zá-klad-ní*, *roz-bít*, *kamen-ný*, *maza-dlo*, *dět-ství*, *praž-ský*, *měst-ský*, *ven-kov-ský*, *dělo-střelec*, *jazyko-zpyt*, *starost-mi*, *vrat'-me*, etc.

Wherever neither the syllable boundary nor the word composition is very clear, consonant sequences may be divided in various ways; cf. *bás-ně* or *bá-sně*, *hrd-lo* or *hr-dlo*, *myš-lenka* or *my-šlenka*, *vlastno-sti* or *vlastnos-ti*, *če-ský* or *čes-ký*, *se-stra* or *ses-tra* or *sest-ra*, etc.

> For practical reasons, and wherever it seems necessary for uniformity, it is sometimes recommended in such cases to end a line with one consonant and to begin the next line with the remaining consonants, i.e. *bás-ně*, *ses-tra*, etc.

§36. *Punctuation marks*. Besides letters of the alphabet, writing makes use of various symbols called punctuation marks. Punctuation marks compensate in writing for sound devices which characterize the spoken sentence as well as its type. They mark the end of a simple or compound sentence, pauses between clauses or between sentence parts and their members.

In addition they mark the nature of a sentence, whether it expresses a question, a command, an exclamation, a direct quotation, etc.

The punctuation marks are period, comma and semicolon, question mark and exclamation mark, colon, quotation marks, and also dash and parentheses.

1. The ending of a simple or compound sentence is indicated by a period (.), whenever the sentence does not have a special nature such as question, command, or exclamation; in the latter cases the ending is indicated with a question mark or exclamation point.

Titles and headings are followed by a period only when they are a part of a text. Whenever titles are by themselves or are separated from the text graphically, as for example on title pages of books or headlines in newspapers or in designations of establishments and institutions etc. they have no end punctuation.

The period also symbolizes an abbreviation (see §33); after a numeral the marks indicate an ordinal (see §111.2).

The question mark (?) is written at the end of a direct question. The question mark is not as a rule written after a sentence in which the question is not direct and contained only in a dependent clause, i.e. not at the end of such a dependent clause.

For example

E.g. Co tomu říkáte? Kam na zotavenou? "Kdy se vrátíš?" zeptal se bratr. Jak zajistíte, aby byl plán včas splněn? -- But: Ptal se mě, kdy se vrátím.

At the end of exclamatory sentences we write *exclamation points* (!). At the ends of requesting sentences (at the same time commands and desires) we write exclamation points whenever the command or wish has a strong emotional coloring (would in speech be an exclamation), as well as where the character of the sentence as such does not signal an exclamation.

For example

E.g.: *To je nápad! Jak ta stavba roste! Haló! Konečně! Soudružky a soudruzi!* (exclamations) -- *Pojd' honem! Mlčíš! Stát! Lidé bděte! At, žije mír!* (commands) -- But: *Dotazník vyplňte a obratem vrat'te. Napište v množném čísle.*

2. In place of a period, adjacent sentences are sometimes separated by a *semicolon* (;) with a small letter following it. This is usually in cases where clearly independent simple or compound sentences are joined in a sequence in a way to form compound sentences expressing a close meaning unit. The semicolon is also used to separate individual groups of words or phrases in a complicated enumeration.

For example

E.g.: *Tobě je snadno mluvit; ty nevíš co je bída.* (J.K. Tyl) -- *Uprostřed údolí mezi lučinami tekla řeka, zrovna okolo pastýřovy chalupy; břehy její vroubeny byly olší a vrbou.* (Němcová) -- *Sovětský svaz hraničí s dvanácti státy: na západě s Norskem, Finskem, Polskem, Československem, Mad'arskem a Rumunskem; na jihu s Tureckem, Íránem, a Afghánistánem; na východě s Čínskou lidovou republikou, Mongolskou lidovou republikou a s Korejskou lidově demokratickou republikou.*

3.a) A *comma* (,) is used to separate grammatically equal, co-ordinate members in a sentence having several of them, if they are not joined with the conjunctions *a*, *i*, *ani*, *nebo* (coordinating conjunctions); thus we separate individual nouns in a compound subject, in a predicate nominative, attribute, objective complement and object, individual verbs in the predicate, adverbs and adverbial phrases in adverbial attributes, etc. (see §178.3; 195.5).

> For example: *Na jeho stolku se hromadily knihy, básně, přednášky a poznámky*. -- *Ryze česká, příjemná, hovorná a usedlá byla její maminka*. -- *Odpovídá hlubokým, určitým, trochu přerývaným hlasem*. -- *Hlas se vzdaloval, slábl, pak zanikl*. -- *Hlas zněl drsně, hrdelně, s mužnou hloubkou*.

b) The comma separates loosely or additionally attached sentence members or independent parts which are not gramatically a part of the sentence. In such a way is separated a free or secondary attribute (see §195.7), an appositive (see §196) expanded participial constructions (see §199), some expanded infinitive phrases (see §200) or any other subsequently added sentence member (see §182.3). Also thus separated is an independent sentence member (placed before or after a sentence), which is vocative or an expletive (the kind which does not have a function of a member of the sentence or of a mere amplification, see §181 and §171), or a parenthetical expression or clause (see §182.2).

E.g. Několik postav, sotva zřetelných na vzdáleném nároží, stálo nehnutě. -- Fráňa Šrámek, básník mládí, je nám i dnes blízký. -- Pak ji pozdraví, usmívaje se již z dálky. -- Nebýt tebe, nebyl bych to dokázal. -- Pozvání přijal, a velmi rád. -- Hudba, ta dovede uchvátit. -- Nač to říká, takovou věc. -- Dej mi, Karle, knihu. -- Br, to je zima. -- Bylo to, zdá se mi, loni o vánocích.

c) A comma separates in a compound sentence coordinate main clauses or coordinately linked subordinate clauses if they are not joined by a, i, ani, nebo ~~with~~ having a compound meaning (see §208), and also subordinate clauses dependant on the main clause (see §201, 202).

For example: Slunko svítilo, v příkopě zářily podběly a u potoka kvetly blatouchy. -- Vymlouval se, že má mnoho práce, že nemá čas i že není zdráv. -- Viděl řeku, jak přichází z dálky, skáče přes kameny, přepadá přez splav. -- V dílně byl hluk, že nebylo slova slyšet. -- Zastavoval se každých pár kroků jako člověk, který se vrací na známá místa a zjišťuje, co se od jeho odchodu změnilo.

Whenever the connecting construction is preceded by a or by another conjunction, the comma is placed only before the a or before the first conjunction. Likewise when before the connecting expression of the clause there stands an emphasizing or pointing out expression such as teprve, jen, právě, zvláště, zejména, etc. we place the comma already before it and not before the joining expression (see §169).

For example: *Čekal dlouho, a když se nedočkal, šel domů. Řekl že kdyby nepřišel do dvou hodin, nemáme na něj čekat.* -- *Vlak se rozjel, právě když jsme přicházeli k nádraží.*

The comma is not as a rule used to separate a clause dependent on an adverbial expression with a weakened sentence value, e.g. *hlavně abys přišel včas, jistě že to víš* (when the subordinate clause is further weakened it is spelled *jistěže to víš*), *možná že přijdu* (but also *možná, že přijdu*).

The comma also is not used to separate original subordinate clauses, which have lost their clause value and have been demoted into mere adverbial expressions, e.g. *ať děláš co děláš, řekl jim to jak se patří* (spelled also in one word *jaksepatří*).

4. Direct quotations are symbolized by *quotation marks* (") at their beginning and end. The period, semicolon, comma, question mark or exclamation point which ends the quotation is placed before the final quotation mark (see §211).

Quotation marks also enclose word-for-word statements and citations in the text even when not reflecting direct speech. For greater clarity quotation marks enclose exact titles of books, periodicals, organizations, etc., whenever they are not set apart by the type of writing (italic or other).

Furthermore, we may enclose in quotation marks a saying or words which particularly characterize a person or setting, and finally any expression which we wish to point out especially.

At other times quotation marks may set off an ironic expression or to indicate a meaning opposite to the one spelled out.

> For example: Jiráskovo "Temno", časopis "Naše řeč", "Máj", spolek českých spisovatelů. -- Zakypí v nich "habrůvska krýv", (A. Mrštík) -- Vývoj je "boj" protikladů. -- Každé "proč" má své "proto". -- No, vy jste se ale "vyznamenali". -- Or: Jiráskovo Temno, časopis Naše řeč, před spojkami i, nebo etc.

5. Direct quotations are introduced by an introductory clause. The boundaries between the introductory clause and the following direct quotation are marked by a colon (:). When the introductory clause is inserted into the quotation it is not set off by a colon, but by commas: "Odpusťte," řekl, "rád bych se vás na něco zeptal."

A colon is written also following clauses or expressions which introduce a further enumeration, when we place this enumeration outside the frame of the sentence for emphasis.

A colon also sometimes separates a clause which explains or justifies the content of the preceding clause.

> For example: Je šest dílů světa: Evropa, Asie, Afrika, Amerika, Austrálie a Antarktida. -- Kulturní rozvoj naší společnosti záleží i v tom, co nelze vyčíslit v procentech: v nových vlastnostech lidí, v nové mravnosti, v novém vědomí a citovém zaujetí člověka. -- Není už možno otálet: čas kvapí a věc vyžaduje řešení.

Concerning capitalization after a colon see §32,

6. Whenever a sentence expressing a completed thought contains various inserts, explanation, notes or supplements, we place them in parentheses or set them apart with a dash (--). If the insert within the parentheses is a complete sentence, we write a period, question mark or exclamation point before the closing parenthesis. If the given text is included within the sentence the end punctuation is outside the closing parenthesis.

In technical writing we sometimes place in parentheses synonyms which explain or specify (they may also be separated by commas), as well as alternate expressions for which a given statement is also true.

For example: Častý vyskyt vsuvek u některých autorů (např. u Zdeňka Nejedlého) je možno vysvětlit z jejich řečnické praxe. Soudobá literatura žáky svým obsahem (o přiměřenošti bude řeč dále) zajímá. Mluvnice (gramatika) je část nauky o jazyce. Spojky (ale, že, když apod.) nejsou členy větnými. Po sponě být (bývat) klade se Pře- přísudkové jméno v nominativě nebo instrumentále. vážnou část diváků -- a to je nejpotěšitelnější -- tvořili mladí lidé.

Jazykový koutek Čs. rozhlasu obsahuje rozhlasové výklady o českém jazyce, připravené pracovníky Ůstavu pro jazyk český. (V prvním svazku jsou ve výběru otištěny odpovědi na dotazy posluchačů v letech 1946 - 1948.) --

Podrobnější výklad podáváme v dodatku o slohu (viz zde s 348n.).

7. The dash (--) otherwise plays a many faceted role in writing. It indicates for example an incomplete statement or points out that what is to follow is something unexpected. At other times dashes occur in language showing excitement where they signal interrupted or broken off speech.

Whenever we would expect in a sentence both a dash and comma in sequence both are written only when it is necessary to emphasize transparency and clarity of the sentence structure.

For example: Byl jsem tím překvapen a nevím --. Byl to -- Havlíček. Víš -- tato zbabělost -- tato nestatečnost -- to je pro mne největší zlo. (J. Wolker). Je zřejmé -- dnes už i z ohlasu celé akce --, že jde o čin průkopnický.

8. In excited, interrupted or not fluent speech with pauses (such as an expression of evaluation, puzzlement, etc.) or ~~the~~ one ~~fact~~ that ~~it~~ is not completed is indicated in writing by ~~three~~ suspension ~~dots~~ points.

In citations or in enumeration ~~three dots~~ suspension points indicate something left out, or ~~their~~ incompleteness.

For example: "Ale tatínku...proboha tě prosím... uznej, poměry jsou jiné." (E. Bass) -- "Jo...a počkej... já ted' nevím, jak to bylo dál..." (E. Bass) -- "Ovšem, pochop to...lidské řeči..." (E. Bass)

§37. Principles and roles of Czech orthography.

1. Czech spelling is based on the principle that every sound is represented by a special symbol; this type of writing is often called phonetic.

However as a rule only the sounds which are important for understanding (that is phonemes) are represented by special symbols; all phonetic differences are not graphically represented (writing does not show the difference between voiced and voiceless ř; the spelling is led and not as pronounced [let], the same is true of hlad..., když jsem, etc.). The basic principle of Czech orthography is therefore phonemic and not phonetic.

For the same reason vowel length, for example, is indicated in spelling (even though it is not in every case stabilized in the language, cf. §24.2; §27; §52); vowel length in Czech serves to differentiate words and forms (cf. ráda - rada, síly - sílí, pracuji - pracují, kosti - kostí, etc.).

Concerning the terms phoneme, phonemic see §9.1.

2. The basic role of an orthography is to record ~~linguistic~~ speech ~~manifestations~~ acts in writing. For this role the phonemic principle of Czech orthography is suited in that it grasps with special symbols only those differences in sounds by which words or forms are differentiated in the language. At the same time we thus satisfy another, no less important role of orthography, i.e. to

accommodate the thought content which the author had in mind, to make possible and to facilitate rapid comprehension for the reader, to enable a quick grasp of what is written down. Because there are more people who read what is written in the standard language than there are those who themselves write, or set forth their expressions in writing, and because those who write also read much more frequently and much more than they themselves write, this accommodating role of orthography is very important. This role is therefore served also by some other features of Czech orthography which we characterized above (§30) as deviations from the basic (phonemic) principle of Czech spelling.

a) In some cases the accommodation of the meaning of what is read is supported by a differentiation of i, í and y, ý after the so-called ambiguous consonants; in ~~like manner~~ such a way are distinguished in writing some words and forms which are pronounced alike, but have a different meaning (the so-called homonyms or rather, homophones), such as mít - mýt, bít - být, vít - výt, vír - výr, pil - pyl, kosi - kosy, psi - psy, zdrávi - zdrávy, zdraví - zdravý, etc.

> The spelling i(í) and y(ý) for what is today pronounced as one sound [i, i:] is actually based on an earlier state of the language, when Old Czech differentiated the two sounds in pronunciation (as is true to the present day in the Lach dialects, see §240.2 and §245). The writing of i(í) and y(ý) in word ~~roots~~ stems is partially etymological, partly historical.

b) The different spelling of the prefixes *s-* and *z-* also serves to differentiate meanings of words. The spelling of these prefixes is not always in agreement with their pronunciation (is not phonetic), but is based on the principle of meaning. Therefore it is only by the writing of *s-* and *z-* that some words identical in sound but different in meaning are distinguished (e.g. *správa* - *zpráva*, *sbít* - *zbít*, etc.). The spelling differentiation in such pairs may sometimes be a device to ~~serve the cause of~~ different~~iating~~e finer shades of meaning of basically the same word, note for example the difference between *sbrousit* (a little bit) and *zbrousit* (to remove by rubbing), see ~~p. 62~~ §30.IV 2 above. Likewise the writing of the prepositions *s* and *z* with a noun in the genitive case makes it possible to differentiate the meaning 'down from a surface or down along a surface' from the meaning 'from within, out from within'; this distinction is important for physical objects, for example in *se stolu* - *ze stolu*, *s hlavy* - *z hlavy* (see ~~p. 60~~ §30.IV 1 above). Capitalization also serves the purpose of distinguishing meanings in writing (see §32).

c) The accommodating function of orthography is also served by those deviations from the phonemic principle ~~when~~ in which the spelling, in contrast to the pronunciation, preserves an unchanged graphic picture of the meaningful parts of the word or form (of the so-called morphemes, see §39) in related words or in forms of the same word. It is for this reason that in word final position before a pause the spelling -- in contrast to the pronunciation -- preserves an unchanged letter for the sound which occurs also in other forms of the word (*led* - *ledu*, *zpěv* - *zpěvu*, etc.). Furthermore it is the internal composition of the word or form which determines the spelling (without regard to actual pronunciation) of sound sequences meeting at boundaries of parts of words or forms (cf. *kresba*, *hádka*, *dětský*, *kamenný*, *vyšší*, *oznamme*, *v pecce*, etc.).

d) The accommodating role of orthography is served also in those cases when spelling is a device of morphology and syntax.

aa) The spelling of *i*, *í* and *y*, *ý* has a morphological value in the spelling of inflectional endings. This differentiated writing in endings sometimes serves to distinguish forms, especially in substantives and adjectives.

Spelling thus differentiates forms of different number as in sg. *zdravý* (*hoch*) - pl. *zdraví* (*hoši*), *hrubý* - *hrubí*, etc.; of different gender as in m. *bratrovi* (*přátelé*) - f. *bratrovy* (*dcery*) and very frequently of different case as in nom. pl. *psi*, *sokoli* - acc. and instr. pl. *psy*, *sokoly*, etc.); sometimes also other forms as in dat. sg. of the first person pronoun *já*: *mi* - nom. pl. of the same pronoun *my*, etc. In the forms *zdravý* - *zdraví*, *bratrovi* - *bratrovy*, *psi* - *psy*, etc. *i*(*í*) and *y*(*ý*) is spelled in agreement with analogous forms of nouns in which the differentiated spelling expresses also a different pronunciation of the preceding soft or hard consonant as in *št'astný* (*hoch*) - *št'astní* (*hoši*), *matčini* (*přátelé*) - *matčiny* (*sestry*), nom. pl. *hadi* - acc. and instr. pl. *hady*, etc. Cf. §30.I.2.

The spelling *i*, *í* and *y*, *ý* in endings sometimes also serves to differentiate parts of speech and their forms as in *pili* -- past pl. ma. of the verb *pít*, *pily* -- nom. and acc. pl. of the noun *pila*; *zdravím* -- 1st sg. pres. of the verb *zdravit* or instr. sg. of the substantive *zdraví*, but *zdravým* -- inst. sg. or dat. pl. of the adjective *zdravý*; *praví* -- 3rd pres. of the verb *pravit* or nom. pl. ma. of an adjective, but *pravý* -- nom. sg. mi. of the adjective.

bb) In syntax the spelling of *i*, *y* serves as a means of expressing agreement. The endings of participles and adjectives in the predicate and in a predicate nominative are spelled differently according to the subject with which they agree. If the subject is masculine animate plural, the spelling in the given examples is *i* as in (*piloti*) *řídili* (*letadlo*), *bili* *zdrávi*; if the subject is masculine inanimate, the spelling is *y* as in (*stroje*) *hučely*. We spell *y* also in agreement with a feminine plural subject (*ženy*) *pracovaly* *rády*. (For more details cf. §190 and §191).

3. The orthography as an established means of setting down linguistic expression in writing, is a matter of human agreement, of convention. This is above all a matter of the actual orthographic features (the writing of *i*, *í* and *y*, *ý* in the ~~roots~~ stems of words, the spelling of prepositions *s*, *z*, capitalization, the spelling of adverbial compounds and also the writing of punctuation marks). But even here the accepted manner of writing is to a certain extent dependant on the character of the indicated

linguistic phenomena (e.g. the capitalization in proper nouns and titles, the writing of adverbial compounds) and the freedom to agree is limited by the requirement that the orthography should as much as possible satisfy both of the basic roles which it is to fill, i.e. the roles of setting down and accommodating writing and reading.

In some features, orthography is closely tied to the linguistic system itself. For example the writing of long vowels is a matter of orthography; but their spelling in individual words is a reflection of the phonemic shape of the words, it is an orthographic feature only secondarily. The spelling *i*, *í* and *y*, *ý* in inflectional endings has a grammatical value and a syntactic value when it is used to signal agreement (with the subject) in the endings of participles and adjectives. In such cases orthography is the medium of morphology and syntax.

Bibliography. For exposition of the fundamentals and function of orthography see especially Trávníček 1947/48, Vachek 1942 and 1933; of less recent studies especially Zubatý 1919 and 1921.

On the general nature of the 1957 *Pravidla českého pravopisu* consult Jedlička 1958a and Bělič 1958a; on the lesser changes in the 1966 edition cf. Hrušková 1966.

Discussion of orthographic modifications and changes affecting individual groups of phenomena are discussed by several authors in 1957, 1958 and 1959 issues of *Naše Řeč* and collectively with a survey of individual changes in Daneš et. al. 1958 as well as in *Jazykový koutek* (*Třetí výběr*) 1959. A survey of changes made in the preceding 1941 edition of *Pravidla* can be found in Šmilauer 1942. Critical comments on this earlier edition can be found in Trnka 1942, Havránek 1947/48 and Trávníček 1947/48. Contributions to the theoretical discussion of the 1957 Pravidla are Trávníček 1960, Vachek 1960 and Dokulil 1960; these are mainly on capitalization and spelling of adverbial compounds.

Discussion of problems of Czech spelling are theoretically discussed in *SaS* 1964 and *SaS* 1965 with contributions by Vachek, Sgall, and Novák, Trnka, Těšitelová, Zima, and Sochová, Kraus and Skoupil. The journal *ČJL* 1963-64 and 1966-67 also had a similar discussion initiated and concluded by Bělič with contributions by the linguists Sgall, Novák, Kopečný, Spal, Lamprecht and others, as well as by teachers of Czech. The same issues have results of a survey conducted in schools and among college and university students. For a book version of the latter cf. Styblík 1966.

III. MORPHOLOGY

(The structure of words)

The word and its meanings

§38. *The word* is a group of sounds which has an obvious meaning. Each word has two aspects: *sound* and *meaning*.

> Rarely, a word consists of a single sound, such as the conjunctions *a*, *i* or the prepositions *k*, *s*, *v*, *z*; even these single sounds have word meanings.

Words are separated from each other in writing; exceptions (e.g. the conjunction -*li*) or vacillations (e.g. in juxtaposed adverbial expression, see §34.1) are rare and marginal.

> Phonetically the word is characterized by word stress on the first syllable (and by the fact that it can be separated from another word by a very brief pause). However, this characterization does not always apply: the non-syllabic prepositions (*k*, *s* etc.) cannot even be stressed; when a monosyllabic preposition is joined to a word, the stress is as a rule placed only on the preposition; enclitic words or enclitics (especially proclitics) have no stress (see §22).

Words are further characterized by the fact that they are movable (unlike syllables, prefixes, parts of compound words, etc., for ex. *mimojdoncí* - *šel mimo mlčky*, *šel mlčky mimo*, *mimo prešel mlčky*) or at least separable from one another by insertion of other words (e.g. *na hoře* -- *na té hoře*, *na pohled* -- *na proní pohled* as distinct from nahoře, napohled etc.).

Prepositions (and partially conjunctions) are usually not movable (one cannot change the place of the preposition *na* in *na hoře*, *na té hoře*). -- Nor can one insert another word between a preposition and a personal pronoun (as long as the latter is not substantivized, e.g. *byl zamilován do svého já*), such as *pro mě*, *od tebe*, *od ňeho*, but the independence of the prepositions is clear merely from the parallel plural expressions, where one can say *pro všechny nás*, *od všech nás*, etc.

1. Words are usually the designations of people, animals (creatures), things, phenomena, activities and states (actions), qualities, circumstances and expressions of relations, feelings and moods. This is their basic *material meaning*, the content meaning which we call their *word meaning*.

We know what individual Czech words like *dům*, *brzy*, *přijít* mean; we know their "content", that is, their word meaning. We can find out about their meaning in a dictionary, and for that reason we speak of their *dictionary* or *lexical meaning*.

Reality, the external and internal world, are reflected in our consciousness; objects, phenomena, actions etc. are generalized in our thought as concepts and their relations; and it is not important whether these reflect a reality which is genuine or merely imagined. The linguistic designations of concepts and their relations are words. Most concepts are designated by a single word, but some by combinations of words (e.g. *podstatné jméno* 'substantive', *běžící pás* 'conveyor belt', *postavení mimo hru* ' time out ', *dělat dobrotu* 'toe the line'), a designation can thus consist of one or more words. For further details on the dialectic relation of concepts to words (they are not identical) and on the sign nature of language, see §212.

All the words of a language taken together form its *vocabulary*. But this vocabulary is only one part of language as a whole and serves only as the material out of which speech acts are made. It is only by combining words into sentences according to grammatical rules that we can express and communicate our thoughts, feelings and desires.

2. When words are joined into sentences expressing our thought, according to their lexical meaning, referring in each case to a specific situation, they also acquire -- according to the grammatical rules of each language (i.e., according to

its grammatical structure) -- various general meanings such as number, person, tense, etc. We call these *grammatical meanings*. In Czech such grammatical meanings are usually expressed by the various forms of one and the same word.

These grammatical meanings (number, person, tense, etc.) are also called *grammatical categories*.

For example: In the sentence *nesu knihu*, *nesu* does not designate merely the action of carrying, but also a predicate related to a first-*person* subject, it is of singular *number*, in the present *tense*, the indicative *mood*, the active *voice*, and is of imperfective *aspect*; *knihu* does not merely denote the object 'book' but also expresses singular *number*, accusative *case*, and at the same time the object in the sentence.

Sporadically the individual word can fulfil the function of the sentence (e.g. *pozor*! 'attention!', *prší* 'it's raining'); in such cases the word has the grammatical meaning of the sentence and it expresses and communicates thoughts (see §172.1).

Words unordered into sentences are found in dictionaries, indices, etc., in which case the words have only a designatory not grammatical function (see §212).

§39. The meaning of words is twofold; lexical (material, contentual, dictionary meaning) and grammatical.

1. The lexical meanings of words are the most varied meanings which the word by itself can have; they are common to all its forms and in the speech act they refer to concrete reality.

2. Grammatical meanings are a few meanings assigned by the grammatical structure of the language and most frequently expressed by the various forms of a single word or by its connection with some auxiliary word (simple or complex forms). Such meanings express the relation of the given word to other words in the sentence, i.e. their sentence relations (e.g. the cases of substantives, person and number in verbs, gender, number and cases in adjectives as the expression of their dependence), or meanings which derive from contentual meaning of the sentence (e.g. number in substantives, tense and mood in verbs).

3. According to whether it is lexical or grammatical meanings which predominate, one can divide words into three groups:

a) Lexical words, which have only a lexical but no grammatical meaning; these are the interjections and adverbs. Adverbs acquire grammatical meaning (syntactic connections) in sentences, but do not express them by any particular forms, by any formal means.

b) lexicogrammatical words, which always have lexical meaning and which in sentences have various grammatical meanings expressed by special forms, simple or complex; these are nouns (substantives and adjectives) and verbs.

On the specific meaning of pronouns and pronomial adverbs see §48.3.

Both of the above word types, the lexical and the lexicogrammatical, are also called autosemantic (because they have their own meaning).

c) Grammatical words, which express the sentence relations of words or of whole sentences with which they are joined, do not have any full meaning of their own, but acquire meaning only in combination with other words (prepositions used with case-forms of substantives, conjunctions and particles combined with a sentence being introduced or conjoined, or with a sentence member, etc.). Auxiliary words also belong to this group; these are components of complex forms (e.g. psal jsem, byl bych psal, píše se, etc.). To some extent auxiliary verbs belong in this group too (see §117).

The grammatical words -- with the exception of the auxiliaries -- are called synsemantic by specialists. Grammatical words and in particular auxiliaries lie on the very edge of the category of independent words;

they can also not play an independent role in sentence structure (see §175.1). Nonetheless, several factors give evidence of their partial independence: their movability (přišel jsem -- kdy jsem přišel? etc.), their divisability (see §38 above), and to a considerable extent their word meaning, at least in the case of the prepositions, conjunctions, and particles, -- even if this meaning is conditioned by that of the complete entity (the combination of preposition plus substantive, etc.).

Among auxiliaries the criterion of word meaning is missing; they have purely grammatical meaning which comes into force only within the complex word, and in this sense auxiliaries are similar to word-formation elements (parts of words, so-called morphemes), especially if they are not even separated out graphically. Cf. -s in the 2nd sing. as in přišels, kdys přišel, where one could speak of "the word -s" only in terms of such parallel constructions as přišel jsem, přišel jsi, etc. (This same -s in the 2nd conditional bys is only an ending in comparison to bych, by, bychom, etc.; however, even here there is a different situation in Common Czech, where analogical leveling with the past tense has produced the forms *by/sem*, *by/sme*.) The auxiliaries, as parts of complex entities, can also combine with some conjunctions, e.g. *abych*, *abys* ..., *kdybych*, *kdybys* ...

Note. The semantic side of language includes both grammatical and lexical meanings. Grammatical meanings are precisely the subject of grammar in both of its divisions, morphology and syntax. Grammar is not concerned with lexical meanings, which are treated by lexicology and semantics and by dictionaries. See §4 and §6.

Methods of word-formation

§40. Groups of related words have one part of each word in common, a common *word base* (sometimes also called *root*).

Such related words are constructed in various ways, according to the laws of the language; their formative elements are as a rule repeated in many similar groups.

1. Groups of related words have their basic meaning in common, but this basic meaning is varied among the individual words; the form class of the words can also change (substantives into adjectives, etc.). The variation in meaning is generally expressed by the addition of *suffixes* at the end, or of *prefixes* at the beginning of the common *word base* which is the bearer of their semantic affinity.

For ex.: město, městečko, městský, předměstí, náměstí (with common word base měst-); druh, družstvo, družný, sdružit, přidružit, soudruh (with common word base druh/ž-); kdo, někdo, nikdo, kdosi, etc.

Not only one but several prefixes or suffixes can be added to the word base, e.g. po-roz-utík-at se, uči-tel-ský, druž-stev-nictví.

The form of suffixes sometimes becomes unrecognizable when its first consonant merges with a preceding consonant. -nictví, for ex. (as in obuvnictví) is really a double suffix, -ník plus -ství; in letectví there are also two suffixes, -ec and -ství etc.: see §51.3a below. -- In the same way, the form of prefixes can sometimes become unrecognizable; cf. the prefix ob- with word bases beginning in v-: vroubit-obroubit, valit - obalit, etc.

The formation of words by means of prefixes and suffixes is called derivation and the results of the process, derived words.

Suffixes which form words are called word-formatives, as distinguished from stem-formatives and endings, see §43.1. --In this book we do not separate the derivational suffix from its accompanying ending, if it has one (e.g. -ství, really -stv+í).

The semantic differences among the individual words in such word groups are determined by the suffixes and prefixes. Language contains many fewer prefixes and suffixes than word bases; they have their own meanings which are however realized only in meaning of the whole words which they help form; cf. for ex. the meaning of quality in the suffix -*ost* (*bdělost*, *pracovitost*), that of actor in -*tel* (*hlasatel*, *spisovatel*), of repetition (multiplication) of action in -*va(t)* (*spávat*, *chodívat*), completion of the action in the prefix *do*- (*dojít*, *dokončit*), etc.

2. Some suffixes are both *live* and *productive*, their meanings are clear and they are continually used to create new words; such are for ex. the suffixes -*ost*, -*tel* just mentioned and many others. Other suffixes are clearly recognizable, but new words are no longer formed with them; they are *live* but non-productive (e.g. -*ež*: *mládež*).

There are, however, other words which were originally derived by means of a suffix which is no longer live; we do not perceive such words as derived in the modern language, for ex. the suffix -*t* in *smrt* (cf. *mru*, *mříti*), *vlast* (cf. *vládnu*) or others, ~~such as the -l- in~~ cf. *máslo* ~~(cf.~~ from *mazat*~~)~~, etc.

Some words are formed with live and productive suffixes, but we nonetheless have no clear feeling of their being derived, because their semantic connection with their original word base has been effaced, for ex. the word *starost* 'care, concern' is formed with the suffix -*ost*, but its semantic connection with the base *starý* 'old' has been lost and the word has acquired an independent meaning.

Especially in the case of verbal formations, it occurs that although the prefixes utilized are live and productive, some words have grown so independent semantically that we no longer feel them as a combination of prefix plus word base, e.g. *rozum*, *útok*, *zpěv*, *nenávidět*; in such cases a new word base arises. Thus, the unrecognizable prefix *ob*- (see above) in words like *obalit* (from *ob-valit*) was felt as the prefix *o*- and resulted in the formation of a new word base *balit* (*za-balit*, etc.)

Some prefixes are often combined: *s*-, *z*-, *vz*-; *u*-, *v*-.

One can also speak of *ni*- and *ně*- as prefixes in the pronouns (*nikdo*, *někdo*, etc.).

Note. Prefixes and suffixes, esp. the live ones, are discussed in more detail in the sections on the individual parts of speech which they help form, esp. for the substantive in §50-54, adjective in §93, verb in §118 and adverb in §182.

3. Derived words sometimes show minor *sound alternations* in the base itself: either the vowel length of the base changes (or two qualitatively different vowels alternate), or a consonant or consonant cluster at the end of the base is changed (cf. above *druh/ž*), or both (cf. *nes*-, *nos*-, *náš*-, *nůš*-). Sometimes the base vowel disappears (cf. *pes*, *psa*). On the alternation and disappearance of vowels and consonants see phonology, §19.

> For ex.: *hlásat - hlasatel*; *dílo - dělník*; *ležet - líhat - lože - lůžko*; *nést - nosit - odnášet - nůše*; *Praha - pražský*; *žák - žačka*; *přijezd - přijíždět*; *píši - psaní*; *řekl - rčení*.

Such alternations render the base less distinct. The alternations themselves are the result of a lengthy evolution and at times derived words have also deviated from the meaning of their common base to such an extent that we no longer feel them to be related, nor do we recognize their common base, for ex. *stelu*, *postel* - *stůl*, *stolice*, *stolička*; *zníti* - *zvon*, etc; only the science of etymology can uncover such connections (see §213.1).

> The common name for prefix and suffix together is *affix*. Both affix and word base are *morphemes*, a term which is also used for stem-formatives and endings. If we do not need to or cannot distinguish between an enlarged base and a suffix, we can speak

|| simply of formants.

§41. Another method of word formation is composition, in which two or several word bases are joined to form a single word. There thus arise such compound words as zemědělec, velkoměsto, vodoléčba, trojúhelník, okamžik, československý, málomluvný, třikrát, etc.

Most compound words have as their first component a bare word base, usually ending in -o-, -e- (životopis, krátkozraký, dějepis, veletrh, etc.). The second component, too, does not always have the form of an independently existing word (as is the case, for ex., in the words velkoměsto, světoznámý), but sometimes has a form which exists only in compounds (životopis, zemědělec, teploměr, jazykozpyt, literárněvědný, krátkozraký, třikrát, etc.)

| Some of these forms occurring only as the second part in compounds are repeated frequently, for ex. -pis (životopis, zeměpis, dějepis, pravopis, etc.), -měr (teploměr, plynoměr, elektroměr, etc.), -zraký (krátkozraký, dalekozraký, slabozraký), and esp. -koli (kdokoli, kterýkoli, kdykoli, etc.) and -krát (dvakrát, třikrát, etc.); they are as similar to suffixes as to word bases.

Only a restricted number of compound words have a first component in the form of an independent word in one of its forms and a second component which likewise exists independently (e.g. okamžik, zeměkoule, obranyschopný, pozoruhodný, pravdě-

podobný, *spolupráce*); such words are called *spřežky* ('conjoined forms') in Czech.

2. The formation of words by compounding is not as frequent in Czech as in some other languages, e.g. German, but it cannot be considered illegitimate in Czech. The means by which compounds are formed are rather restricted both in form and in meaning; one cannot create compounds ad lib. Most compounds in Czech are substantives and adjectives, but compound verbs are (rarely) formed, e.g. *blahořečit*, *zlořečit*, or the recent *spolupracovat*, spoluúčinkovat, spolupůsobit, etc.

Compounds are also functionally (stylistically) restricted; they occur more frequently in professional terms than in ordinary literary words, for ex. *tlakoměr*, *vodoměrka*, *lidoop*, *citoslovce*, etc., and sometimes also as an element of the artistic style, e.g. *jasnozření* (Hora), *libodech* (Čech), *temnobrvý* (Tilschová), *stříbropěnný*, etc.

3. a) The formation of *substantives and adjectives with verbal second component* is live and usual (*tělocvik*, *zemědělec*, *vodoléčba*, *perlorodka*, *jazykověda*, *zeměpis*, *málomluvný*, *rovnobežný*, *slovotvorný*), as is that with a numeral as first component (*trojúhelník*. *čtyřlístek*; *pětiletý*, *čtyřruční*, *jednohlasý*, *mnohostranný*, etc.). Compounds with verbal first component are rarer and usually have an expressive meaning (*kazisvět*, *utřinos*, *tlučhuba*; as nicknames, some of them have become personal names, e.g. *Skočdopole*; see §219.2).

b. *Compound adjectives* formed from two adjectives are usual and frequent (*červenobílý*, *plnotučný*, *hospodářskopolitický*), as are those containing substantival plus adjectival (*světoznámý*) or adjectival plus substantival components (the latter usually quantifying: *krátkodobý*, *dalekozraký*, *maloměstský*, etc.).

The relation between the two components can be either coordinate, especially simply amalgamative (*červenobílý* = *červený* and *bílý*), or subordinate (*světoznamý* = *znamý* *světu*).

> In the case of coordinate relations a hyphen is sometimes inserted between the two components, this is the case if the relation is one of reciprocity (*česko-ruský*); the hyphen is also used to make such relations clearer (e.g. to distinguish coordinate from subordinate relations, for ex. *žluto - zelený* 'green and yellow' [in equal portions] vs. *žlutozelený* 'green with a touch of yellow', etc.); see §34.2.

In the case of subordinate relations the first component can add a more detailed specification to an adjectival second component (*žlutozelený* 'green with a yellow nuance', *novočeský* "Czech of the recent period', *světoznámý* "known to the world' *perlorodý* 'pearl-producing'), or the compound can be an adjective based on a syntactic word-combination (*maloměstský*, *velkoměstský* from *malé město*, *velké město*, *hozpodařskopolitický* from *hospodařská* *politika*, *lehkoatletický* from *lehká* *atletika*, *krátkodobý* from *krátká doba*, *pestrobarevný* from *pestrých barev*, etc.)

Adjectives based on such double personal place names as *Havlíčkův Brod*, *Králův Dvůr*, *Karlovy Vary* have a first component in the form of the substantive which served as the base for the original adjective: *havlíčkobrodský*, *králodvorský*, *karlovarský*; the full adjectival base is preserved more rarely, esp. in names containing an adjective in *-ovo*: *Mníchovo Hradiště* - *mnichovohradišt'ský*, *Královo Pole* - *Královopolský*.

c). *Compound substantives* with adjectival first component are formed as a rule only from certain adjectives with a generally quantifying (or evaluative) meaning, such as *velký*, *malý*, *starý*, *nový*, *střední* (*středo-*), *rychlý*, *veselý*, etc. (*velkoměsto*, *maloměsto*, *velkoobchod*, *maloobchod*, *starověk*, *novověk*, *středověk*, *staročeština*, *novočeština*, *rychlotavba*, *veselohra*, *truchlohra*, *bystrozrak*, *dobrodruh*, *zlosyn*); *velko-* has older variants *vele-* and *vel-* which are still used for new formations (*veletok*, *velehory*, *veletrh*, *velryba*). In most cases these are specialists' terms.

d). There are but few substantival compounds formed on two substantival bases (*siločára*, *štěrkopísek*, *zvěrolékař*, etc.); more frequent is the type *severovýchod*, *jihovýchod*, etc. This type is essentially restricted to professional terms.

4. Compounds are sometimes formed from *one native and one foreign base*. Such words frequently have the flavor of work expressions (*radiočeta* in military terminology, *autopošta* etc.) or of colloquial or slang words (cf. *autopotřeby*, *elektroprůmysl*, *elektroprodejna*, *rádiosoučástky*, *gramodeska*, *kinohvězda* etc.). Such compounds with substantival bases are generally avoided by the literary language, except for certain fixed or necessary expressions. This avoidance is however not extended to compounds with verbal second component, which are particularly frequent in professional terminology, for ex. *elektroměr*, *elektroléčba*, *elektrovodný*, *autoopravna*, etc.

5. Some words are compounded from two foreign bases (*elektromotor*, *automobil*, etc.) but such words were as a rule already borrowed as compounds and their composite structure is apparent to us only when their first (*auto*-, *bio*-, *foto*-, *geo*-, *mono*-, *poly*- etc.) or second elements (-*graf*, -*grafie*, -*log*, -*logie*, -*fil*, -*fob*, etc.) are repeated frequently (*autonomie*, *autograf*, *biograf*, *geographie*, *biografie*, *monografie*, *polygrafický*, *biolog*, *geolog*, *filolog*, *geologie*, *filologie*, *germanofil*, *germanofob*, etc.).

Some foreign bases can have two meanings, as does *auto*-: in the examples *autonomie*, *autograf*, *autobiographie*, etc. it means 'self'(Greek *autos*) but in other words, 'automobile' (*autokolona*, *automechanik*,...).

The first component of a compound word may be felt as a prefix, esp. if it is an adverb also used prepositionally, such as *spolu-* (*spolupráce*, *spolupracovat*), *mimo-* (*mimoděk*, *mimořádný*), or if it is a base no longer existing in the same form in the modern language, such as *vede- vel-* (*veletrh*, *velryba*), or if it is a foreign base or a translation thereof, such as *arci-* (*arcidílo*, *arcikvítek*, etc.) *lži-* (from *pseudo-*, e.g., *lžicar*). -- Such first components, when appearing in words already borrowed as compounds, have the character of prefixes, such as *anti-*, *kontra-*, *pseudo-* (*antitalent*, *kontrarevoluce*, *pseudonym*). On second components felt as suffixes see 1 above.

Compounding is also known as *composition* and compounds as *composita*. Compounds consisting of native and foreign bases are *hybrids*; this term is also applied to words consisting of native base and foreign suffix (*vědátor*, *nadace*); the process of such formation is known as *hybridization* (cf. also §50).

§42. ~~At the present time there are appearing in meaning numbers of abbreviations and letter abbreviations.~~ Letter abbreviations and abbreviations of word-combinations are a new way of creating words and names.:

1. *Letter abbreviations* arose from the initials of the words joined in the name and are therefore also known as *initial*

abbreviations. They are most often the abbreviated names of countries or of various institutions or enterprises, such as *ČSSR (Československá socialistická republika)*, *SSSR (Svaz sovětských socialistických republik)*, *NDR (Německá demokratická republika)*, *NSR (Německa spolková republika)*, *KSČ (Komunistická strana Československa)*, *MNV, ONY, KNV (místní národní výbor, obvodní národní výbor, krajský národní výbor)*, *SSM (Č[illegible] svaz mládeže)*, *NF (Národní fronta)*, *JZD (jednotné zemědělské družstvo)*, *SONP Kladno (Spojené ocelárny, národní podnik)*, etc.

> Such letter abbreviations are pronounced roughly the same as the syllabic names of the letters themselves; for ex. SSM= es-es-em, ČSSR = čé-es-es-er, SSSR = es-es-es-er, JZD = jé-zé-dé. On their spelling see §33.3 above.

Such formations are not declined and are also distinguished phonetically from real words, especially in their vowels, syllabic structure, and sometimes in their stress (they can have stress on the last syllable, that is, on the last letter, which is pronounced syllabically).

2. Some letter abbreviations have given rise to *abbreviations*, (which have the usual features of Czech nouns, i.e. they are declined and can serve as bases for the formation of other words. Such abbreviations arise from initial-letter or initial-syllable abbreviations, for ex. *Čedok (Československá dopravní*

kancelář), *v čedoku*, *čedokový*, *Spofa (Spojené farmaceutické závody)*; in other cases abbreviations arise by a modification of letter abbreviations, for ex. the letter abbreviation *ČTK*, read as the alphabet letters *čé-té-ká*, was modified to the word *Četka*.

Undeclined letter abbreviations of the literary language (for ex. *členství v ROH*, *předsednictvo ÚRO*) are sometimes treated as declinable abbreviations in the spoken language (we say and now also write *v Rohu*, *z Úra*, etc.)

In Czech we also have abbreviations borrowed from Russian. These were however taken over as wholes, and generally denote aspects of Soviet reality, e.g. *kolchoz*, *fyzkultura*, etc.; more rarely, they can be used for Czech institutions, such as *politbyro*, *chozrasčot*, or the slang *kultprop*, etc.

Sometimes only the first element (the attribute) of the original word-combination is abbreviated while the second element (the substantive) remains entire, or vice versa. This is a particular type of abbreviation which in Czech occurs only in isolated instances among common nouns (often under direct Russian influence), and for the most part in slang expressions; cf. the older *interbrigáda*, the slang *děldop* (patterned on Russian *rabkor*), *dělpluk*. It is quite frequent in proper names from the economic or administrative spheres, cf. *Svazarm*, *Motorlet* (airplane motor factory), *Metrans* (international transport agency).

Bibliography. On basic problems of word-formation see *O vědeckém poznání soudobých jazyků* 1958, esp. *Poldauf* 1958, *Dokulil* 1958b, *Helcl* 1958. The same theoretical principles underlie *Dokulil* 1956a and the popular exposition in *Daneš* 1960ff.

A comprehensive description of word-formation in Czech will be found in the functional-structurally oriented three-volume work *Dokulil* et al. 1962 - .

On some individual derivational types see esp. *Trávníček* 1951/52, 1942/43, *Havránek* 1929, 1941, *Šmilauer* 1939, 1956, 1938.

On specific discussion of compounds: cf. *Trávníček* 1936, 1940a, *Helcl* 1953, 1954, *Mejstřík* 1965.

On abbreviations see esp. *Cejp* 1940, *Helcl* 1949, *Hrbáček* 1968b, 1967 and *Romportl* 1951/52.

The formation of word-forms. ~~Parts of speech~~.

§43.1. The various grammatical meanings are as a rule expressed by the various forms of a word.

> For ex.: nesu - neseme (1st pers. sing. vs. plur.), nesu - neseš (1st vs. 2nd pers. sing.); kniha - knihu (nom. vs. acc. sing.); dobrý - dobrá - dobré (nom. sing. masc. vs. fem. vs. neut.).

That part of the word which remains unchanged throughout such word-form changes is the stem, the part of the word which varies from one word-form to another is the ending.

> The stem is sometimes identical with the word base, as in the examples nes/u, knih/a, dobr/ý. In other cases the stem consists of the word-base plus a suffix, e.g. nos/iv/á, kníž/k/a, dobr/oučk/ý. Most such suffixes create both the word and the stem, i.e. they are both word-formative and stem-formative suffixes. Sometimes, however, these two types of suffixes are clearly distinguished, especially in verbs, which have dual stems distinguishing the present from the past stem forms (tisk/ne - tisk/nou/ti, kup/uje - kup/ova/t); such suffixes are merely stem-formatives (see §143.1 below).

The ending which creates a word-form can also be considered a "form-formative" suffix. It is sometimes not easy to distinguish the suffix proper (word- and stem-formative) from the ending, for ex. dám, jím, dá, jí; in other cases a word-form is characterized by a combination of suffix and ending, as in tisk/n/e (as contrasted with tiskl), kry/j/e (as contrasted with kryl); in such cases we speak simply of the word-ending as a morphological element in the broad sense.

2. Endings which denote case and number are called case endings; words which change their case endings and thereby express different cases and numbers are declined. The creation of their word-forms is declension.

Endings which denote person (1st, 2nd and 3rd) and number are called personal endings; words which change their personal endings and thereby express different persons and numbers are conjugated. The creation of their word-forms is conjugation.

The various forms of a word are distinguished not only by the case or personal endings joined to them, but also by the fact that certain sounds in the stem itself can change. Either vowel length becomes different, or two qualitatively different vowels alternate within the stem, as e.g. práce - prací, nést - nesu, důl - dolu, sníh - sněhu; or, the stem-final consonants may alternate, e.g. dělník - dělnici, hoch - hoši, břehy - na březích, mazat -

mažu; or, both types of alternation can occur together, e.g. plakat - pláču, mohu - můžeš; the stem-vowel sometimes alternates with zero, for ex.: beru - brát, píši - psát.

In isolated cases even greater differences occur, e.g. začnu - začal, zajmu - zajal, etc., where the common word base can be identified only historically, see §24.

Cases where the various forms of a word are created from different word bases are rare, but cf. já - mě - nás, je - bude - byl. This kind of declension or conjugation is called suppletive.

3. The various grammatical meanings of a word are expressed not only by the several word-forms of one word (simple word-forms, as in the examples above), but also by combining such a word to an auxiliary word; such combinations are called complex word-forms.

For ex.: psal jsem - budu psát (past vs. ~~present~~ future tense); je napsáno - píše se dobře tím perem (passive voice); psal bych (conditional mood), etc.

In Czech complex word-forms occur only among verbs. On the question of the relation of forms like psal, psals without auxiliary words to the complex word-forms like psal jsem, see §129.2.

Parts of Speech

§44. Words which express various grammatical meanings through their various word-forms and thus vary in case, number, gender, person, etc. (that is, words which are declined and conjugated) are inflected words. Words which do not change in this way, i.e. which are not declined or conjugated, are uninflected words. The variation of words coupled with varying grammatical meanings is called inflection.

§45.1. Inflected words which are declined are nouns, including substantives, adjectives, pronouns and numerals.

All nouns express (usually by distinct word-forms) seven cases: 1) nominative, 2) genitive, 3) dative, 4) accusative, 5) vocative, 6) locative, 7) instrumental and two numbers, singular and plural.

> The vocative has the same form as the nominative for most words; see §62 below.
>
> On the meanings of the cases see §61-64 below.

Substantives are either the names of peoples, animals and things, or independent names for qualities and actions (activities and states) as well as relationships. In the sentence they function primarily as subject or object, but can also appear in other sentence parts. -- Substantives are inflected for case and number, but they have only one of the three genders; they must be either masculine, feminine or neuter. For ex.: Novák, bratr, kůň, stroj; Praha, práce, námaha, píle; mýdlo, pole.

> Only exceptionally do a few substantives have double gender; cf. §57.3.

Adjectives express the qualities of the persons, animals or things denoted by substantives; they make more precise or restrict in some other way the meaning of the substantive. In the sentence they generally expand the meaning of the substantives with which they agree in whatever sentence function the latter may have. -- They vary in form not only according to case and number, but also in gender (masc., fem. and neut.), always in agreement with the modified substantive to which they relate; every adjective may thus express three genders -- The meaning of some adjectives (qualitative adj.'s, see §92.3) can be compared, that is it can express varying degrees of the given quality by formation of a comparative and a superlative. For example: dobrý (pracovník), dobrá (pracovnice), dobré (dítě); poznal statečného (člověka); hlubokými (lesy); (v) letních (měsících); comparison: smělý, smělejší, nejsmělejší.

Pronouns are words which do not themselves designate people, animals, things or qualities, but which merely indicate them by replacing non-expressed substantives or adjectives. In the sentence they have the same functions as the substantives or adjectives they replace. -- They are inflected for case and number, and some are inflected for gender as well, like adjectives (*ten, ta, to; který, která, které*); these latter are called gendered pronouns and the others ungendered.

Numerals are words with quantitative meaning; they express quantity, sequence, etc. For ex. *tři*, *pátý*, *dvojí*, *trojnásobný*, *třikrát*, etc. In the sentence they act like substantives or adjectives, occasionally like adverbs. -- Most pronouns are inflected for case, some for number and gender as well.

> According to their grammatical meanings pronouns are substantives or adjectives, or occasionally adverbs, but they all share a particular lexical meaning, that of *number*. Because of this meaning, and because their declension and sentence connections often differ from those of other nouns, pronouns are separated out into a special part of speech.

2. According to the manner in which nouns are declined (i.e. according to their systems of endings) we distinguish three basic types of declension: *nominal*, *pronominal* and *mixed declensions*.

Each of these three declension types is standard for a particular part of speech: the nominal declension is preponderant among substantives, the pronominal declension among pronouns, and the mixed declension among adjectives (but none of these parts of speech is restricted to a single one of these three declension types).

The nominal declension occurs primarily among substantives (divided according to gender: pán, žena, město) and also among certain cardinal numerals: sto, tisíc, tři, čtyři and in some collective numeral forms: dvoje, troje, patero,...and in certain compounds: půl páta.

Adjectives originally had a completely nominal declension, but today there remain only a few isolated nominal forms of adjectives in certain cases (rád, ráda, rádo; zdráv, zdráva, zdrávo) and in certain possessive adjectives (matčin, matčina, matčino, gen. matčina, dat. matčinu, matčině etc.). The nominal forms of verbs also have the nominal declension, which is however restricted to the nominative case; cf. the past active and passive participles in complex word-forms, e.g. přišel, přišla, je chválen, chválena,... .

The pronoun sám, sama, samo also has remnants of the nominal declension. -- The declension of cardinal numerals is basically nominal, but has certain peculiarities of its own.

The pronominal declension appears in pronouns (ten - náš, jenž) and also in the numeral jeden; the pronouns já, ty, my, vy, se have a special declension.

The mixed declension is found above all among adjectives and all substantivized adjectives, certain other substantives (Jiří, Krejčí, paní), some pronouns (který, čí; samý, týž and partially *můj*, *tvůj*,...), and some types of numerals: ordinals (*první*, *druhý*, *třetí*,...) compound (*dvojnásobný*,..), and (partially) collectives (*paterý*,... *dvojí*,..); verbal adjectives also have this declension: *jednající*, *přišlý*, *připravený*... .

> *Note*. The mixed declension arose from the coalescing of nominal forms with forms of the anaphoric pronoun *jь*, *ja*, *je* (preserved today in the form of the 3rd pers. pronoun *jeho*, *jemu*,...). The label 'mixed declension' thus indicates its origin (cf. Russian *dobraja*, *dobroje*). -- From the purely synchronic point of view one could simply speak of an *adjectival* declension.

§46. Inflected words which are *conjugated* are ***verbs***.

1. Verbs express actions of a subject, namely activities, states, or changes of state, or more rarely an action in general, independent of subject. In the sentence the verb usually functions as a predicate.

Verbs have various forms (simple or complex) which denote *person* (1st, 2nd, and 3rd), *number* (singular and plural), *tense* (present, past, future), *mood* (indicative, imperative, and conditional), *voice* (active and passive), and partially *gender* (masc., fem., neut.); verbs also have two aspects (perfective and imperfective.) For ex. *píši - píšeš - píše*;

vidím - vidíme; *trhá - trhal - bude trhat*; *jdu - jdi - šel bych*; *bije - je bit*; (*viděl - viděla - vidělo*); *hodím - házím*, *uvidím - vidím*.

Verbs which signify only an action itself, independent of any actor, have only the 3rd. pers. sing. of all the personal forms, but have all other verbal forms with their usual grammatical meanings (*prší*, *pršelo*, etc.).

Verbal forms expressing person are *finite forms*; in the sentence they serve as the predicate.

In addition to finite forms, verbs also have *non-finite forms*. These latter do not express person or mood and do not serve as predicate; they express only *aspect* and *voice* (the infinitive *psát* , *vidět*) and to some extent also number and gender and certain temporal relations (gerunds and participles: *vida*, *vidouc*, *vidouce*; *viděn*, *viděna*, *viděno*, *viděni*,...).

2. The formation of personal word-forms is called *conjugation*, but this term is frequently used to include all word forms, including the non-finite.

The simple finite verbal forms, i.e. those of the present indicative and the imperative, and also the forms of the present gerund, are built on a common stem, called the *present stem* (*nes-e, ber-e; nes-me, ber-me; nes-a, ber-a*).

The simple non-finite forms, i.e. the past participle, passive participle, past gerund and the infinitive, are likewise built on a common stem called the *past stem* (*nes-l, bra-l*;

nes-en, brá-n; [při]nes-ši, [se]bra-v; nés-t, brá-t). As a rule the past participle and the passive participle appear only within complex forms (see §129.2).

3. According to the way they are conjugated, we group verbs into five classes, namely according to the forms of the 3rd pers. sing. present (I. nes-e, II. tisk-ne, III. kry-je, IV. pros-í, V. děl-á).

The verbs být, jíst, vědět, chtít are irregular, that is, they have certain forms not occurring elsewhere.

§47. The uninflected words are the adverbs, prepositions, conjunctions, particles and interjections.

Adverbs express various surrounding circumstances (place, time, manner, measure, means, cause, etc.) in which an action occurs or an object exists, and also the degree of a quality or a measure of some substance. The lexical meaning of some adverbs can be compared by the formation of comparative and superlative degrees. -- In the sentence adverbs fill the role of verbal modifiers, less frequently of non-agreeing attributes For example: zde, brzy, ráno, dobře; těžce; velmi (dobrý); dost (času); (cesta) zpátky; směle, směleji, nejsměleji.

Prepositions also express such surrounding circumstances as adverbs, but only in combination with the substantives whose case they govern. Only in these prepositional cases do they make their lexical meaning felt and express their grammatical relations as modifiers of verbs or more rarely, of substantives or adjectives. For ex. v (bitvě), do (vody), do (roka), s (přáteli), pro (vlast), podle (plánu); (mluví) o (nebezpečí), (cesta) do (lesa), (stolek) na (květiny).

Conjunctions are words which serve to combine individual sentence ~~parts or sentences~~ members or clauses into larger units; only in combination with these sentence parts or ~~sentences~~ clauses do the conjunctions acquire their lexical meaning, the content of which is usually to denote the character of the ~~sentence~~ clauses. E.g. a, i, ale, že, aby, když.

Particles are words which introduce ~~sentences~~ clauses and designate the type or character ~~of the sentence or of an individual word (volitive sentences, etc.)~~ (volitive clauses, etc.) or which express the speaker's attitute toward the clause or toward a word. For ex. at', necht', kéž, což, pak, jen and others.

Interjections express feelings and moods or the will of the speaker (e.g. ach, ó, běda, pst, kšá, na), or they may denote noises and associated motions (bú, cink, bác, hop). As a rule interjections are syntactically independent and do not enter into sentence relations with other words (with the exception of interjections designating noises and motions, which serve as verbal predicates; see §171.4).

§48.1. There are thus ten parts of speech, classified according to their lexical meanings, their grammatical meanings and the ways in which these are expressed:

1. substantives, e.g. muž, kůň, stroj, plán, země, statečnost, spaní;
2. adjectives, e.g. dobrý, vysoký horní, letní, [illegible];

3. pronouns, e.g. ten, kdo, některý, já, ty;
4. numerals, e.g. dva, druhý, dvojí, dvojnásobný, dvakrát;
5. verbs, e.g. pracovat, vidět, spadnout, odejít, stát, šedivět, mrznout, líbit se;
6. adverbs, e.g. zde, brzy, velmi, dobře, zeleně, vysoko, česky;
7. prepositions, e.g. v, do, s, pro, vedle:
8. conjunctions, e.g. a, i, že, aby, když, jakmile;
9. particles, e,g, at', necht', kéž, což, asi, snad;
10. interjections, e.g. ach, ó, běda, pst, bác.

2. Since the parts of speech are classified according to lexical meaning, to grammatical meaning, and to the form expressing the latter, there occur instances where some words belong to one part of speech according to one criterion and to another part of speech by another.

Certain adverbs have the same word base as numerals and share their numerical meaning with them; other adverbs have the same word base as pronouns and in some situations can acquire the same semantic peculiarities as pronouns; one should therefore term these words adverbial numerals and pronouns ~~and numerals~~ respectively (e.g. dvakrát, tolik tam, tudy, kterak). ~~dvakrát.~~ tolik). Further, grammatical meaning distinguishes such adverbial pronouns from other pronouns, and for this reason we usually classify them among the adverbs as pronomial adverbs (§162.2); on the other hand, we leave the adverbial numerals among the numerals proper (because here it is the numeral meaning which is decisive; see § 112).

In other cases, words with the meaning of actions, such as verbs have, acquire grammatical meanings and forms of substantives, e.g. *mytí*, *spaní* (so-called *verbal substantives*), or of adjectives, such as *roztrhaný*, *jiskřící* (so-called *verbal adjectives*).

Still elsewhere, words with the forms of adjectives can acquire the lexical and grammatical meanings of substantives, such as *účetní*, *dovolená*, *pojistné* (so-called substantivized adjectives). Pronouns too can be substantivized (*naši přišli*, *bydlet na svém*, *mé vlastní já*, etc.).

Pronouns and adverbs sometimes play the role of conjunctions (such as the relative pronouns *který*, *jenž*, *jaký*, *kdo*, *co*, the adverbs *kde*, *kdy*, *kam*, *jak*, *ba*, *totiž*) and are called conjunctive expressions. Adverbs can also have the function of prepositions (*kolem*, *vedle*).

The *conjunctions* *že*, *ale*, etc. sometimes function as interjections.

Some conjunctions function as particles, e.g. *aby, i, a*; some interjections also sink to the function of simple particles (*ach* and others).

In doubtful cases we classify words according to their grammatical meanings.

3. From the specialist's point of view it is important to remember that the classification of words into parts of speech is not made on the basis of a single criterion, as was mentioned above. One has the criterion of lexical meaning and also grammatical criteria, namely grammatical meanings and the shape of their word-forms (morphological criteria), and the way these are utilized in the structure of the sentence (a syntactic criterion); there are thus more grammatical criteria than lexical.

It therefore follows that a "part of speech" is not simply a lexical or a grammatical (morphological or syntactic) category, but is a complex phenomenon combining lexical and grammatical attributes (as indeed does the word itself). As is usual with such complex phenomena, it is obvious that not all attributes are present in equal measure among every part of speech; indeed, they can overlap to a certain degree, as we have shown above. For example, the pronouns have the syntactic function of substantives (já, ten, etc.) or of adjectives (ten dům, který... etc.), and the numerals also function as substantives (sto, tisíc), as adjectives (tři..., první, etc.). Nonetheless we always treat the pronouns as an independent part of speech because of their specific semantic content (and partially because of their special declensional forms), and the numerals also -- though less consistently -- as an independent class because of their clearly defined quantitative meaning.

The traditional classification of parts of speech, as made above, is based on morphological (more precisely, word-form) features; it therefore takes as its point of departure the division of words into "inflected" and "uninflected" and tends to neglect lexical and syntactic criteria (for example, it consistently separates adverbs from adjectives, although these two categories are closely related as autosemantic words, etc.). -- If we pay as much attention to syntactic and lexical criteria as to morphological, it will be the verb (esp. the finite verb) on the one hand and the interjection on the other, that appear as opposed parts of speech. All of the so-called nouns (substantives, adjectives, pronouns and numerals) are closely related among themselves. The adverb approaches the noun in some ways (by its "autosemanticity"), as do the prepositions, which are auxiliary words serving to effect the syntactic and semantic relations of nominal meanings (they are only "synsemantic"). Autosemanticity is an important trait of pronouns and pronominal adverbs.

Their syntactic auxiliary (synsyntactic) nature joins the conjunctions and the particles (which are sometimes united into a single category for this reason).

On the problem of so-called predicatives (lze, třeba) as part of speech see the section on adverbs, §162.1.

Bibliography. On problems of the parts of speech and their classification, which are currently widely discussed in the linguistic world, see esp. the collective volumes O vědeckém poznání soudobých jazyků 1958 and K historickosrovnávacímu studiu slovanských jazyků 1958, in particular Komárek 1958a and Ružička 1958; cf. also Ružička 1956b, 1961 and further Popela 1962. -- On the predicative as part of speech see the bibliography given for adverbs following §163.-- On the classification of parts of speech see Havránek 1960 and Peciar 1958.

THE SUBSTANTIVE

Meaning and formation

§49. Substantives serve both as the names of persons, animals and things (both generic and individual) and as independent names for qualities and actions (activities and states) and relationships. In their simple forms they express the grammatical meanings of case and number, that is, they are declined; they always have one of the three genders, masc., fem. or neuter.

> The names of persons, animals and things generally designate what we can perceive with our senses (they are *concrete*); names of qualities and actions designate what cannot be perceived by the senses (they are *abstract*).

>> On the relation of designation to reality see §38 and §212.

Only a portion of substantives are *non-derived*, with stems equal to bare word-bases, e.g. *muž*, *pes*, *dům* and many others. There are far more substantives which are *derived* by means of prefixes and suffixes or which are formed by *compounding* or by *abbreviation* (see §41-42).

§50. Substantives *derived by suffixation* are formed from word-bases which are substantival (*novinář* from *noviny*), adjectival (*dobrák* from *dobrý*) and verbal (*letec* from *letěti*). The essential, central meaning of such derived substantives is the same as that of their deriving bases, but these central meanings are in most cases substantially altered in the course of derivation.

> Substantives derived from substantival and adjectival bases are known as *denominal*, those derived from verb bases as *deverbative*.

According to the semantic area into which suffixally derived substantives fall, they can be classified into various meaning groups. Words belonging to a single meaning group can be derived by different suffixes, as for example are the substantives denoting bearers of qualities, formed with the suffixes -*ec*, -*ek*, -*ák*, -*ík*, -*och*, -*ka*, -*ice* (*stařec*, *stárek*, *hlupák*, *mladík*, *černoch*, *červenka*, *bělice* etc.). On the other hand, one and the same suffix can appear with substantives of different meanings, for ex. -*ec*, which in *letec* denotes an actor or a person named according to his profession, in *slepec* the bearer of a quality, in *cizinec* origin, nationality, in *zvěřinec*, place, etc.

Substantives are formed from native Czech bases by means of *native suffixes* or those which have long since become domesticated such as -*ář*, -*íř*. Only quite rarely are they formed by means of suffixes of *foreign origin*, for ex. -*ista*, -*ita* (*houslista*, *husita*), -*ace* (from Latin -*atio*: *nadace*, *korunovace*), -*átor* (*vědátor*, *synátor*), -*ant*, -*lant* (*pracant*, *sekant*, *mudrlant*, rarely *mlsant* [in Těsnohlídek], *neposluchant* [Holeček]), -*ián* (*hrubián*). These are generally strongly expressive words of the conversational language, sometimes vulgar; cf. the words derived with -*átor*, -*ant* (-*lant*), -*ián*, and occasionally some other suffixes (the joking *pijatika*, vulg. *slabingr* =*slaboch* 'weakling').

§51.1. *Names of persons* frequently name people according to their occupations, as for ex. *horník*, *pilot*, *učitel*. If they are derived, they have the suffixes -*ař* (-*ář*), -*íř*, -*ík* (-*ník*), -*ák*, -*tel*, -*č*, -*ec*, -*ce*, etc. (*lékař*, *novinář*, *malíř*, *kameník*, *rolník*, *právník*, *voják*, *učitel*, *topič*, *sazeč*, *letec*, *soudce*).

In other cases substantives denote the inhabitants of some place or land (according to origin and nationality) and have the basic suffixes -*an*, -*ák*, such as *vesničan*, *seveřan*, *Pražan* 'resident of Prague', *Moravan* 'inhabitant of Moravia', *Alžířan*, *Číňan*; *horák*, *skalák*, *Hanák*, *Slovák*, *Pražák*, etc., more rarely -*ec*, e.g. *cizinec*, *Korejec*, *Slovinec*, *Albánec*, etc. To this same group belong substantives denoting people according to their membership in a social movement, organization or collective; they are derived (usually from personal names) particularly by the suffixes -*ec*, -*ovec*, -*ák*, as for example *mičurinec*, *lumírovec*, *svazák*, *zbrojovák* (worker in the enterprise with the name *Zbrojovka*), etc.

Names of persons with the suffix -*ák*, esp. if there exist parallel names in -*an*, have a conversational flavor, sometimes with a pejorative nuance; cf. *měšt'ák* and *měšt'an*, *Moravák*, and *Moravan*, *Hradečák* and *Hradečan*, etc.

Names of persons are sometimes derived from verbs and denote actors (the so-called nouns of agent; they frequently become names of persons according to their occupation); they have the suffixes -tel (-itel), -č, -ec, -ce, more rarely -čí, -ák and others (hlasatel, cvičitel, sběratel, držitel, hráč, prodavač, natěrač, posluchač, řidič, chodec, plavec, dějepisec, rádce, správce, plátce, mluvčí, výběrčí; divák, kuřák, etc.).

> Substantives in -tel (compared with those in -č from the same bases) frequently denote persons engaged in some mental occupation or are used in a figurative meaning, cf. nakladatel - nakladač, nositel - nosič, ředitel - řidič, sběratel (e.g. of folk songs) -sběrač (of mushrooms, tennis balls, etc.).

Nouns of agent are sometimes distinguished from causative nouns. The latter are formed from the names of things to which the persons stand in a causal relation, particularly by the suffixes -ař/-ář, -(n)ík, etc.; they too frequently denote members of some occupation, e.g. knihař, novinář, kameník, papírník, etc.

In other cases substantives are derived from adjectives and denote the bearers of the qualities denoted by the adjectives (animal names also belong to this group); they have the suffixes -ec, -ek, -ák, -ík, -ka, -ice, rarely -och, ous, -ouš, -oun, -án, etc. (stařec, slepec, znalec, poslanec, zajatec; stárek, mládek;

← dobrák, pěšák; mladík, dělník; červenka; bělice; černoch, divoch, divous, bělouš, hezoun [pejorative], dlouhán [expressive], etc.).

On the formation of names of women of all the above types see §58.1.

2. Names of things, which denote an object as an implement or a means of accomplishing an action, are derived from verbs by means of the suffixes -dlo, -tko, -č, -ák, -ka, -ník, -ík, -ivo, etc. (mýdlo, letadlo, opěradlo, struhadlo, stínidlo; řídítko, párátko, stupátko; bič, rýč; padák, smeták; násadka, mláticka; pilník, seník; palivo, krmivo, etc.).

Remember the spellings deník, ceník, seník, viník, with the suffix -ík (but denní, cenný, senný, vinný with the suffix -ní, ný).

Substantives denoting the place where an activity occurs have the suffixes -na, -árna, -írna, -ovna, -iště, -isko, -ín, -inec, -ník, -(n)ice, -ina; (dílna, jídelna, slévárna, kavárna, tavírna, strojovna; bydliště, skladiště, východisko; kravín, zvěřinec, teletník, lednice, mlýnice, pastvina, etc.).

3. Names of qualities and actions and relationships are usually derived.

a) Names of qualities are derived from adjectives, expecially with the suffixes -ost, -ství, (-ctví), -ota, -oba, -í, for ex. ~~bělost~~ rychlost, pracovitost, poruchovost, nemocnost; hrdinství, češství, vlastenectví; dobrota, hustota, teplota, mastnota; mdloba, staroba, stáří.

Before the suffix -ství the stem-final consonants h and ch change to ž and š, for ex. množství, dobrodružství, češství, the consonant č to which k changes, and the consonant c, combine with the initial s of -ství to form the suffix -ctví, for ex. básnictví, hornictví, letectví, etc. Cf. similar alternations with the suffixes -stvo (-ctvo) §59.1 and -ský (-cký) §93.2, which are both connected with the suffix -ství (-ctví).

Words with a basically qualitative meaning sometimes acquire a concrete meaning, cf. bohatství 'large amount of property', hrdinství 'heroic act', nehoráznost 'rude act', etc.

b) Names of actions are derived from verbs. In most cases they are verbal substantives, derived by the suffix -í from passive participles, such as vezení, psaní, napětí; their full suffix (actually complex) is -(e)ní, -tí. -- Formations in -ba (restricted to a few words) and in -ot (restricted to derivatives from verbs denoting noises) are also live, e.g. těžba, orba, tavba, výstavba, tvorba; hukot, dupot, jásot.

Many substantives derived from verbal bases without suffix also have the meaning of actions, e.g. let, skok, lov, výdech, výpis, nájem, průchod.

Names of relationships (temporal, local, causal etc.) are for the most part derived (from adverbs, adjectives, verbs), for ex. dnešek, hořejšek, důvod.

Nouns originally denoting actions frequently acquire concrete meanings; cf. chodba, originally meaning 'walking' but now 'place where one walks', psaní 'letter', etc.

§52. The derivation of substantives denoting persons and things by certain suffixes causes a change in the length of the stem vowel; vowel length also varies in the suffix -ař/-ář. There are the following types:

1. Substantives derived by the suffixes -tel, -č, -dlo from verbs with long vowel in the infinitive sometimes shorten their vowel.

The majority of older words have a shortened vowel; these words have to a considerable extent become independent and grown away from their verb of origin, such as e.g. hlasatel (from hlásit), kazatel (from kázat), obyvatel (from obývat), šiřitel (from šířit), odběratel (from odbírat), pokušitel, etc.; prodavač (from prodávat), řidič (from řídit), vyzvědač (from vyzvídat), posluchač, etc.; chapadlo (from chápat), počitadlo (from počítat), letadlo, prostěradlo, struhadlo, etc.

The long stem vowel is preserved as a rule by substantives with monosyllabic base (e.g. rváč, hráč, dříč, rýč; prádlo, žrádlo, sídlo, mýdlo, etc.) and by multisyllabic substantives in -ovatel, -ovač, -ovadlo (cf. zkrášlovatel, řádkovač, rýsovadlo, etc.). It is especially newer or occasional words which retain the long stem vowel, e.g. *trýznitel*, *zkoumatel*, *potápěč*, *vypínač*, *vysílač*, but also *hlídač*, *líčidlo*, *dráždidlo*, *říkadlo*, etc. -- Words in -*tel* derived from verbs with a long-vowel prefix always preserve this long vowel, e.g. *násobitel*, *následovatel*, *pronásledovatel*, etc.

Some words vacillate in stem-vowel length: *odesílatel* and *odesilatel*, *zpracovávatel* and *zpracovavatel*, *uváděč* and *uvaděč*, *slévač* and *slevač*, *umývadlo* and *umyvadlo*, etc.; the long stem vowels are increasing.

2. Substantives in -*árna*, -*írna* either retain the stem-vowel length of the deriving base (*čítárna*, *lékárna*, *mlékárna*, *třídírna*, etc.) or shorten it (*kavárna*, *vinárna*, *brusírna*, etc.); rarely, such words vacillate in vowel length (*písárna* and *pisárna*, *umývárna* and *umyvárna*, *košíkárna* and *košikárna*, etc.).

3. Substantives in -*átko* generally retain the vowel length of the deriving base, e.g. *párátko*, *ořezávátko*, but cf. also *struhátko*, *pisátko*, etc.

4. The suffix *-ař/-ář* itself shows vacillation in length. Monosyllabic and trisyllabic words (and those of more than three syllables) derived with this suffix always have the long-vowel variant -*ář* (cf. *lhář*, *tmář*, *zahrádkář*, *výsadkář*, *železničář*). Certain bisyllabic derivatives

have the short-vowel variant -*ař*, particularly if the ~~stem~~ vowel of the first syllable ~~itself~~ is long, cf. *lékař*, *správkař*, *sáňkař*, but also *loutkář*; others have the long-vowel variant, particularly if the ~~stem~~ first syllable vowel is short and followed by a consonant cluster, cf. *bednář*, *cestář*, *hvězdář*; in recent formations, however, the short-vowel variant is generalized: *veslař*, *brzdař*, *stavbař*, etc.

5. Substantives in -*ář* formed on stems containing the suffix -*ík* vacillate in the length of -*ik*: cf. *slovníkář* and *slovnikář*, *košíkář* and *košikář*; if they are based on substantives in -*íček*, -*íčko* they retain the long vowels of these suffixes (*slovíčkář*, *koníčkař*, etc.; *puntičkář* has however become usual).

6. Substantives and adjectives derived by the suffixes -*ství*, -*ský*, -*ka*, etc. from stem containing the suffixes -*tel*, -*č*, -*ař*/-*ář* retain the same vowel length as the deriving stem, cf. *nakladatelství*, *obyvatelský*, *zasílatelství* and *zasilatelství*, *hráčský*, *potápěčství*, *vyzvědačství*, *slovníkářství* and *slovnikářství*, *slovníkářský* and *slovnikářský*, *uváděčka* and *uvaděčka*

> Note. For further details see *Pravidla českého pravopisu* §45-60 (§42-48 in the school edition) and in their alphabetical word lists

§53.1. *Diminutives* are formed by special suffixes from names of persons, animals, and things, and more rarely from substantives with other meaning, the principal suffixes used for this purpose are -*ek*, -*ík*, -*ka*, -*ko* (cf. *stromek*, *dárek*, *motorek*, *baráček*; *koník*; *dcerka*, *knížka*; *dřívko*, *kuřátko*); -*eček*, -*íček*, -*ečko*, -*íčko* (cf. *stromeček*, *koníček*; *částečka*, *tetička*, *hvězdička*; *městečko*, *slovíčko*), more rarely also -*ínek*, -*inka*, (-*enka*) (cf. *kousínek*, *chvilinka*, more rarely *chvilenka*, *pusinka*) and others.

> Formations in -*éčko* occur in individual cases, alongside -*ečko* and -*íčko*; cf. *sluněčko* and *slunečko*, *sluníčko* and *srdéčko* in addition to *srdíčko* and the rarer *srdečko*.
>
> Diminutives do not simply denote small persons, animals and things, but also indicate our emotional attitude toward them, such as people, animals or things we like, for ex. *strýček*, *tatínek*, *maminka*, *matička*, *kočička*, *děvčátko*, *sluníčko*; such words are expressively colored, usually *affectionate*.
>
> The stem vowel of diminutives in -*ek* (-*eček*), -*ka* (-*ečka*), -*ko* (-*ečko*) is in most cases lengthened (or *í* replaces *e*[*ě*], *ů* replaces *o* and *ou* replaces *u*), cf. *dar - dárek, dáreček*, *jazyk - jazýček*, *květ - kvítek*, *most - můstek*, *roh - růžek*, *kluk - klouček*, *kniha - knížka*, *knížečka*, *postel - postýlka*, *dřevo - dřívko*, *slovo - slůvko*, etc. On the other hand some diminutives in -*ek*, -ík, -*ka* shorten

the originally long stem vowel, cf. *dům - domek*, *dvůr - dvorek*, *důl - dolík*, *brána - branka*, *mísa - miska*, etc. In further cases the original vowel length is left unchanged, cf. *syn - synek*, *koš - košík*, *důl - důlek*, *ruka - ručka*, *část - částka.* There are however almost no vacillations in individual words.

2. *Augmentatives* are also derived by means of special suffixes; such derivatives express a strengthening, an intensification of the meaning of the deriving base and generally have a *pejorative* nuance (e.g. *dubisko*, *chlapisko*, *klučisko*, *dobračisko*, *psisko*; *babizna*; *chlapák*, etc.).

3. Before all diminutive suffixes and before the augmentative suffix -*isko* the stem-final consonants *k, h (g)*, *ch* change to *č*, *ž*, *š*, and *c* also changes to *č*, for ex. *ručka*, *ručička*, *jazýček*, *knížka*, *knížečka*, *nožička*, *hošík*, *hošíček*, *slepička*, *čepička*; *klučisko*, etc.; cf. §19.

4. In the formation of diminutives and augmentatives the referential meaning of the deriving word is merely modified. The same is true of gender-paired words (see §58 below) and collectives (see §59).

§54.1. Substantives are formed not only by suffixes, but also by a variety of *prefixes* and sometimes by prefixes and suffixes together (*pra-les*, *pře-sila*, *před-zápas*, *zá-klad*, *pří-pis*, *po-lož-ka*, *ná-břež-i*, etc.).

a) Some substantives are derived by means of special *nominal prefixes* which usually occur only with noun stems (*pra*-, *pa*-, *sou*- etc.); only rarely is the word base also altered by a suffix. Cf. *pra-les*, *pra-děd*, *pra-síla*, *pa-kůň*, *pa-klíč*, *pa-list*, *pa-věda*, *pa-kultura*, *pře-sila*, *sou-část* (but *pa-hor-ek*, *sou-hvězd-í* etc.).

Prefixes which also occur in prefixed verbs are more frequent (in most cases such prefixes are lengthened when used to form substantives). Substantives formed with these prefixes are derived from verbal stems or derived from already-prefixed verbs. Cf. *ná-klad*, *pří-klad*, *zá-klad*, *dů-kaz*, *pří-nos*, *vý-běr*, *vý-chod*, *zá-pad*, but *do-zor*, *roz-loha*, etc.

b) Substantival prefixes arise from prepositions in prepositional phrases, usually denoting spatial circumstances; in most cases derivation also involves a suffix, esp. -*í*, more seldom -*ek*, etc. Cf. *nábřeží<na břehu*, *náprstek<na prstě*, *podbradek<pod bradou*, *podhradí<pod hradem*, *předměstí<před městem*, *přímoří<při moři*, *zápěstí<za pěstí*, *úbočí* (<older *u boku* instead of *v boku*), *Polabí<po Labi*, and also from circumstantial modifiers other than spatial, *bezvládí<bez vlády*, *mezidobí*, *podjaří*, *podletí*, etc.

c) Recently many substantives have been formed with prefixes identical with prepositions, usually without suffixation; the meaning of the underlying substantive is made more precise by the prefix. Cf. *protiútok*, *protitlak*, *protijed*, *předzápas*, *nadstavba*, *nadvýroba*, *podvýživa*, *mezihra*, etc.

Substantival prefixes have a lengthened vowel compared to their corresponding prepositions or verbal prefixes, cf. *nález - nalézt*, *příchod - přicházet*, *úroda - urodit se*, *průchod - procházet*, *přívoz - převážet*, *nábřeží - na břehu*, *zápěstí - za pěstí* etc. This lengthening occurs only in monosyllabic prefixes ending in a vowel, and even then not in all cases. Exceptions are: often the prefix *po-* (*poklad, položka, poplatek*, but *původ*), sometimes *do-* (*dozor, doklad, doplatek*...but *důkaz, důmysl, důraz, důvod*, etc.), etc. The multisyllabic or closed syllable prefixes *roz-*, *nad-*, *pod-*, *bez-*, *mezi-*, and others remain without lengthening, cf. *rozcestí, rozsah, rozum*; *nadpis*; *podpis, podjezd*; *bezpráví*; *mezihra*, etc.

2. Substantives are also formed by compounding two or several word bases, for ex. *okamžik*, *tělocvik*, *velkoměsto*, *zeměpis*, etc. For details see §41 above, where the possibility of classifying the first part of words like *spolupráce*, *arcidílo* as prefixes, and the foreign prefixes *anti-*, *kontra-*, *pseudo-* are also discussed.

Bibliography. ~~Literature~~: Individual studies of substantival derivation are grouped together in the bibliographical survey ~~of~~ ~~literature~~ on derivation following §42 above.

§55. Substantives are divided according to their meaning into common and proper substantives.

1. Common substantives are those which do not designate a specific, individual person, animal or thing, but which name them in general. For ex.: strom, lípa, žák, kůň, soutěž, etc.

> Such words denote 'tree', 'linden tree', etc. in general, as they are generalized as concepts in our thoughts (see §38.1); it is only in the sentence that they can then refer to some specific entity. (see § 216)

2. Proper names are substantives [illegible] which designate one specific person (personal names), one specific animal or one specific thing, esp. a place, mountains, river, country, state, etc. (place names), the citizen of a state or country (national, tribal, residential names), an enterprise, ~~group~~ association, artistic creation, book, journal, etc.

> For example: Jiří, Božena, Fučík (personal names); Šemík, Rek (animal names); Praha, (Vysoké) Mýto, Říp, Krkonoše, Vltava, Čechy, Československo, Evropa (place names); Čech, Slovenka (national names), Pražan; Kniha (national enterprise), Matice česká (~~group~~ association), Dalibor (opera), Psohlavci (book by Jirásek), Práce (newspaper), etc.

Note. For details on the lexical meaning and formation of proper names see §218-220, on their declension, see §88-90, and on their spelling with capital letters, see §32.

Gender (and animation) and number

§56. Substantives denoting persons and animals are *animate*, other substantives are *inanimate*. The difference between animate and inanimate substantives finds grammatical expression only in the forms of the masculine gender (see §65).

Some masculine substantives denoting non-live objects (i.e. inanimate in meaning) have -- esp. in the nom. plur. -- *dual forms, animate and inanimate*, cf. (wooden) *koníčci* and *koníčky*, *maňásci* and *maňásky*, *beránci* (clouds) and *beránky*, *panáci* and *panáky*, *panáčci* and *panáčky*, *slanečci*, *uzenáči* and *slanečky*, *uzenáče*; *ledoborci* and *ledoborce*, *jezdci* (clips on cards in cardfile) and *jezdce*, *kříženci* and *křížence* (hybrids in botany), *menšenci* and *menšence*, *činitelé*, *ukazatelé*, *dělitelé* and *činitele*, *ukazatele*, *dělitele*, etc. These are substantives which arose by meanings transferred from animate substantives or derived by means of prefixes common among animates, esp. -*tel*, -*ec*.

The words *bacil* and *mikrob* also have both animate and inanimate forms: nom. plur. *bacili* and *bacily*, *mikrobi* and *mikroby* (in these cases the referents themselves are perceived as either anima~~te~~l or ~~inanimate~~ plant).

Note. On agreement of predicate and attribute with such forms see §190.3 and §195.2.

In less frequent instances substantives denoting non-live things but which arose by transferring the meaning of animates, have only the animate forms, e.g. *pouštět draka* 'fly a kite ('dragon')', *draci stoupali k oblakům, najít kozáka* (a mushroom), *v podrostu rostli kozáci*, *poslouchat Dalibora* (the opera by B. Smetana), *číst Jiráskova Věka*, *mít svého koníčka* (hobby), *koupit si pionýra* ("Pioneer" bicycle), *koupit si moskviče* (automobile 'Moskvič'), etc. In such cases the connection with animates is closer.

The animate forms, esp. that of the acc. sing., with inanimate substantives can sometimes serve as a means of expressive coloration; cf. *našel jsem krásného hřiba* (but the nom. plur, is only *hřiby, hříbky*), *dát si buřta s octem a cibulí* (in Common Czech), etc.

In some cases identically appearing substantives are clearly distinguished in the appropriate cases, according to whether they designate persons or things. Cf. *vodič* 'conductor (in trolley, etc)', acc. sing. *vodiče*, nom. plur. *vodiči* -- *vodič* 'conductor (electrical)', acc. sing. *vodič*, nom. plur. *vodiče*; this occurs esp. with the suffix -*č* (-*ič*), cf. also *nosič* 'baggage porter' (nom. plur. *nosiči*) -- *nosič* '(steel) carrier' (nom. plur. *nosiče*); similarly *koráli* '(live) corals' and *korály*, *korále* (jewelry).

Substantives with collective meaning indicating many living beings are also considered inanimate, e.g. lid, národ, dav, hmyz, brav, skot, etc.

Although animation and inanimation, like gender in personal and animal names, usually coincide with 'live' and 'non-live' meanings, they are grammatical categories and not referential meanings and as such determined partially by the form of the word. For this reason a substantive with non-live referential meaning (denoting a non-live thing) can be grammatically animate (have animate grammatical form) and vice versa; vacillations in animation arise and exist because of this tension between referential and grammatical meanings.

§57. A substantive must have one of the three genders; it is either masculine, feminine or neuter.

1. Personal and animal names are usually grammatically masculine or feminine according to the sex of the referent, cf. muž - žena, otec - matka, hoch - dívka, kohout - slepice, kocour - kočka, etc.

Neuter substantives can denote male or female referents (dítě); the young of animals (kuře, štěně) are neuter without regard to the sex of the designated animal.

A few masculine substantives, and an even smaller number of feminines, can denote both male and female referents without any change in form or gender; sex is not distinguished, for example, in *sirotek*, (*chlapec je sirotek*, *nevěsta je ubohý sirotek*), *lakomec*, *jedináček* (*dcera*, *náš jedináček*), *potomek*, in expressive language *mazlíček*, vulgar *mrcha* (fem.), etc.

> Only rarely and exceptionally do such words show differing gender forms, but cf. *potomkyně* (Neruda), *jedinačka* (Němcová) etc.

Among animal names the basic word is sometimes of masculine or feminine gender (*husa*, *žába*, *kůň*, *tygr*) and only if needed are specifically male or female forms utilized (*husák* or *houser*, *žabák*, *kobyla*, *tygřice*, etc.).

Some substantives have identical forms in the nominative for both male and female referents, but distinguish one from the other in their declensional forms, cf. *můj chot' - má chot'*, instr. *se svým chotěm* -- *se svou chotí*, dative *naší Zdeně -- našemu Zdenovi*, etc. The same situation obtains with expressive substantives in -*a* (often derived from verbs) like *dětina*, *nešika*, *nezbeda*, *nemluva*, *neposeda*, *nestyda*, etc. These substantives also have dual gender, which is formally distinguished primarily in the nom. plur.; cf. *takoví malí neposedové* -- *malé neposedy*, etc.

In such emotive combinations as *chlapče zlatá*, *kluk ušatá* (cf. §195.2b below) the gender of the substantives does not change (e.g. *můj chlapče zlatá*, *ten náš kluk ušatá*, etc.).

2. In names of things gender is usually determined by the words' endings. Substantives ending in a consonant are most often masculine, occasionally feminine. Substantives ending in a vowel are either feminine (if they end in -*a*) or neuter (if they end in -*o*, -*í*); words ending in -*e* can be feminine or neuter, only rarely masculine (see § 65).

This orientation toward the ending is strikingly clear in the way borrowed words are morphologically adopted into Czech. Borrowed names of things only rarely preserve the gender of the original language if this gender does not coincide with that dictated by their endings. It is the endings which determine gender in Czech. For example, nouns such as *étos*, *patos*, *stadión*, originally neuter in Greek, are masculines because of their consonantal endings. See §90 below.

Borrowed names for persons, however, have grammatical gender determined by sex, regardless of ending, cf. poeta, patriarcha (masc.), Dagmar, Juno (fem.), etc.

3. A few substantives vacillate in gender; for example hřídel, kyčel, příčel, píštěl, rez, klest and some borrowings, like prestiž, trolej are either masculine or feminine, rukojmí either masculine or neuter, kánoe either neuter or feminine.

Sometimes a substantive's dual gender is manifested in its declension, but without any difference in meaning, for ex. brambor - brambora, pirožek (gen. plur. pirožků) - pirožka (gen. plur. pirožek), kedluben - kedlubna, řádek - řádka, pásek - páska, šál - šála, variant - varianta; břich - břicho; snídaně - snídaní, náruč - náručí; líce (neut.) - líc (fem.), písmeno - písmena, etc.

Dual gender sometimes occurs in words of foreign origin, which in addition to their originally neuter gender and indeclinable status in Czech can develop secondary masculine or feminine gender and declension forms according to their endings; cf. étos (neut. indecl.) - étos, gen. étosu (masc.), jota (neut. indecl.) - jota, joty (fem.).

Only rarely do fine distinctions of meaning or style develop in such doublets; for ex. the masc. forms *fazol*, *brambor* are specialized botanical terms for these plants themselves, not merely their edible portions, whereas in normal communication such a distinction is not felt.

A few words have one gender in the singular and another in the plural, e.g. *dítě*, *dítko* (neut.) - *děti*, *dítky* (fem.) (on the rarer neut. form *dítka* see §86.4); *kníže*, *hrabě* (masc.) - *knížata*, *hrabata* (neut.); only archaically are the forms *kníže*, *hrabě* also neut. in the sing., see §85.

§58.1. In animate nouns, particularly those designating persons according to their occupation, origin or membership (inhabitants of some region, etc.), and also agents of bearers of qualities (see §51.1), natural gender (sex) or referents is distinguished by special feminine suffixal forms denoting females.

The derivation of such fem. forms is known as *přechylování* in Czech; there is no corresponding English term.

The feminine suffixes are added either to the masculine substantive itself, or to the word base on which the latter is formed. The most frequently used suffixes are -*ka* (*soused* -

sousedka, *doktor - doktorka*, *Pražan - Pražanka*; *cizinec - cizinka*, *cvičenec - cvičenka*), -*yně*,-*kyně* (*žák - žákyně* [alongside *žačka*], *ministr - ministryně*, *kolega - kolegyně*, *přítel - přítelkyně*, *předseda - předsedkyně*, *správce - správkyně*, *plavec - plavkyně*), -*ice* (-*nice*) (*lev - lvice*, *dělník - dělnice*, *knihovník - knihovnice*), -*ová* (*krejčí - krejčová*, *správce - správcová*), etc.

The suffixes -*a* (*magistra*), -*na* (*kněžna*), -*ena* (*přadlena*, *tkadlena*) and -*ovna* (*královna*) are quite dead in this meaning.

The suffix -*ka* is the most frequent in this use; it is added to masc. stems ending in -*tel*, -*č*, -*ák*, -*ař* (-*ář*), -*íř*, -*an* (*učitelka*, *prodavačka*, *zpěvačka*, ~~[illegible]~~, *lékařka*, *čtenářka*, *hospodářka* [in some establishment, but in the meaning 'housewife' *hospodyně*], *malířka*, *krajanka*, *Pražanka*) and also to masc. stems of foreign origin ending in a consonant (*asistentka*, *referentka*, *doktorka*, *medička*, *chiruržka* [alongside *chirurgyně*], *biložka*) or in the suffix -*ita*, -*ista* (*traktoristka*, *turistka*). -- Feminines in -*ka* are also formed on certain masculines in -*ec* (*cizinec* - *cizinka*, *cvičenec* - *cvičenka*, *snoubenec* - *snoubenka*), but in other cases such masc. names in -*ec* have their fem. correspondents in -*kyně* (*plavec* - *plavkyně*, *poslanec* - *poslankyně*, but to *zřízenec* - both *zřízenkyně* and *zřízenka*), as do as a rule masculines in -*ce* (*rádce - rádkyně*, *správce - správkyně*).

> Before the suffix -*ka* the stem-final consonants *k*, *h* (*g*), *ch* change to *č*, *ž*, *š* (see §19), for ex. *žák - žačka*, *zpěvačka*, *medička*, *soudruh - soudružka*, *biolog - biložka*, *Čech - Češka*, *černoška*, etc., just as happens before the -*ka* which forms diminutives (see §53.3).
>
> The suffix -*yně* also forms feminines from masc. substantives in -*k*, -*g*, -*ga* (*žák - žákyně*, *voják - voyákyně*, *dramaturg - dramaturgyně* [in addition to *dramaturžka*], *kolega - kolegyně*, etc.).

Feminines corresponding to masc. substantives in -*ík* (-*ník*) are usually formed with the suffix -*ice* (-*nice*) (*uprchlík - uprchlice*, *dělník - dělnice*, *tajemník - tajemnice*, *knihovník - knihovnice*, *rolník - rolnice*), rarely by other means (*právník - právnička*).

Occasionally the fem. name may have a different word base from the masc., e.g. *muž - žena*, *hoch - dívka*; this is more frequent among animal names, e.g. *kohout - slepice*.

> Equally rare are cases where the feminine is formed on the same base as the masculine but uses a different stem, for ex. *Pražka* to *Pražák* (*Pražačka* is rarer), *Slovenka* to *Slovák*, *vražednice* to *vrah* (actually to the older *vražedník*), *básnířka* to *básník*, etc.

2. Feminine surnames (of both wives and daughters) are formed with the suffix -*ová*.

Married women were formerly also designated by this same suffix -*ová* appended to the professional title of their husbands, for ex. (*páni*) *profesorová*, *doktorová*, *učitelová* (as distinguished from *profesorka*, *doktorka*, *učitelka* which designated female members of these professions), but such forms are already going out of use.

3. There are certain peculiarities in the formation of feminine surnames.

If the masc. surname ends in a vowel, this vowel is omitted in forming the fem. surname in -*ová* (*Svoboda - Svobodová*, *Naske - Nasková*); only originally foreign surnames in -*i*, -*y* retain this vowel (*Benioni - Benioniová*, *Josefy - Josefyová*).

The feminine surnames to *Kočí*, *Krejčí* are *Kočová*, *Krejčová*. But to names of obvious adjectival origin like *Široký*, *Dolejší* the fem. surnames also have the corresponding adjectival forms *Široká*, *Dolejší* (in names shaped like soft-stem adjectives the masc. and fem. nom. forms are the same). -- The type *Dolejší*, *Hořejší* is affecting the *Kočí*, *Krejčí*, giving rise to the unsuffixed fem. surname form *Kočí*, *Krejčí*.

Fem. surnames to masculines in -*ů* for ex. *Janů*, *Macků* are either in -*ová* (*Janová*, *Macková*) or remain unchanged (*Janů*, *Macků*), in which case they are often undeclined.

The same vocalic alternations appear in the formation of fem. surnames as in the declension of their masc. bases, cf. Hronek - Hronková, Jakubec - Jakubcová, Švec - Ševcová and Švecová, Klimeš - Klimešová and Klimšová, Richter - Richtrová, etc., see §87.4 below.

§59. Substantives usually have two numbers, singular and plural; The forms which express case express number at the same time (dělníci nom. case and plur. number, bez dělníka - bez dělníků gen. ~~sing.~~ and sing. vs. plur. number).

1. Some substantives have only singular forms.

a) Names of qualities and actions generally occur only in the singular, e.g. píle, mladost, námaha, spaní, četba.

b) Collective substantives also occur only in the singular, e.g. dříví. Such collectives are most frequently derived by the suffixes -í, -oví, as in dříví, listí, kamení; kroví, stromoví, sloupoví, etc ., and less often by the suffix -ina, as in březina, dubina (in addition to březí, březoví, doubí), etc. -- Words like dobytek, brav, skot, hmyz also have collective meaning.

Substantives in -stvo (-ctvo) designating numbers of individuals seen as a single group also have collective meaning, e.g. učitelstvo, obyvatelstvo, lidstvo, dělnictvo, etc. By this meaning such words are distinguished from similar formations in -*stvi* (-*ctvi*), which have the abstract meaning of activity of quality (e.g. *učitelství*, *lidství*, *hornictví*, see § 51.3 above).

> The suffix -*ctvo* occurs with deriving bases in -*k*, -*c*, for ex. *dělník - dělnictvo*, *letec - letectvo*, etc., cf. similarly the suffixes -*ctví*, -*cký* instead of -*stvi*, -*ský* in §51.3 and §93.2.

c) Some substantives usually have only singular forms and denote either a part or all of some material without regard to quantity, e.g. *voda*, *pivo*, *krev*, *dřevo*, *mouka*, *žito*. These are material names. If used at all in the plural, they acquire a different meaning, e.g. *železa* 'iron fetters', *dvě piva* (Common Czech) 'two glasses of beer', *žita* '(fields of) rye', or they are typical of individual artistic styles, e.g. *písky pouště* 'sands of the desert', *loňské sněhy* 'the snows of yesteryear'.

2. Some substantives have only plural forms, even if they denote a single object (single place, city, etc.); they are known as *pluralia tantum*. Plurale tantum can be either common nouns, or nouns denoting holidays or celebrations (*kamna*, *sáňky*, *housle*, *dveře*, *tepláky*, *ústa*, *stanovy*, *souchotiny*, *velikonoce*, *narozeniny*, *dožínky*), or they can be proper names naming places (*Hradčany*, *Košíře*, *Budějovice*, *Jince*, *Čechy*, etc.).

Common noun plurale tantum, when used in concrete speech acts, denote either one individual item or several, this difference being expressed by various accompanying language forms, e.g. každé sáňky 'every sled' but všechny sáňky 'all the sleds', jedny housle 'one violin' but dvoje, troje, housle 'two, three violins'; such plurale tantum nouns always require adjectives and verbs to agree with them in the plural.

Some such words are also used in the singular, but with a different meaning, cf. noviny 'newspaper(s)' but novina 'item of news', hodiny 'clock' but hodina 'hour', etc.

3. In a few instances singular and plural are distinguished not only by different endings, but by completely different bases: člověk - lidé. Equally rarely the sing. and plur. forms differ in gender: dítě, dítko (neut.) - děti, dítky (fem.); see §57.3.

§60. Certain substantives denoting paired body parts (oči, uši, ruce, nohy, prsa, ramena, kolena) have some plural forms differing from those of other plural substantives. Since they generally denote body parts which come in twos, the special plural form of these words are called dual forms.

These forms comprise the entire plural declension of oko and ucho:

nom./acc.	oči	uši
gen.	očí	uší
dat.	očím	uším
loc.	očích	uších
inst.	očima	ušima

The more regular plural forms oka, ucha, ok, okům..., have different meanings, e.g. oka pytlácka 'snares' oka na polévce 'drops of grease in soup' etc., ucha 'handles of a pot', etc.

To this same group there belong certain individual plural forms of the substantives ruka (nom.-acc. ruce, gen. rukou, loc. rukou, or rukách, instr. rukama) and noha (gen. nohou or noh, loc. nohou or nohách, instr. nohama), and in prsa, ramena and kolena (only the gen. and loc. prsou, ramenou, kolenou but also gen. ramen, kolen and the loc. ramenech, kolenech). As long as the substantives ruka, noha denote body parts, they always have the special dual forms, no matter how many hands or feet are actually denoted (hrát na čtyři ruce 'play (piano) four-handed', kůň hrabal všema čtyřma nohama 'the horse was pawing with all four feet'. The instr. in -ma is also used for diminutives of all these words, e.g. *očkama*, *ručkama*, *nožičkama*, etc.

The substantives *ruka*, *noha* have the following declension in the plural.

nom. - acc.	*ruce*	*nohy*
gen.	*rukou*	*nohou* (or *noh*)
dat.	*rukám*	*nohám*
loc.	*rukou* (or *rukách*)	*nohou* (or *nohách*)
instr.	*rukama*	*nohama*

If the nouns *noha*, *koleno*, *rameno* denote something other than a human or animal body part, they have -- just like *ucho*, *oko* -- the regular plural forms (*z ramen semaforu*, *za nohami stolu*, etc.).

¶ If adjectives, pronouns or adjectival numerals are combined with instrumental plural forms (in -*ma*) of these words, they also acquire special dual endings in -*ma* e.g. *těma bystrýma očima*, *mezi čtyřma očima*, *brát všema čtyřma* (i.e., *rukama i nohama*).

> *Note.* In Old Czech there existed a complete *dual number* in addition to the singular and plural; the special dual forms discussed above are the remnants of this former dual. Cf. also the deviant declension of the numerals *dva*, *oba* (*dvě*, *dvou*, *dvěma*,...) in §114.3.

Cases and their meanings

§61. Substantives, like adjectives, pronouns and numerals, express different cases by their various forms, i.e. they are declined. There are seven cases.

1.	nominative - answers the question kdo 'who' or co 'what'.	muž, muži; stroj, stroje
2.	genitive - answers the question koho 'whose', čeho 'of what' or čí 'whose'	muže, mužů; stroje, strojů
3.	dative - answers the question komu 'to whom' or čemu 'to what'	muži, mužům; stroji, strojům
4.	accusative - answers the question koho 'whom' or co 'what'	muže; stroj, stroje; ženu
5.	vocative - form of direct address	muži!; ženo!
6.	locative - answers the question o kom 'about whom' or o čem 'about what'	o muži, mužích; o stroji, strojích
7.	instrumental - answers the question kým 'with/by whom', čím 'with/by what'	mužem, muži; strojem, stroji; ženou, ženami

§62. The vocative has a special form only in the singular of masc. and fem. substantives (except those which have nom. sing. in -*e*, like *duše: duše! vůdce: vůdce!*); in all other instances the vocative is identical with the nominative (*děvče! hoši! dívky! děvčata!*).

The vocative is used in direct address, whether calling someone, identifying the person to whom one speaks, or simply labeling someone (*ty snílku!* 'you dreamer!).

> The restricted forms of the vocative result from its direct-address function; we ordinarily call, speak to persons (and -- esp. in older circumstances -- above all a single person). The vocative is used in literary Czech after the title words *pane*, *soudruhu*, etc., e.g. pane *soudruhu inženýre*, *pane* (or *soudruhu*) *Vrbo*. Common Czech and local dialects use the nominative after the word pane, e.g. *pane Vrba*, but *soudruhu* is always followed by the vocative, e.g. *soudruhu inženýre*.

The vocative does not combine syntactically with other words in the sentence, see §181.

§63. All cases other than the vocative express various sentence parts and various semantic connections and grammatical relations between substantives and other words in the sentence. Only the nominative can serve as a simple designation outside of the sentence (in word-lists, dictionaries, indices, etc.).

1. The nominative expresses the subject of the sentence (~~horníci soutěží 'the miners are competing'~~ lidé pracují 'the people are working') or a sentence part agreeing with the subject, namely a nominal predicate (mladost - radost, bratr je ~~pionýr~~ voják), a complement (only the adjectival complement is generally in the nom., see §197 below; e.g. chodí bos, vrátil se zdráv), or an attribute or appositive modifier (professor Zubatý; Bedřich Smetana, klasik české hudby).

The nominative is also used to express the name or designation of something as an attribute which does not agree in case with the generic term it modifies. This occurs especially with generics like jméno, název, značka, titul, časopis, kniha, román, opera, závod, kavárna, obec, okres, etc., e.g. o knize Psohlavci, v časopise Naše řeč, v hotelu Jalta, do kina Svobody, v okrese Příbram, v obci Štěkeň, říkali mu kmotr Palička, etc.

This is called the nominative of specification.

The language sometimes vacillates between the nominative of specification and a congruent (agreeing) attribute; cf. z rozhlasové stanice Praha or ...Prahy, na ostrově Kuba or ...Kubě etc. Substantives of one and the same semantic class vary in taking the nominative of specification or a congruent attribute, cf. v obci Kralupy but v městě Praze, dosáhnout titulu promovaný *pedagog* but *dosáhl hodnosti doktora věd* (with non-agreeing genitive attribute) etc.

The nominative also occurs in nominal sentences (*Nosič! Letadlo! Praha!*), especially in signs and notices (*Škola, Východ* etc.).

The nominative is also used in vocative meaning for words which have no special vocative form, but it then has voc. and not nom. meaning, cf.§62.

The acc., gen., dat. and instr. express an object dependent on a verb or on an adjective according to the latters' *syntax*, for ex. *(vrtá) skálu, (dosáhl) úspěchu, (učí se) jazykům, (třese) stromem; (dychtivý) úspěchu, (podobný) otci, (známý) svým chováním* etc.

The gen., dat. and instr. express the non-agreeing attribute dependent on a substantive (including those designating actions), e.g. *(střecha) domu, (služba) pracujícím, (pohyb) rukama, (cesta) lesem.* In the case of substantives denoting actions we feel the dependence on the syntax of the corresponding verb or on its ~~verbal~~ adverbial determiners *(pohybovat) rukama, (jít) lesem,* etc.

The acc., gen. and instr. can also express adverbial determiners, e.g. *metr, dva metry (dlouhý), toho času, (jde) pěšinou*.

The acc. and gen. serve occasionally -- like the nom.-- as the kernel of one-member nominal sentences. The gen. expresses the emotional state of the speaker (joy, surprise, distaste, pain, etc.), for ex.: *Těch dárků!* *Té radosti!* *Toho bláta!* *Těch řečí!* etc. --The acc. occurs in one-member sentences expressing greetings ~~wishes~~, commands, etc. e.g. *Dobrou noc!*, *Dobrou chut'*, *Pozor!* etc. Cf. §180.

All cases can express a sentence part congruent with another part, above all a congruent attribute (and apposition), the case of which is determined by agreement with that of the headword of the given combination, e.g. *soudruh Novák (přišel)*, *(volám) soudruha Nováka*, *(dám to) soudruhu Novákovi* etc.; *město Praha*, *do města Prahy*, *k městu Praze*...etc. This occurs esp. with adjectives, pronouns and ordinal numerals, for ex. *svědomitý pracovník*, *svědomitého pracovníka*, *svědomitému pracovníku*..., *toho třetího dne*...

On the question of which of the two words in *soudruh Novák*, *město Praha* should be considered the attribute, see §196 below.

The acc., like the nom., and archaically the dat., case also express a congruent complement, but ordinarily only as an adjective, e.g. *(rád tě vidím) spokojeného*, *(nebylo mi tam dobře) samotnému*. -- Substantives in this syntactic position are also ~~usually~~ in the instr. instead of the nom. or acc. complement, for ex. *(zvolili ho) předsedou*, *(byl zvolen) předsedou*, or in a prepositional phrase such as *(zvolili ho) za předsedu* (cf. below, §197.2).

2. All these cases (except the nom. and the voc.) also occur as *prepositional cases* or as prepositional constructions; the loc. occurs only as a prepositional case.

In prepositional constructions the substantive occurs in the case required by the preposition and by the appropriate verbal construction or referential meaning, for ex. *do lesa* (preposition *do* with the gen.), *k tobě* (preposition *k* with the dat.) etc., *mluvil o úspěších*, *myslil na domov* -- *o domově*, *na Kladno (kam?)* -- *na Kladně (kde?)*, *před sebe (kam?)* -- *před sebou (kde?)*. See §166.

> Only exceptionally can the nom. combine with (only foreign) prepositions (actually more as a non-inflected form than as a nom. case form), e.g. *Sokolovo ~~vs.~~ versus Plzeň*, *Jestřáb kontra Hrdlička* etc.

Prepositional ~~Participial~~ constructions can express various adverbial determinations, e.g. *u stroje*, *kvůli matce*, *na podzim*, *v dolech*, *pod zemí* etc. Certain of them also express objects, for ex. *(touží) po matce*, *(loučí se) s otcem*, *(mluví) o úspěších*, or non-agreeing attribute such as (úloha) bez ~~(pokládali ho)~~ *chyby*, or complement *(pokládali ho) za hlupáka.* ~~za hlupáka.~~

§64. The following more detailed remarks about the meanings of the simple cases are necessary.

The nominative of substantives as predicate noun after the copula být, bývat expresses a continuing state (classification, evaluation) or quality of its subject (kniha je dobrý přítel), whereas the instr. expresses a transitory state (function, profession, e.g. byl v mládí učitelem); cf. details in §190.2b.

The remaining simple cases (except the voc.) are always the dependent members of syntactic combinations. They complement and define more precisely the meaning of their headword and express the relation of the dependent ~~member~~ substantive to the headword. In this function the individual cases have the following meanings.

The accusative expresses an object directly attained by the action of the verb, upon which this action is entirely concentrated, or which is an inevitable result of such action, e.g. řeže dříví, koupil knížku, maluje obraz, vyprávěl pohádku, splnil poslání.

The genitive with transitive verbs (normally taking an acc. object):

expresses the object as entity only part of which is attained by the action: přidá soli, mouky; nabere vody, ubere mouky; in some instances such a gen. expresses esp. large quantity, e.g. natrhal jablek;

serves as the object of negated verbs: ~~nemluvit~~ nepromluvil ani slova.

The gen. of negation is used less and less frequently in the contemporary literary language and is felt as bookish. It occurs primarily with names of materials or collectives (*nemám peněz*), sometimes with abstract nouns (*nemá naděje na úspěch*) or when the negation is emphasized (*nemá nejmenší příčiny k nespokojenosti*). In addition, it is maintained in one-member sentences after the verb *nebýt* (*není důvodu*, *není východiska*, *nebylo tam človíčka*), often with an emphatic effect. -- The pronouns *nic*, *co*, *to* do not take the gen. after negated transitive verbs: *nic jsem neslyšel*, *co nevíš*? *to nejím*, but *ničeho se nebál*, *toho se neodvážil*, etc., because one also has the non-negated *bál se všeho*, *odvážil se takového činu*, etc. (i.e., the verb itself, not the negation, requires the gen).

The gen. of negation is still a live category, and to a still greater extent than in the literary language, in the eastern (Moravian) dialect area. In Common Czech the first type of gen. of negation is replaced by the acc. (*nemám peníze*) and the second type by a two-member sentence with nom. subject (*nebyly pro to důvody*), but the gen. is still used for emphatic negation (*nebylo tam človíčka*, etc.).

In intransitive verbs taking the gen. this case expresses an object which is only partly attained by, or which is only the goal of the action (dotýká se obrazu, dojde cíle, dobyl města, města bylo dobyto);

an object from which the verbal action expresses a separation (vzdálil se veřejného života, zřekl se odměny) -- for a more detailed list of such verbs see §194.2 below.

The same meanings appear in the gen. with processual adjectives (as object) and of nouns of action (as non-agreeing attribute), e.g. dbalý povinnosti, žádostivý peněz, prostý soubeckosti, dosažení úspěchu. -- With nouns of action this gen. replaces the acc. used with the corresponding verbs: výchova dětí, vychovávání dětí -- vychovat, vychovávat dětí.

Elsewhere the gen. as non-agreeing attribute modifying substantives expresses

a whole from which a part is removed (or otherwise identified) (půl metru, litr mléka, sklenice vody),

the owner, source, or object to which another belongs or from which it comes (zahrada našeho souseda, dílo Aloise Jiráska, koruna stromu), or

a constant quality (muž vysoké postavy).

With nouns of action the gen. expresses the originator or bearer of the action expressed by the underlying verb (the so-called subjective genitive: kázání M.J. Husa, tok Vltavy), or the object of such actions (always with deverbative substantives: the so-called objective genitive: upálení M.J. Husa, výroba strojů, učitel národů).

Note. On the expression of possession by possessive adjectives and the difference in usage between gen. of possession and possessive adjectives, see §93.4. The special terms for the types of gen. construction described above are partitive gen., possessive gen., qualitative gen., subjective and objective gen.

The dative with verbs requiring this case expresses:

an object defining the goal or direction of an action, or a so-called second (indirect) object of the action, the dative of person (see §194.5) (slouží vlasti, odporoval zlu, nadběhl kamarádovi, dal knihu bratovi, oznámil to otci);

the so-called dative of volition ("dativus commodi, incommodi"), which is not syntactically dependent directly on the verb, and which expresses the person for or against whom, in whose interest etc. the entire predication is accomplished (dative of the interested person: sbírám dítěti jahody, je mi zima, zpíval si písničku; "ethical" dative to vám byla krása.

The first of the above meanings also occurs in the dat. object or attribute modifying adjectives or nouns of action (podobný otci, vděčen příteli, vyučování cizím jazykům).

The instrumental, as verbal modifier, expresses the means (device or material) or the transmitter or source of the verbal action (píše perem, svítí žárovkou, byl smeten vichřicí, město bylo zničeno nepřítelem).

The instr., more rarely, expresses the object of the action, particularly with verbs designating motions (házel nohama, třásl stromem); cf. §194.2d.

The instr. has the same meaning when modifying adjectives of verbal meaning (as object: viněn neúspěchem, opera složená B. Smetanou) or nouns of action (as non-agreeing attribute:pohyb rukou).

The instr. also serves as predicate noun with the verbs stát se, stávat se (stal se pionýrem) and with the copula být, bývat to express a transitory state, function or profession (byl učitelem), and as a predicate complement (byl zvolan předsedou, nazývali ho Otcem vlasti).

> Simple case forms and those with prepositions can congeal into adverbs, sometimes into secondary prepositions (kolem, úprkem, nahoře, nahoru; místo, pomocí, kvůli etc.; cf. §162.7 and §164.2.

Bibliography. On the grammatical meaning of the noun in general see *Miko* 1962 and on this problem, as well as on morphology in general, *Ružička* et al. 1966.

On gender see the older monograph of *Oberpfalcer* (*Jílek*) 1933, more recently *Těšitelová* 1967, 1966; on the expression of natural gender in Czech, *Novotný* 1960.

On the category of number: *Hlavsa* 1964.

On the general problem of case, see *Skalička* 1950; on individual cases *Hausenblas* 1958, *Trávníček* 1938, 1961, *Daneš* 1949, *Ertl* 1922 and *Novakova* 1949.

Substantive Declension

¶ §65. The substantive declension is divided into three groups according to gender: the *masculine*, the *feminine*, and the *neuter*.

¶ 1. Within each gender declension there are various declensions (and examples of each) according to the ending of the nominative singular (for example within the neuter declension we have the nom. sing. endings -*o*, -*e*, -*í* and their models *město*, *moře*, *stavení*); if the nom. sing. has a zero ending, the declensions are distinguished by the endings of the genitive singular (e.g. the zero-ending masculines *pán*, *hrad*, *muž*, *stroj* are divided into two groups depending on whether the genitive ending is -*a* (-*u*) or -*e*: *pána*, *hradu* -- *muže*, *stroje*).

In all genders the declensions are divided into two rather similar types, one *hard* and one *soft*: *město - moře*; *žena - nůše*; *pán, hrad* (gen. sing. -*a*, -*u*) - *muž, stroj* (gen. sing -*e*); *předseda - soudce*.

> In the hard variety the consonants preceding the ending are 'hard' or neutral, and the 'hard' *y* is written after them, except in the nom. plur of animate masculines like *psi*. -- The soft variety has 'soft' (or neutral) consonants before the endings, and the 'soft' *i* is always written after them; compare in the instr.

plur. *městy, čísly - moři, poli*; *hrady, domy - stroji, penězi*; cf. §68 and §83 below.

On the phonetic development of the hard-soft distinction see § 240.2.

¶ 2. Neuter substantives always have a vocalic ending in the nom. sing.; this ending can be *-o*, *-e*, or *-í*, occurring in three different declension types, the hard *město*, the soft *moře*, and the long *stavení*.

Feminine substantives can have the nom. sing. either with a vocalic ending (-*a*, -*e*; hard type *žena*; soft type *nůše*) or with zero ending, in which case they are distinguished by the endings of the gen. sing. (type *píseň*, gen. -*e* [-*ě*]; type *kost*, gen. -*i*).

Masculine substantives can likewise have the nom. sing. in a vocalic ending (-*a*, -*e*; hard type *předseda*; soft type *soudce*) or a zero ending, in which they are distinguished by the gen. sing. (hard types *pán*, *hrad*, gen. *pána*, *hradu*; soft types *muž*, *stroj*, *gen*. *muže*, *stroje*).

Some masculine substantives with zero ending make a further distinction between animate and inanimate. Inanimates have the acc. sing. in zero like the nom. (*hrad*, *stroj*), while animates have a vocalic accusative like the genitive (*pána*, *muže*); inanimates always have identical nom. and acc. in the plural, either -*y* or -*e* (*hrady*, *stroje*), while animates distinguish these two cases in the plural (nom.

páni or pánové, muži vs. acc. pány, muže). We therefore distinguish, among such substantives, an inanimate (hrad, stroj) and an animate (pán, muž) declension type.

All masculine substantives with vocalic nom. sing. are animate (předseda, soudce).

¶ §66. Outline of declension types

I. Masculines

A. Inanimate

With zero endings in nom. sing.

1. gen. sing. -u or -a (hard type: hrad)
2. gen. sing. -e (soft type: stroj)

B. Animate

With zero ending in nom. sing.

3. gen. sing. in -a (hard type: pán)
4. gen. sing. in -e (soft type: muž)

With vocalic ending in nom. sing.

5. -a (hard type: předseda)
6. -e (soft type: soudce)

II. Feminines

With vocalic ending in nom. sing.

1. -a (hard type: žena)
2. -e (soft type: nůše)

With zero ending in nom. sing.

3. gen. sing. in -*e* (-*ě*) type *píseň*)
4. gen. sing. in -*i* (type *kost*)

III. Neuter
with vocalic ending in nom. sing.

1. -*o* (hard type: *město*)
2. -*e* (soft type: *moře*)
3. -*í* (long type: *stavení*)

Masculine declensions

¶ §67. Inanimate masc. substantives always have zero ending in the nom. sing., while animates have either a zero ending or the vocalic endings -*a* or -*e*.

Animate and inanimate masculines with zero ending distinguish two types, according to the ending of the gen. sing., thus giving four types in all. Those with vocalic nom. sing. fall into two types, those in -*a* and those in -*e*. There are therefore, altogether, six types of masculine declension:

hard	soft
inanimate	
1. gen. sing. in -*u*, -*a*: *hrad*	2. gen. sing. in -*e*: *stroj*
animate	
3. gen. sing. in -*a*: *pán*	4. gen. sing. in -*e*: *muž*
5. nom. sing. in -*a*: *předseda*	6. nom. sing. in -*e*: *soudce*

¶ §68. Masculine substantives with zero ending in nom. sing.:

inanimate:

	1. hard type hrad	2. soft type stroj
	singular	
nom.	hrad	stroj
gen.	hradu, lesa	stroje
dat.	hradu	stroji
acc.	= nom.	= nom.
voc.	hrade! kalichu!	stroji!
loc.	(o) hradě, zámku	stroji
instr.	hradem	strojem
	plural	
nom.	hrady	stroje
gen.	hradů	strojů
dat.	hradům	strojům
acc.	= nom.	= nom.
voc.	= nom.	= nom.
loc.	(o) hradech, (na) zámcích	strojích
instr.	hrady	stroji

animate

	3. hard type pán	4. soft type muž
	singular	
nom.	pán	muž
gen.	pána	muže
dat.	pánovi, -u	mužovi, -i
acc.	pána	muže

voc.	páne! hochu!	muži! otče!
loc.	(o) pánovi, -u	mužovi, -i
instr.	pánem	mužem
	plural	
nom.	páni, -ové, občané	muži, -ové, obyvatelé
gen.	pánů	mužů
dat.	pánům	mužům
acc.	pány	muže
voc.	= nom.	= nom.
loc.	(o) pánech, hoších	mužích
instr.	pány	muži

In the plural the hard and soft types have different endings in the acc. (and, for inanimates, also in the nom.) -*y*/-*e* (*pány - muže*; *hrady - stroje*) and in instr. -*y*/-*i* (*pány, psy - muži, přateli*; *hrady, lesy - stroji*, *penězi*).

¶ *§69*. *I. Inanimate substantives* of the hard type can have two (occasionally three) endings:

gen. sing. -*u* or -*a*: *do hradu - do lesa*

voc. sing. -*e* or -*u*: *hrade! - kalichu!*

loc. sing. -*e* (-*ě*) or -*u*: *na hradě (v lese) - na zámku*

loc plur. -*ech* or -*ích* (occasionally -*ách*): *na hradech - na zámcích (v balíčkách)*

In the gen. and loc. sing. and loc. plur. certain words can take both endings, e.g. *bochníku* and *bochníka*, *obdélníku* and

and *obdélníka*, *popelu* and *popela*; *o jazyku* and *o jazyce*, *ve spisu* and *ve spise*, *v rodu* and *v rodě*, *v infinitivu* and *v infinitivě*; *v balíčcích* and *v balíčkách*, *v teplácích* and *v teplákách*; in other case forms each substantive has as a rule only one ending.

> The choice of ending in individual words or groups of words depends on various factors which can reinforce or contradict each other and which are effective to varying degrees; the most obvious of such factors are *semantic* (concrete vs. abstract substantives etc.) and *formal* (the phonetic shape of the word and its ending, the length of the word, etc.). Double endings are sometimes utilized for stylistic purposes. Cf. the discussion of individual cases below and also §232.c.

1. In the gen. sing. of inanimate substantives of the hard type the basic ending of the contemporary literary language is -*u* (*z dubu, stolu, vozu, hukotu, rentgenu, kontrastu* etc.).

The ending -*a* appears

in names of months (*od ledna*..., except *listopadu*)

in names of days in -*ek* (*od pondělka*..., except *pátku*; similarly *dneška, zítřka, včerejška*).

in place names, provided no connection is felt with common nouns (*z Bydžova*, *z Mělníka*, *z Berouna*, *ze Lvova* etc., but *z Písku*, *z Mostu*).

in certain common nouns designating clearly defined places (mlýna, komína, včelína, kouta, sklepa, ostrova, domova, lesa, dvora, kláštera, rybníka etc.) and also in certain other substantives (oběda, večera, zákona, chleba, sýra, octa, etc.).

Both endings -u and -a appear in:

specialized geometrical terms compounded with the elements -běžník, -délník, -úhelník (lichoběžníku and lichoběžníka, kosodélníku and kosodélníka, mnohoúhelníku and mnohoúhelníka);

some individual words, such as bochník, budík, holubník, javor, kalich, popel;

some place names (native or borrowed) in -k (Blaník, Lipník, Minsk, Hamburk etc.).

?

The dual endings of one and the same substantive are sometimes connected with differences in meaning or in syntactic connections; cf. z klína 'from (someone's) lap' but do klínu 'into a wedge'; z prostředka 'from the middle' but jazykového prostředku 'a linguistic device, environment'; toho roku 'of that year' but in a fixed expression do roka (and do dne) 'exactly a year'; výklad snu 'explanation of the dream' but mluvit ze sna 'talk ~~as if half~~ in one's ~~asleep~~ sleep', z kusu 'from the piece' but nemá kusa rozumu 'he hasn't an ounce of sense', etc.

2. The ending -u is basic in the locative sing. in the contemporary literary language. It occurs regularly with words in -k, -g, -h, -ch like po boku, v domku, v Místku, v dialogu, na jihu, v ostrohu, v prachu; only a few such words also have forms in -e, e.g. o jazyku and jazyce, na potoku and potoce, v rybníku and rybníce, v roku and roce, na Mělníku and Mělníce, v Nymburku and Nymburce, v Zábřehu and Zábřeze, v kožichu and kožiše;

it occurs in words ending in -r, e.g. v míru, ve výboru, v nádoru, ve větru, na traktoru (but na papíře alongside na papíru);

it is usual in words ending in -p, -b, -m, -v, -f, such as na šroubu, v drápu, v příkrmu, v oděvu, v houfu;

and also in names of actions and in abstract substantives generally, e.g. v hukotu, po východu (slunce), při výpočtu, při výkladu, v rozkolu, v smyslu etc.

and in recently coined words (especially in specialized terminology), whether native or foreign, e.g. o teplometu, na rentgenu, v etylénu, o vizmutu etc.

The ending -e (sometimes ~~together with~~ alongside -u) occurs in: words which have the gen. sing. in -a, e.g. v lese, v komíně, ve včelíně, po obědě, na dvoře, v klášteře, v koutě, ve sklepě na ostrově, na světě, v Berouně, v Jáchymově, v Libušíně (cf.

gen. sing. z lesa, od oběda, ze dvora, do Berouna etc.); these are often place names or names which designate a distinct area or space or which, especially in combination with the prepositions v and na, make such a spatial interpretation possible.

Words with such a meaning of spatial designation sometimes have the loc. in -e (-ě) (usually alongside -u) even when the gen. is in -a, e.g. na hradě, na stole, na balkóně (and na balkónu), v oceáně (and v oceánu), v chrámě (and v chrámu) v Amsterodamě (and v Amsterodamu), na Urale (and na Uralu), v autobuse (and v autobusu), na rektorátě (and na rektorátu).

Both endings, -u and -e, appear -- in addition to the types already adduced -- especially in words in -át, -ál, -us, -pis, grammatical terms in -iv, etc.; cf. na sekretariátě and na sekretariátu, v regále and v regálu, v hubertuse and v hubertusu, v předpise and v předpisu, v infinitivě and v infinitivu etc.

> The choice of ending sometimes depends on the meaning of the word, cf. chovat na klíně 'to hold (someone) on one's lap' but v klínu 'in a wedge', v průjezdě 'in the breezeway of a house' (and v průjezdu domu), but only při průjezdu lodi, ve výkladě (and ve výkladu obchodního domu 'in the window of the department store'), but only v odborném výkladu 'in a technical exposition', na východě 'in the East' but po východu slunce 'after sunrise', v Mnichově 'in Munich', but in figurative

meanings only *o Mnichovu* (i.e. after the events of Munich 1938), etc.

> *Note*. The endings -*a* in the gen. and -*e* (-*ě*) in the loc. are older and both are giving way to -*u*; for this reason they seldom occur in new words, especially borrowings.

¶ 3. In the loc. plur. the ending -*ech* is basic in the modern literary language, e.g. *v sadech*, *v zákonech*, *ve sborech*, *na sloupech*, etc.

The ending -*ích* was frequent at an earlier stage of the language; today it has only been maintained in

words ending in -*k*, -*g*, -*h*, -ch such as *v dotaznících*, *v domcích*, *v dialozích*, *na soustruzích*, *na vrších*;

a few words in -*s* and -*l*, cf. *v lesích*, *okresích* (and *v okresech*), *na plesích* (alongside *na plesech*), *v hotelích*, *v kostelích* (and *v hotelech*, *v kostelech*).

Place names in -*sy*, -*zy*, -*ly* like *Kobylisy*, *Mokropsy*, *Plasy*, *Plazy*, *Podmokly* have the ending -*ích*, usually alongside -*ech*; e.g. *v Kobylisích*, *v Mokropsích* and *v Mokropsech*, *v Plasech*, *Plazech* and *v Plasích*, *Plazích*, *v Podmoklích* and *v Podmoklech*, etc.

In addition to -ích, the Common Czech ending -ách (from the feminine declension) is penetrating into the literary language:

in diminutives in -ček, e.g. v balíčcích or v balíčkách, v obláčcích or v obláčkách;

in a few words in -ek, for ex. po kouscích and po kouskách, na hříbcích and na hříbkách, na schůdcích and na schůdkách, v opáncích and v opánkách, v spodcích and v spodkách, (jde to jako) na drátkách, v plíšcích and v plíškách, na kláscích and na kláskách, v hrncích and v hrnkách (to distinguish this form from hrnec - v hrncích);

in conversational words in -k, e.g. v teplácích and v teplákách, v modrácích and v modrákách, dřevácích and dřevákách, nocích and nokách (from nok), and in a few borrowed words like v docích and v dokách, v tarocích and v tarokách;

in the fixed expression ve snách, and in na plechách (from plech 'tin', to distinguish this form from na pleších, from pleš 'bald spot').

The ending -ách, sometimes alongside -ích, appears in place names in -ky, -chy such as Diváky, Klobouky, Javorníky, Jeseníky, Přepychy etc.; cf. v Divákách, Kloboukách, Javorníkách, Jeseníkách, Přepychách alongside v Divácích, Kloboucích, Javornících, Jesenících, Přepyších etc.

II. *Animate substantives* have two (sometimes three) endings:

in dat. and loc. sing.	-*ovi* or *u* (in the hard type) and -*ovi* or *i* (in the soft type): *pánovi*, *mužovi* - *pánu, muži;*
in the voc. sing.	-*e* or -*u* (in the hard type) and -*i* or -*e* (in the soft type): *pane*! *hochu*! - *muži!* *otče*! ;
in the nom. plur.	-*i* or *ové*, occasionally -*é*: *páni*, *muži* - *pánové*, *mužové* - *občané,* *obyvatelé*;
in the loc. plur.	-*ech* or -*ích* (in the hard type): *o pánech* - *o hoších*.

1. In the dat. and loc. sing. both endings (-*ovi* and -*u*, -*i*) can appear, especially in ~~names of individual~~ common nouns designating persons, e.g. *dělníkovi*, *soudruhovi*, *mužovi* -- more rarely, esp. without attribute, *dělníku*, *soudruhu*, *muži,* but one has only *bohu,* *člověku* and *panu* when this word is joined with others as in *k panu Novákovi*, *o panu inženýrovi* etc.

Proper names, when they occur alone, have only the ending -*ovi* (*Zdeňkovi*, *Tomášovi*, *Nezvalovi*), but in combination with a family name the latter always has -*ovi* and the former usually -*u* or, more rarely, -*ovi* (*k Svatopluku Čechovi*, *o Karlu Čapkovi*, *o Josefu Kajetánu Tylovi*).

2. In the voc. sing. of the hard type the basic ending is -*e*, e.g. *občane, pilote, doktore, ministře, Karle, Tomane* etc. The ending -*u* occurs in words ending in -*k*, -*g*, -*h*, -*ch*, e.g. *synku*, *soudruhu, stratégu, hochu* etc., and also in *synu*; on the other hand, only the forms *bože, člověče* are possible. The vocatives *bídníče, nešt'astníče* are archaic alongside the usual *bídníku*, *nešt'astníku*.

In the soft type the basic voc. ending is -*i*, as in *řediteli*, *vítězi*, *lháři* etc. Words ending in -*ec* have the voc. in -*če*, e.g. *otče*, *poslanče*; the words *strýc* and *kněz* have the voc. *strýci*, *knězi* and, archaically, *strýče*, *kněže*.

3. In the nom. plur. some words and groups of words have only the ending -*i*. This is often the case with:

animal names, (*holubi, medvědi, mravenci, psi, pstruzi*, *kapři* etc.);

names of persons in -*ík*, -*ák* (*dělníci, řečníci, rodáci*, *Poláci* etc.);

words in -*nt*, -*or* (*reprezentanti; absolventi, inspektoři*, etc.) and many others (*sekretáři, plavci, hráči* etc.).

The ending -*ové* is the only one possible with family names (*bratří Čapkové, Mrštíkové*) and Christian names (*Milošové*, *Josefové*). It also occurs with:

common nouns arising from old past participles, e.g. *rýpalové, mazalové* etc.;

names of foreign origin in -*f* (esp. -*graf*), -*g* (esp. -*log*), -*l* (and -*fil*), -*m* (esp. -*nom*) (*filosofové, typografové, chirurgové, pedagogové, archeologové, rusifilové, rivalové, ekonomové, agronomové*;

monosyllabic names of peoples (*Čechové, Rusové, Dánové, Irové, Finové, Indové, Řekové, Norové* -- but alongside *Čechové* also *Češi* --; only rarely does the ending -*ové* occur with multisyllabic names (but cf. *Arabové, Italové*), except for those in -*k*, in which it is usual (*Aztékové, Uzbekové* etc.).

The ending -*e* occurs in the following groups of substantives of the hard type:

substantives with the suffix -*an* designating inhabitants of a locality or members of a people (seen as a collective), e.g. *občané, venkované, měšt'ané, Slované, Moravané, Pražané*, etc., and also in a few other words with the same ending such as *křest'ané, pohané, svatebčané, katané* (alongside *pohani, katani*).

in the words *andělé, horalé, manželé* (but in the meaning 'married men' also *manželové*), *Španělé, sousedé, židé, hosté*.

In soft-type substantives -*e* occurs with words in -*tel*, such as *obyvatelé, zlepšovatelé, žadatelé, přátelé* etc.

Frequently one word can take either of the endings -*i*/-*ové* or -*i*/-*é*. The endings -*i*/-*ové* occur especially with:

native words in -*ek*, e.g. *svělkové* and *svědci*, *běláskové* and *bělásci*, *špačkové* and *špačci*, *snílkové* and *snílci* etc.;

foreign borrowings in -*ik*, such as *technikové* and *technici*, *prozaikové* and *prozaici*, *energetikové* and *energetici*, *teoretikové* and *teoretici*, *kritikové* and *kritici*;

many individual words, such as *muži* and *mužové*, *druzi* and *druhové*, *dědici* and *dědicové* (in such cases the form in -*ové* frequently belongs to a more elevated style).

The ending -*e* alternates with -*i* in borrowed words in -*at*, -*it*, like *akrobaté* and *akrobati*, *demokraté* and *demokrati*, *diplomaté* and *diplomati*, *favorité* and *favoriti*, etc. (on the influence of words in -*ita*, -*ista* see §73.1); words in -*ot* as a rule have -*i*, only rarely -*é*, cf. *kameloti*, *patrioti* (rarely *patrioté*), *pieroti* etc.

4. In the loc. plur. the ending -*ích* is general for substantives in -*k*, -*g*, -*h*, -*ch*, e.g. *o řečnících*, *ptáčcích*, *filolozích*, *druzích*, *hoších* etc.; in all other substantives the basic ending is -*ech*, for ex. *o sousedech*, *bratrech*, *občanech*, *Maďarech*, *Angličanech*, *Dánech* etc.

5. The gen. plur. occurs with zero ending in a few isolated words, e.g. (*mnoho*) *přátel*, *obyvatel* (and *obyvatelů*), *peněz*, *tisíc* (but also *tisíců*, cf. *z těch tisíců*), archaically also *hrdin*, (*vyvrátit z*) *kořen*.

Note. On vacillation of some substantives between the animate and inanimate categories see §56.

§70. On the individual declension types it is also necessary to note the following:

1. The soft declension type occurs with all masculine substantives which in the nom. sing. end in a soft consonant and with some words ending in -*l*, -*z*, and -*s*, which then take the gen. sing. in -*e*, e.g. *cíle, mandele, svízele, hřídele, jetele, jitrocele, kašle, pantofle, pytle, šindele*, and all substantives with the suffix -*tel*; also, the nouns (gen. sing.) *peníze, vítěze, kněze, Francouze, městyse* (such words have the loc. plur. in -*i*, e.g. *s cíli, s králi, mezi pytli, s penězi, s Francouzi*, etc.).

The remaining words in -*l* take the hard declension, i.e. they have the gen. sing. in -*a* or -*u*, e.g. *anděl, motýl, mozol, popel, titul, topol, účel, úhel, uzel, vrchol, živel* etc. The remaining substantives in -*z*, -*s* also have the hard-type endings, e.g. *vůz, pes, hlas, okres* etc. (The instr. plur. then being in -*y*, e.g. *s motýly, mozoly, tituly, úhly, vrcholy; s vozy, psy, hlasy, okresy* etc.).

> Some words in -*l* take forms from both the soft and the hard types, e.g. (gen. sing.) *burele* and *burelu*, *cumle* and *cumlu*, *hnědele* and *hnědelu*, *chmele* and *chmelu*, *chrchle* and *chrchlu*, *kotle* and *kotlu*, *koukole* and *koukolu*, *krevele* and *krevelu*, *kužele* and *kuželu*, *plevele* and *plevelu* *ruble* and *rublu*, *tmele* and *tmelu*, *truple* and *truplu*, *úběle* and *úbělu*, *uhle* and *uhlu* (but from *úhel* only *úhlu*); *apríle* and *aprila*, *strašpytle* and *strašpytla*. A few words

in -*z* also have alternate endings, cf. *Bezděze* and *Bezdězu*, *markýze* and *markýza*, *bonze* and *bonza*.

The substantives *anděl*, *manžel*, which are declined according to the hard type, nonetheless have the soft-type ending in the voc. sing., *anděli*, *manželi*, with the hard-type ending (*anděle*, *manžele*) appearing only archaically. The word *manžel* also shows, in the acc. and instr. plur., not only the correct hard-type form (acc. *manžely*, instr. *manžely*) but also aberrant soft-type endings (acc. *manžele*, instr. *manželi*).

In an older stage of the language a good many substantives foreign in origin vacillated between hard- and soft-type declensions. These have now become fixed either as hard (e.g. *artikul*, *coul*, *titul* etc.) or soft (*cíl*, *mandel*, *pantofel* etc.). The words *cíl, pytel, pikle* are now declined according to the soft type but have preserved the loc. plur. in -*ech* of the hard type: *cílech, pytlech, piklech*.

On vacillation between the hard and soft declension types in the names *Alois*, *Ámos*, *Felix* see §90.IIa.

The hard declension type occurs in a few borrowed words in -*c*, usually sub-literary, e.g. *tác*, gen. *tácu*, nom.-acc.-instr. plur. *tácy*; *truc, kec, hec* etc. with nom.-acc.-instr. plur *trucy, kecy, hecy*.

2. Substantives of the type *kámen* (*hřeben, ječmen, kmen, kořen, křemen, plamen, pramen, řemen and týden*) are declined in the plural according to the hard-type, but in the sing. they take hard and soft endings inconsistently. Some of them have only the soft-type gen. sing., e.g. *kamene, křemene, plamene, týdne* but show both forms in the dat. and loc. (*kameni* and *kamenu,* in the loc. also *kameně*, *týdni* and *týdnu* etc.); others have both forms in the gen. as well, e.g. *hřebene* and *hřebenu, kmene* and *kmenu*, *pramene* and *pramenu*, *řemene* and *řemenu* etc.

3. The substantive *den* has some soft-type forms in both sing. and plur.:

	singular	plural
nom.	den	dni, dny, (bookish) dnové
gen.	dne	dní, dnů
dat.	dni, dnu	dnům
acc.	den	dni, dny
loc.	(o) dni, dnu (ve dne)	(o) dnech
instr.	dnem	dny

The substantive *půlden* has double forms in the sing. only (dat. and loc. *půldni* and *půldnu*); in the plur. it has only the hard-type endings (nom.-acc. *půldny*, gen. *půldnů*,...).

4. The substantive *loket* has both hard- and soft-type endings in the sing. (gen. *lokte* and *loktu*, dat. and loc. *lokti* and *loktu*, loc. also *na loktě*); in the plur. in the meaning

'part of the arm' it has only the hard declension (lokty,...) but in the meaning of measure ('ell') it takes the soft-type nom. and acc. (lokte) and the gen. with zero ending (loket). -- The place name Loket has only the soft forms (z Lokte, v Lokti etc.). -- The substantive nehet has only the hard-type endings.

¶ §71. Individual words. 1. The subst. kůň has the nom. and acc. plur koně, gen. plur koní and koňů, dat. plur koním and koňům, instr. plur. koňmi and koni.

2. The subst. lidé (plur. to člověk) takes its endings from the fem. type kost (see §76): gen. lidí, dat. lidem, acc. lidi, loc. o lidech, instr. lidmi.

3. The word host has the gen., acc. and instr. plur. in addition to endings of the type pán partially archaic bookish forms according to the type kost: gen. hostí, acc. hosti, instr. hostmi; in the nom. plur. literary Czech has the original form hosté, with the form hosti occurring only in Common Czech (to jsou k nám hosti).

4. The substantives bratr, kněz have special nom. plur. forms bratří, kněží (in the case of bratr in addition to the regular forms bratři, bratrů,...); on their declension see §74.2.

5. The subst. pán, when it occurs before a family or Christian name or a title, occurs with a shortened stem vowel

(e.g. pan Jiří, pan Novák, pan správce etc.); it retains this short-vowel form throughout the sing. (gen.-acc. pana Nováka, dat.-loc. panu správci, voc. pane správce, instr. panem Jiřím etc.) but restores the long-vowel forms in the plur., e.g. páni poslanci, pánů poslanců etc.

6. The words přítel, nepřítel change the first vowel of the stem to a in the plur.: přátelé, nepřátelé, gen. přátel etc. (see § 87.3).

7. The subst. rodič has the aberrant nom. plur rodiče (like an inanimate subst.; agreeing adjectives however take animate forms: moji drazí rodiče již zemřeli; cf. §190.3 and §195.2b).

§72. Masculine substantives with vocalic ending in the nom. sing.

5. hard type předseda (with ending -a) | 6. soft type soudce (with ending -e)

singular

	5. hard type předseda (with ending -a)	6. soft type soudce (with ending -e)
nom.	předseda	soudce
gen.	předsedy	soudce
dat.	předsedovi	soudci, -ovi
acc.	předsedu	soudce
voc.	předsedo!	soudce!
loc. (o)	předsedovi	soudci, -ovi
instr.	předsedou	soudcem

plural

nom.	předsedové, husité	soudci, -ové
gen.	předsedů	soudců
dat.	předsedům	soudcům
acc.	předsedy	soudce
voc.	=nom.	=nom.
loc. (o)	předsedech, sluzích	soudcích
instr.	předsedy	soudci

¶ 1. In the singular the hard type předseda is declined like a feminine substantive in -a (type žena), except for the dat.-loc. in -ovi. The soft type soudce is declined like a usual soft masc. subst. with zero nom. sing. (type muž) except for the nom. and voc. (soudce! správce! but otče).

In Common Czech some words in -ce take on the declensional endings of soft masculines in -ec (the type stroj), cf. voc. vůdče, správče (and, to the latter, a back-formation nom. správec), etc.

2. In the plur. the hard type předseda and the soft type soudce are declined like the usual animate masc. substantives, hard and soft (pán, muž).

§73. In the nom. plur. of the hard type, the ending -é is regular with substantives ending in -ita, -ista, -asta (husité, socialisté, komunisté, houslisté, gymnasté etc.); all others take -ové (hrdinové etc.) In addition to these two, the ending

-*i* occurs occasionally, namely with substantives in -*ota*, -*eta* (*despoti*, *asketi* alongside *despotové*, *asketové* etc.) and in the word *invalida* (*invalidi* and *invalidé*); the -*i* forms usually carry a pejorative nuance (*banditi*, *frázisti*, *kariéristi* as compared to the neutral *bandité*, *frázisté*, *kariéristé*).

In the loc. plur. hard-type words ending in -*ka*, -*ga*, -*ha*, -*cha* take the ending -*ích* (*o vozcích, kolezích, sluzích*, *patriarších* etc.).

2. Common substantives designating people and personal names, if they end in -*a* in the nom. sing., are declined according to the hard type *předseda* even if the -*a* is preceded by a "soft" consonant, e.g. *bača, paša, maharadža, paňáca, Stáňa, Váša*, *Pernica* etc. Here it is the vowel -*a* which is decisive: cf. (*uvítal*) *pašu, Stáňu*, (*viděl se*) *s Vlád'ou* etc.; in the gen. sing. and acc. plur. these words take the hard-type endings, but -*i* is written instead of -*y* (*paši* etc.); the same is true of the instr. plur.

Some words of this type more rarely take the soft-type acc. plur. ending -*e*, e.g. *uvítal* *maharadže*, like names in -*ja*, *ia*, in which the -*e* ending is regular for gen. sing. and acc. plur. (*pária*, gen. *párie*; *Kolaja*, gen. *Kolaje*).

3. The substantives *hrabě*, *kníže* have a special declension (gen. *hraběte*, *knížete*,..., nom. plur. *hrabata*, *knížata*.,,,), together with a group of neuter substantives of the type *kuře* (see §85). This occurs because these two words were

> originally neuter (and have maintained neuter gender in the plural even today). They do however have the acc. identical to the gen. (*hraběte*, *knížete*) like other animate masc. substantives.

§74. 1. Masculine substantives in -*í* like *krejčí, kočí, příruční, průvodčí, mluvčí, Jiří* etc. (and also substantivized soft adjectives like *důlní, vrchní, vedoucí, pracující* etc.) are declined like soft adjectives of the type *jarní* (see §97 below), i.e. *krejčího, krejčímu, o krejčím*... . In the gen. plur. they take the ending -*ích*, e.g. *krejčích, průvodčích*, *vedoucích* etc. (the archaic original ending -*í* is maintained only occasionally among words of the type *krejčí*, cf. *družstvo krejčí*).

> In the combination *svatý Jiří* the subst. *Jiří* does not take the soft adj. endings (cf. *svatého Jiří, svatému Jiří, o svatém Jiří,* but *se svatým Jiřím*).

2. The substantives *bratr*, *kněz* are declined in the plural according to the pattern *krejčí*: nom. *bratří, kněží*, dat. *bratřím*, *kněžím,* loc. *o bratřích, kněžích*, instr. *bratřími, kněžími*, but in the gen. plur. they have *bratří, kněží* (cf. gen. plur. *paní*). -- The word *bratr* is more often declined according to the regular type (*bratři, bratrů*,...) like *pán*. Forms like *bratří* are archaic at present; their preservation in the word *kněz* is understandable.

3. Substantivized adjectives in -ý like hajný, příbuzný are declined like regular hard adjectives of the type mladý (see §97), e.g. hajného, hajnému, o hajném, ...

Feminine declension

§75. Feminine substantives can have either a vocalic or a zero ending in the nom. sing. The vocalic ending is either -a or -e, with a separate declension type for each: the hard type in -a (žena) and the soft type in -e (nůše).

Feminines with zero nom. sing. are distinguished according to the gen. sing. ending, which can be -e (-ě) or -i, with corresponding declension types a type with gen. in -e (-ě): píseň, písně and another type with genitive in -i: kost, kostí.

Feminine substantives therefore have four declension types, those of žena, nůše, píseň and kost.

§76. 1. The hard type žena (with ending -a):

		singular	plural
nom.		žena	ženy
gen.		ženy	žen
dat.		ženě	ženám
acc.		ženu	ženy
voc.		ženo!	= nom.
loc.	(o)	ženě	ženách
instr.		ženou	ženami

2. The soft type nůše (with ending -e)

nom.		nůše	nůše
gen.		nůše	nůší, ulic
dat.		nůši	nůším
acc.		nůši	nůše
voc.		nůše!	= nom.
loc.	(o)	nůši	nůších
instr.		nůší	nůšemi

3. The type píseň (gen. sing. in -e, -ě)

nom.		píseň	písně
gen.		písně	písní
dat.		písni	písním
acc.		píseň	písně
voc.		písni!	= nom.
loc.	(o)	písni	písních
instr.		písní	písněmi

4. The type kost (gen. sing. in -i)

nom.		kost	kosti
gen.		kosti	kostí
dat.		kosti	kostem
acc.		kost	kosti
voc.		kosti!	= nom.
loc.	(o)	kosti	kostech
instr.		kostí	kostmi

In the gen. sing. and in the nom. and acc. plur. the hard and soft types have different endings -*y*/-*e* (*ženy*, *ryby*, *skály* - *nůše* etc.). Substantives of the soft type *nůše* and of the types *píseň* and *kost* have the ending -*i* in several forms: *nůši*, *zemi* (dat., acc. and loc. sing.), *písni* *hrázi* (dat., voc. and loc. sing), *kosti*, *vsi* (gen., dat., voc. and loc. sing.; nom. and acc. plur.), etc.

¶ *§77*. The type *nůše* and the type *píseň* have identical endings in all forms of the plur.; in the sing. they are distinguished in the nom., acc. and voc. (acc. *nůši - píseň*; voc. *nůše! - písni!*).

In the singular, the types *píseň* and *kost* have different endings only in the gen. (-*e*/-*i*) but in the plur. they have the same ending only in the gen. (-*í*).

The long -*í*- occurs in the types *nůše* and *píseň* in the same forms in which the type *žena* has a long -*á*- (*nůším*, *písním*, *nůších*, *písních* - *ženám*, *ženách*, but *kostem*, *kostech*). In addition, the types *nůše*, *píseň* and *kost* have a long -*í* in the instr. sing. and the gen. plur. (instr. sing. *nůší, písní, kostí - ženou*; gen. plur. *nůší, písní, kostí* - *žen*).

1. In the type *nůše* the zero-ending gen. plur occurs in native words ending in -*ice*, -*ce*, e.g. *ulic, lavic, silnic, plic*, *svic* and *svěc* (beside the usual *svící*) *ovec* (and *ovcí*), and with

certain other words, e.g. *chvil*, *kratochvil* (beside *kratochvílí*), *mil*, *košil*, *neděl* (in the meaning 'weeks' as distinguished from *neděli* in the meaning 'Sundays') etc.

The zero ending is usual among borrowed words in -*ice*, although the ending -*í* also appears, cf. *edic* and *edicí*, *definic* and *definicí*, *milic* and *milicí*, *pozic* and *pozicí* etc. On the other hand, foreign borrowings in -*ce* now take only the -*í* ending, e.g. *dotací, rezolucí, revolucí, existencí* etc.

Words in -*yně* take both the -*í* and the zero endings, e.g. *kuchyň* and *kuchyní*, *jeskyň* and *jeskyní*, *hospodyň* and *hospodyní*, *jezdkyň* and *jezdkyní* etc.

2. Some substantives of the type *nůše* can in the literary language take nom. and acc. sing. endings not only of the *nůše* but also of the *píseň* type, e.g. nom. sing. *kuchyně* and *kuchyň*, acc. sing. *kuchyni* and *kuchyň*. This occurs with the following words: *báje* and *báj*, *dispenze* and *dispens*, *díže* and *díž*, *kuchyně* and *kuchyň*, *louže* and *louž*, *mríže* and *mríž*, *pláně* and *pláň*, *ráže* and *ráž*, *skrýše* and *skrýš*, *stříže* and *stříž*, *šíře* and *šíř*, *šlépěje* and *šlépěj*, *tíže* and *tíž*, *tůně* and *tůň*, *veřeje* and *veřej*, *záře* and *zář*, *země* and *zem*. Such words can also have the voc. sing. in either -*i* or -*e* (-*ě*): (*rodná*) *zemi*! and *země*!

> Such doublets are sometimes distinguished stylistically, those with zero endings being neutral or colloquial; cf. colloquial *zem*, *na zem*, but as a technical term only *Země, Zemi*. -- Among certain other words, on the other hand, the zero-ending forms belong to the literary-artistic style, e.g. *bouř, číš, páž, (paže), výš, naděj* etc.

Many words which originally belonged to the type *nůše* have become fixed in the modern literary language with nom. sing. in zero, like *píseň*: *báň, stráň, hráz, tvrz, krůpěj*, etc.

¶ **§78.** Common and personal names in -*a* preceded by a soft consonant, such as *gejša, káča, skica, Máňa, Nataša* etc. are declined according to the hard type *žena*; it is the ending -*a* which is decisive. Cf. *viděl gejšu, načrtl skicu, mluvil s Natašou* etc. In the gen. sing. and the nom.-acc. plur. these words have the hard-type ending, which is however written with -*i* rather than -*y* (*od gejši, Máni, Nataši, dvě skici* etc.).

In the dat. and loc. sing. these words can have either the hard or the soft endings, e.g., *gejše* and *gejši, Máně* and *Máni*, *Nataše and Nataši* etc.

Substantives in -*ja* such as *sója, Trója* and place names in -*ča, -dža, -ca, -dza, -ňa (Levoča, Dobrudža, Domica, Bystrica, Prievidza, Lubochňa* etc. take the hard endings of the type *žena* only in the acc. and instr. sing.; in the gen., dat. and loc. they have the soft endings of the type *nůše*; cf. *sója, Trója, Levoča*, acc. *sóju, Tróju, Levoču,* instr. *sójou, Trójou, Levočou*, but gen. *sóje, Tróje, Levoče,* dat.-loc. *sóji, Tróji, Levoči*.

Slovak place names in -ica (Bystrica, Štiavnica) which are ~~have~~ sometimes ~~been~~ phonetically adopted by Czech (Bystřice, Šťávnice) are influenced by these Czech adoptations and show in the acc. and instr. sing. not only the hard endings of the type žena but the soft nůše-type endings: acc. Bystrici alongside Bystricu, instr. Bystricí in addition to Bystricou.

> On the declension of foreign names of the type idea, Korea see §90.Ib below.

¶ 2. Some isolated words of the hard type (žena) also have some forms of the soft type (nůše), e.g. studna, berla. Cf. nom. sing. studna and studně, gen. sing. and nom. plur. studny and studně, instr. [illegible] plur. [illegible] and [illegible] sing. studnou and studní, dat. and loc. plur. studnám, studnách and studním, studních etc.

The substantive berla has hard-type endings in the plur. in the meaning 'pole' (berly, berel, ...) but takes soft-type endings in the meaning 'walking-~~stick~~ crutch' (berle, berlí, ...); in the sing. only the loc. shows such vacillation (o berle and o berli), but without any semantic distinction.

> In the older language vacillation between hard and soft types occurred more frequently; cf. the now archaic nom.-acc. plur forms slze, perle, kabele, gen. slzí, perlí, kabelí, etc.

¶ 3. The following idosyncracies of words following the *žena* and *nůše* patterns must be mentioned:

the subst. *dcera* has the dat.-loc. sing. *dceři* (as the result of a different original declension, partially preserved only in the words *máti*, *neteř*; cf. §81.1 below);

the word *husa* in the gen. plur. has, in addition to the regular form *hus*, the form *husí* (remaining from the original declension of *hus* [nom. sing.] as a substantive of the type *kost*);

the subst. *dveře* (*dvéře*) has the aberrant instr. plur. *dveřmi*, patterned on *kostmi*;

the word *práce* in literary Czech has only the regular soft-type forms (dat. and loc. plur. only *pracím*, *pracích*);

the substantives *lidičky*, rarely *lidinky* have the regular forms of the type *žena* (gen. *lidiček*, dat. *lidičkám*, loc. *lidičkách*, instr. *lidičkami*) but requires that attributes or predicates agree as if it were an animate masc. subst. (see §190.3 and §195.2b);

place names in -*va* like *Bratislava*, *Ostrava* take only the hard-type endings of *žena* (*do Bratislavy, v Bratislavě*, ...).

§79. Among substantives with zero ending in the nom. sing. there is a good deal of vacillation between forms of the type *píseň* and those of the type *kost*.

I. The *kost* forms occur with:

a) all feminine substantives in -*st*;

b) many substantives in -*t'*, -*d'*, such as *obět', pamět', rtut', měd', šed', zed',* etc.

c) some substantives ending in other consonants, e.g. *věc, řeč, obuv, kolomaz, Rus*; further, *noc, moc (pomoc, velmoc* etc.), *běl, mysl, sůl, otep, step, směs, ves (náves), myš, veš, smrt, rez, lež*, etc.

Substantives in -*st* have all their forms according to the pattern of *kost*, with the exception of the words *lest, mast, past, pelest, pěst, plst, propust*, which also have dat. and loc. plur. forms of the *píseň* type (*lstím, lstích, mastím, mastích, pěstím, pěstích*,...).

Substantives in -*t'* and -*d'* also have forms of the type *píseň*, esp. in the dat. and loc. plur., e.g. *obětem* and *obětím, v pemětech* and *v pamětích, na zdech* and *na zdích,* but only *chutím, chutích, hrudím, hrudích, odpovědím, odpovědích, rukovětím, rukovětích*; some of these words also have *píseň* -type forms in the instr. plur., e.g. *statěmi, chutěmi, trestěmi*.

Of the substantives ending in other consonants and adduced in paragraph (c) above, those of the first group (*věc...*) take only the *kost*-type forms (*věcem, věcech*,...) while those of the second group (*noc*...) have the dat. and loc. plur. of the *píseň* type (*nocím, nocích, směsím, směsích*,...)

The words *noc, moc, (pomoc, velmoc* etc.), *běl, mysl, sůl, ves (náves), rez, lež* also have instr. plur. forms of the *píseň* type, e.g. *lžemi, myslemi, nemocemi*, ... The substantives *moc (pomoc, velmoc* etc.) have both types of ending in the dat. and loc. plur. (*mocím* and *mocem, mocích* and *mocech*).

Note. 1. Feminine substantives in -*st* always have a hard *t*, with the exception of the words *prst'* and *trest'* (as distinguished from the masc. substantives *prst, trest*), and *plst'* (beside the more common *plst*). Soft *t'* always occurs after vowels, e.g. *obět', chut'*, etc., with the exception of the word *nit* which has a hard *t*. -- The words *čtvrt* ('quarter' - fourth part) and *čtvrt'* ('quarter' = section of a city) are distinguished by their meanings as well as by their forms.

2. Substantives in -*t'*, -*d'* maintain these soft consonants in the instr. plur., e.g. *obět'mi, hrud'mi* (and also *lod'mi* beside *loděmi*; see below); only the words *pamět', závět'* and all words in -*věd'* (*odpověd', předpověd', výpověd'* etc.) show both hard and soft consonants in this case, e.g. *pamět'mi* and *pamětmi, závět'mi* and *závětmi, odpověd'mi* and *odpovědmi* etc.; only the hard consonants occur in the words *zedmi* and *dětmi* (cf. §85).

II. Words ending in a consonant other than -*st*, -*t'*, -*d'* and not discussed above are declined according to the pattern of *píseň*; these are:

substantives ending in a soft consonant, especially those in -*ň*, -*ř* and -*j*, such as *dlaň, daň, sklizeň, báseň, tvář, krůpěj, zdroj* etc.;

substantives in -*č*, -*š*, -*ž* like *náruč, obruč, rozkoš, soutěž, mládež* etc.;

in -*c*, e.g. *klec, obec, pec*;

in neutral consonants, especially in -(*e*)*v*, such as *konev, pánev, láhev* etc.;

in -*l*, -*z*, like *hůl, koupel, postel, tvrz* etc.

Some fem. substantives in -*t'* and -*d'* also belong to the *píseň* type, e.g. *labut', lat', loukot', oprat', sít'; kád', píd'*, etc.

> Some further words in -*t'*, -*d'* like *čtvrt'* (part of a city), *hat', hut', pečet', perlet', perut', pout', trat', závrat', čeled', kaprad', lod', žerd'* take in the gen. sing. and nom.-acc. plur. not only endings in -*ě* but also those in -*i*, for ex. *čtvrti* and *čtvrtě, čeledi* and *čeledě, lodi* and *lodě*; the words *žluč, ocel, modř, čtvrt* ('quarter of') and *nit* also have both forms, in -*e* and in -*i*. The subst. *lod'* in the instr. plur. has *lod'mi* in addition to *loděmi*.

The -*i* forms are preserved, in addition to -*ě*, especially in the gen. sing., while in the nom.-acc. plur. they are giving way to the -*ě*(-*e*) type; cf. the usual gen. sing. forms *hutě, závratě, žerdě* etc.

§80. Place names like *Olomouc*, *Dobříš* are declined according to the model of *píseň*. -- Names ending in -*v* and -*m* such as *Boleslav*, *Čáslav*, *Břeslav*, *vratislav*, *Kouřím*, *Příbram* etc. have the gen. sing. either in -*i* of the *kost* pattern or in -*e* (-*ě*) on that of *píseň*. (e.g. *do Boleslavi, do Příbrami* and *do Boleslavě, do Příbramě* etc.); the -e (-*ě*) forms like *do Boleslavě* are dying out.

Note the spellings *do Boleslavi Čáslavi, Soběslavi, Vratislavi, Břeclavi* etc., but *do Bratislavy, Ostravy*, etc.

§81. 1. The substantives *neť* (or *neteř*) and *máti* (in addition to *máť*) have in all other cases an enlarged stem (*neteř* -, *mateř*-) and are declined according to the *píseň* type: gen. sing. *neteře, mateře*, dat. *neteři, mateři*, acc. *neteř, máteř* etc.; in the plur. nom. *neteře* etc. (the word *máti* is not used in the plur.). The word *máti* also has the forms gen.-dat.-acc.-loc. *máti*, instr. *mátí*.

The word *dcera* has a similar dat.-loc. sing. *dceři*, but is otherwise declined like *žena*; cf. §78.3.

¶ 2. The subst. *paní* is declined like the adjective *jarní* (see §97.2), except for its gen. plur. *paní* (*od cizích paní*).

Feminines in -*čí* such as *průvodčí, výběrčí* are also declined like the adj. *jarní*, as are substantivized soft adjectives like *pokladní, vedoucí* etc.; the latter however have the gen. plur. in -*ích* (*několik vedoucích*); only words like *průvodčí* occasionally also take the gen. plur. in -*í* like *paní*, and then usually when the substantive is accompanied by an attribute and in order to distinguish these feminines from the otherwise identical masc. names; cf. *přísnost pražských průvodčí* (women), but *humor pražských průvodčích* (men).

> On the so-called dual forms of *ruka*, *noha* such as *ruce*, *rukou*, ... see §60.

The neuter declension

¶ **§82.** All neuter substantives have a vocalic ending in the nom. sing. This ending can be -*o*, -*e*, or -*í*. According to these three endings one distinguishes three types of neuter declension: (1) a hard type in -*o*: *město*, (2) a soft type in -*e*: *moře*, and (3) a long type in -*í*: *stavení*; there is also (4) a mixed type: *kuře*.

> Neuter substantives have both voc. and acc. sing. identical with the nom.; these two cases are therefore omitted from the following tables.

§83. 1. The hard type město (with nom. sing. in -o)

		singular	plural
nom. (voc., acc.)		město	města
gen.		města	měst
dat.		městu	městům
loc.	(o)	městě, -u	městech, městečkách
instr.		městem	městy

2. The soft type moře (with nom. sing. in -e)

nom. (voc., acc.)		moře	moře
gen.		moře	moří
dat.		moři	mořím
loc.	(o)	moři	mořích
instr.		mořem	moři

3. The long type stavení (with nom. sing. in -í)

nom. (voc., acc.)		stavení	stavení
gen.		stavení	stavení
dat.		stavení	stavením
loc.	(o)	stavení	staveních
instr.		stavením	staveními

4. The mixed type kuře (with nom. sing. in -e)

nom. (voc., acc.)		kuře	kuřata
gen.		kuřete	kuřat
dat.		kuřeti	kuřatům
loc.	(o)	kuřeti	kuřatech
instr.		kuřetem	kuřaty

The hard and soft types distinguish graphic varieties of the instr. plur: -y/-i (městy, čísly, slovy - moři, poli).

Substantives of the stavení type have the long -í- throughout their declension; in the entire singular (except for the instr.) they have the same ending -í.

¶ §84. 1. The hard type has more than one ending in the following cases:

loc. sing. -e(-ě) or -u: v městě, kole - v městečku;

loc. plur. -ech or -ách (more rarely, -ích): v městech - v městečkách (ve střediscích).

In the loc. sing. the ending -u occurs:

as a rule, in substantives ending in -ko, -go, -ho, -cho, such as v městečku, v oku, v Kongu, ve jho, v uchu (on the doublets v mléku - v mléce see below);

most words in -ro, -mo, -ivo, -stvo (-ctvo), e.g. v mokru, vedru, péru, v pásmu, jařmu, barvivu, na ministerstvu, o dělnictvu, etc.;

substantives of foreign origin like *v tempu, v gestu, v procentu*;

frequently in abstract substantives, such as *v nekonečnu*, *v budoucnu*;

a number of isolated cases, e.g. *po ránu, v chladnu*, *po právu* etc.

The ending -*e(-ě)* is regular in substantives in -*dlo* and frequent in non-derived words, esp. those with concrete meaning, e.g. *po jídle, v divadle, na skle, ve světle, o řemesle, v blátě, v létě, na plátně, v bahně, ve dřevě, po mase, po železe*,etc.

Some words take both endings, for ex. *v mléku* and *v mléce*, *na břichu* and *na břiše*, *ve jménu* and *o jméně, o vlákně* and *o vláknu*, *o zrně* and *o zrnu*, *v jádře* and *v jádru*, *v pouzdře* and *v pouzdru*, etc. -- In some cases the choice of ending depends on the syntactic construction, e.g. *po jaru* but *na jaře*.

In the loc. plur. the ending -*ech* is basic, as in *o řemeslech*, *na plátnech, v procentech, v slovech, v jádrech, v pásmech* etc.

Substantives in -*ko*, -*go*, -*ho*, -*cho* take the ending -*ách* in the modern literary language, e.g. *v městečkách, jhách, tangách*, *suchách*, etc.

> Diminutives in -*ko* take only -*ách*, cf. *o hříbátkách*, *na křidélkách, na kolečkách, na lůžkách*. -- Other words in -*ko*, and esp. those in -*isko*, have maintained forms in

-ích alongside those in *-ách*, e.g. *o jablcích - o jablkách, ve střediscích - ve střediskách, na stanoviscích - na stanoviskách*, etc.

2. In the soft type the gen. plur. has a zero ending in the word *vejce* (*vajec*); substantives in *-iště* usually have the zero ending in this case but rarely take the *-í* ending as well, e.g. *hřišt', hříšt'*, (rarely *hřiští*), *jevišt', strništ', bydlišt'*, etc.

3. The long declension type (*stavení*) occurs in place names like *Meziříčí, Veselí, Vrchlabí* and in place names which by origin are substantivized adjectives, such as *Hovězí, Hříběcí, Telecí, Kobylí, Javoří, Strašecí*.

Some such substantivized adjectives occasionally take the soft adj. declension as well (type *jarní*), e.g. *z Hovězího, v Hovězím* etc.

In Czech dialects common substantives of the *stavení* type are also declined according to the *jarní* pattern, e.g. *uhlího, zelího, uhlímu, zelímu* etc.

The tendency to unify declension types leads in local usage to the re-formation of words like *Meziříčí* to zero-ending fem. substantives, e.g. nom. *Mezříč*, gen. *Mezříče*, dat. *Mezříči*, ... instr. *za Mezříčí*, *Mezhoř*, gen. *z Mezhoře*, or more rarely to masculines like *Vrchláb*, gen. *z Vrchlábu*, etc.

The long type (*stavení*) also occurs with the substantives *pondělí, úterý, září* and the word *snídaní* if the latter is neut. (there also exists the fem. *snídaně*, cf. §57.3).

§85. In the type *kuře* the stem is enlarged in all cases except the nom., acc. and voc. sing. (*kuřet-* in the sing. and *kuřat-* in the plur.). Such stems are declined according to the soft type in the sing. (*kuřete*, like *moře*) and to the hard type in the plur. (*kuřata* like *města*); for this reason this is called the mixed declension type. It appears with the names of young beings like *štěně*, *ptáče*, *mládě* etc., and in the words *zvíře*, *doupě*, *koště*, *vole*, *poupě*, *rajče* (and sometimes in subliterary words like *šuple*, *štokrle* etc.). The word *dítě* also takes this declension in the sing. (gen. *dítěte* etc.) but its plur. *děti* is a fem. and declined according to the type *kost* (see §79.1).

The substantives *hrabě* and *kníže* are also declined like *kuře*; however, they are rare in the sing. and are usually of masc. gender -- although their case forms are the same as the neut. *kuře*; in the plur. they are neut.: *hrabata*, *knížata* (see §73.3).

Note. Words of the type *kuře* are treated as an independent declension type in school grammar. Unlike such words as *kámen* and *semeno*, this is still a productive type, appearing in newly coined names of young animals, and in dialects even in words of the type *moře* (*vejcete*, *strništěte*), and in Common Czech in some originally non-declined borrowings (*rande*, gen. *randete*; *paraple*, gen. *paraplete* etc.). The types *kuře*, *kámen*, *semeno* share the feature that they do not have a distinctive declension type but take the soft *moře*-type forms in the sing. and the hard *město*-type forms in the plur.

§86. 1. The substantive *nebe* is declined like *moře* in the sing. (*nebe*, *nebi*,...) and in the plur. with an enlarged stem *nebes-*, like *město* (*nebesa*, *nebes*,... *nebesy*).

2. The words *semeno*, *rameno*, *břemeno*, *písmeno*, *plemeno*, *temeno*, *vemeno*, *slemeno* (bookish) are declined in the sing. either according to the pattern *město* (*s ramena*, *k ramenu*, loc. *na ramenu* or *na rameně* etc.) or like the type *moře* (*s ramene*, *k rameni*, *na rameni* etc.). In the nom.-acc. sing. they also have the forms *símě*, *rámě*, *břímě*, *plémě*, *témě*, *slémě*. These forms are bookish and used primarily in figurative meanings, e.g. *símě pochyb* 'seed of doubt', *břímě povinností* 'burden of responsibilities', *rámě spravedlnosti* 'the arms of righteousness', *nabídnout rámě* 'to offer someone an arm' (there formerly existed the military command *na rámě = zbraň!* 'shoulder arms'); the forms *písmě* (for *písmeno*) and *výmě* (for *vemeno*) are completely archaic. -- In the plur. all such words are declined like *město* (*semena*, *semen*, ... like *města*, *měst*).

3. The substantive *lýtko* in the plur. has a loc. *lýtkách* and in the dat. and instr., in addition to *lýtkům*, *lýtky* the forms *lýtkám*, *lýtkách.* -- Similarly, the plur. of *bedro* takes not only the regular *město*-type forms *bedrům*, *bedrech*, *bedry* but also *bedrám*, *bedrách*, *bedrami*, and *dvířka* has both *dvířkům*, *dvířky* and *dvířkám*, *dvířkách*, *dvířkami*.

4. Some originally masc. and fem. substantives have taken over the neut. nom.-acc. plur. forms in -*a* and are currently considered to be neuters, e.g. nom. plur. *oblaka,* gen. *oblak*, loc. *v oblacích* and *v oblakách* alongside *oblaky*, gen. *oblaků,...*; *záda,* gen. *zad*, loc. *na zádech;* *prsa* (gen. and loc. *prsou*) alongside *prsy* (gen. *prsů*, loc. *prsech)*; similarly, *luka* and *louky*, *muka* and *muky*, *kasárna* and *kasárny* (in the other plur. cases these words have only the *žena*-type forms, e.g. *lukám*, *lukách*, *lukami*).

On the other hand the word *dítko*, neut. in the sing., has the fem. plur. forms *dítky* (*dítkám,* ... *dítkami*), -- just as the neut. *dítě* has the fem. plur. *děti* -- only rarely, in figurative usage, does *dítko* preserve the neut. plur. forms *dítka*, *dítek*, *dítkům*... (cf. *dítka jara, fantazie* 'children of spring, of fantasy').

On the so-called dual forms of the words *oko, ucho, rameno, koleno, prsa*, like *oči, uši*, *ramenou*, ... see §60 above.

Phonetic alternations in substantive declension

§87. 1. In the hard declension types (*hrad*, *pán*, *předseda*, *žena*, *město*) the consonants *k*, *g*, *h*, *ch* and *r*, *d*, *t*, *n* sometimes undergo alternation~~s~~ in stem-final position: *k* alternates with *c*, *g* and *h* with *z*, *ch* with *š*, *r* with *ř* and *d*, *t*, *n* with *d'*, *t'*, *ň* (spelled *di*, *ti*, *ni* or *dě*, *tě*, *ně*). Such alternations occur:

in the nom. and loc. plur. of masculines, e.g. *vojáci*, *soudruzi*, *hoši*, *bratři*, *hadi*, *kohouti*, *páni*; *o vojácích*, *soudruzích*, *filolozích*, *hoších*, and sometimes in the loc. sing. of such words, e.g. *po roce*, *na potoce*, *v břiše*, *na dvoře*, *na hradě*, *na plotě*, *na balkóně*;

in the dat. and loc. sing. of feminines, e.g. *matce*, *knize*, *Olze*, *mouše*, *sestře*, *vládě*, *rotě*, *ráně*;

in the loc. plur. of neuters, e.g. *o jablcích*, *střediscích*, and sometimes in the loc. sing., e.g. *v mléce*, *na jaře*, *v stádě*, *na místě*, *v bahně* etc.

In the voc. of masc. substantives stem-final -*k* and -*h* alternates with -*č* and -*ž* before the ending -*e*, e.g. *člověče*, *bídníče*, *bože* (most such words, however, take the voc. ending -*u*, before which the velars remain unchanged: *synku*, *soudruhu*, *hochu* etc.). In the voc. -*r* also changes to -*ř*, provided it is preceded by a consonant: *Petře*, *mistře*, but *doktore*, *kocoure* etc.

Among substantives of the soft (muž) type, only those in -ec show an alternation of c with č in the voc. sing., e.g. otče, poslanče (sometimes also with the word strýc - strýče) and of z with ž in the word kněz - kněže (archaic; usually knězi).

2. In some, usually monosyllabic stems there is an alternation of long and short vowels: á~a, é~e, í~i, í~e(ě), ů~o, ou~u.

a. In monosyllabic masculine substantives (type with zero ending in the nom. sing.) a long vowel appears only in the nom. sing. (and in the identical acc. of inanimates), e.g. mráz, práh - mrazu, prahu..., chléb, déšt' (also dešt') - chleba, deště..., líh - lihu ..., sníh - sněhu, stůl - stolu, nůž - nože, lůj - loje ... . The same alternation appears in the words vítr, kámen - gen. větru, kamene ..., větry, kameny...).

The substantive peníz retains the long í throughout the sing. and shows ě only in the gen., dat., loc. and instr. plur. (peněz, penězům...) and then with a different meaning

? ('money') from that of penízů, penízům...
('coins').

The word pán is unique in having a short stem vowel only in the voc. sing. pane; on the doublets pán, pan see §71.5 above.

b. In feminine substantives of the types *žena* and *nůše* some disyllabic stems containing *á*, *í*, *ů*, *ou* show an alternating short vowel *a*, *i* or *ě*, *o*, *u* in the gen. plur., e.g. *chvála*, gen. plur. *chval* (but dat. etc. *chválám*...), *jáma - jam*, *sláma - slam*, *hrábě - hrabí* (but *hrábím*), *chvíle - chvil*, *míle - mil*, *díra - děr*, *svíce - svic* and *svěc* (also *svící*), *bouda - bud*, *houba - hub*, *moucha - much*, *smlouva - smluv* etc.; some words show vacillation in respect to this alternation, for ex. *jáhel* and *jahel*, *mís* and *mis*, *slív* and *sliv*, *fůr* and *for*.

Some fem. substantives also show additional short-vowel forms in the dat.-loc.-instr. plur., with vacillation between the long- and short-vowel forms, e.g. *skála* - gen. pl. *skal*, dat. *skalám* and *skálám*, loc. *skalách* and *skálách*, instr. *skalami* and *skálami*; *tráva* - *trav*, *travám* and *trávám*...; *vrána* - *vran*, *vranám* and *vránám*...; *žába* - *žab*, *žabám* and *žábám*... .

A further group of words shows vacillation between short and long vowels not only in the dat.-loc.-instr. plur. (the gen. plur. is always short) but also in the instr. sing., e.g., *brána - branou* and *bránou*, gen. plur. *bran*, dat. *branám* and *bránám*, loc. *branách* and *bránách*, instr. *branami* and *bránami*; *čára - čarou* and *čárou* ..., *dráha - drahou* and *dráhou*..., *pára - parou* and *párou*..., *váha - vahou* and *váhou*..., *lípa - lipou* and *lípou*..., *míra - měrou* and *mírou*..., etc.

The words *kůra* and *kůže* vacillate in all cases (i.e., including the gen. plur.), cf. *kůže*, gen. plur. *kůží* and *koží*, dat. *kůžím* and *kožím*, *kůžích* and *kožích*, *kůžemi* and *kožemi*.

The substantives *kráva* and *plíce* have only the short-vowel forms, with no vacillation in the gen.-dat.-loc.-instr. plur.: *kráva - krav, kravám, kravách, kravami; plíce - plic, plicím, plicích, plicemi*.

Vowel shortening reaches its fullest extent in the words *rána, práce, síla*, which have only the short-vowel forms, without vacillation, in the instr. sing. as well as in the gen.-dat.-loc.-instr. plur.: *rána - ranou, ran, ranám, ranách, ranami*; *práce - prací; síla - silou...*

In some words vowel shortening is connected with a special meaning or appears only in certain fixed phraseological expressions; for ex. *váha* has short forms in the mentioned cases only in the meaning 'scales [illegible]' (instr. *vahou* and *váhou*...), *míra* only ~~in the meaning~~ when synonymous with měřice 'old quantity of 13 gallons or ½ acre' (*měrou* and *mírou*...), whereas the short forms otherwise appear only in fixed expressions *tou měrou*, *plnou měrou*, *nepatrnou měrou*; similarly, the subst. *pára* has a short-vowel instr. sing. only in the phrase *plnou parou*.

The word *louka* has not only the gen. etc. plur. forms *luk*, *lukám*... but an alternate nom.-acc. plur. *luka*, alongside the regular *louky*, dat. *loukám*... (see §86.4).

Alternations do not occur at all in disyllabic stems in *ý*, *é* or (in foreign words) *ó*, for ex. *dýha* (*dýhou, dýh, dýhám*...), *rýha, céva, réva, scéna, óda, póza* and in stems of three or more syllables (even if the latter are derived or compounded from disyllabic stems), e.g. *kolébka, kolébek, prasíla, prasílou, rovnováha, rovnováhou*, etc.; only *spolupráce* shows the same shortening as *práce*, i.e. instr. sing. *spoluprací*, dat. plur. *spolupracím* etc., while the word *kratochvíle* has both *kratochvil* and *kratochvílí* in the gen. plur.

Vocalic alternations appear only sporadically in other declension types. The subst. *láhev*, for example (type *píseň*) has the plur. forms gen. *lahví*, dat. *lahvím*, loc. *lahvích*, instr. *lahvemi*; the words *hůl* and *sůl* (types *píseň* and *kost*) have short vowels everywhere other than in the nom.-acc. sing. (gen. *hole*, *soli*, instr. *holí*, *solí*, dat. plur. *holím*, *solím* etc.).

c. In neuter substantives vocalic alternations occur only in the words *léto, jméno, jádro, dílo, péro, játra, záda*, which show shortening in the gen. plur. only: *let, jmen, jader, děl, per, jater, zad* and, in the case of *léto* only, further vacillation in the dat.-loc.-inst. plur. (*letům, letech, lety* alongside *létům, létech, léty*; in the meaning 'summertime' only the long-vowel forms are used).

The group *břímě, plémě, rámě, símě, témě* (beside *břemeno*, *plemeno, rameno, semeno, temeno;* cf. §86.2) have short-vowel forms in all cases other than the nom.-acc. sing.

3. In addition to the above quantitative vowel alternations, qualitative alternations occur in a few rare instances; cf. for example the alternating sing. and plur. stems *přítel, přítele - přátelé, přátel* or the *a-e* alternation appearing in the voc. *Jene* (in addition to *Jane*), of the word *Jan*, and in the gen. plur. *vajec* of *vejce*.

4. Forms with zero endings (nom. sing. and gen. plur.) sometimes contain an *e* ("*fugitive e*") which is absent in all forms with vocalic endings.

a. This *e* occurs in the nom. (and inanimate acc.) of masc. substantives with zero ending, such as *orel - orla*, *sen - snu*, *len - lnu*, *křest - křtu,* *den - dne,* *pytel - pytle*, *uhel - uhle* (and *uhlu*) etc., and especially in substantives with the suffixes -*ek*, -*ec*, for ex. *domek - domku*, *otec - otce*, *švec - ševce*, *tkadlec - tkalce*, *kostřec - kostrce*, *pestřec - pestrce*, arch. *mudřec - mudrce* (whence by stem-levelling the modern nom. form *mudrc*). *Hronek - Hronka*, *Jakubec - Jakubce.* This alternation is rarer in the nom. of zero-ending feminines, but cf. *píseň - písně, báseň - básně, čest - cti, ves - vsi* etc.

← Some words show vacillation in respect to this alternation, e.g. *keř - kře* and *keře*, *leb - lbi* and *lebi*, etc. Such vacillation is particularly frequent with proper names in *-eš*, cf. *Aleš - Alše* and *Aleše*; *Klimeš*, *Tomeš* - *Klimše*, *Tomše*, but usually *Klimeše*, *Tomeše* etc.

Similar vacillation is observed in the names *Švec*, *Kadlec* (unlike the common substantives *švec, tkadlec*, cf. above) in gen.-acc. *Švece* and *Ševce*, *Kadlece* and *Kadlce* etc.

Slavic proper names in the nom. (and inanimate acc.) sing. sometimes show an alternation of vowels other then *e* with zero. Slovak names in *-ok* like *Ružomberok, Kežmarok*, *Pezinok*, *Chopok*, like their Czech counterparts in -*ek*, lose the -*o*- in the oblique cases, e.g. gen. *Ružomberku*, *Kežmarku*, *Pezinku, Chopku*.

South Slavic personal and place names in -*ac*, -*ar* lose the -*a* in oblique cases, similarly to Czech names in -*ec*, e.g. *Uzelac, Karlovac, Zadar* - gen. *Uzelce*, *Karlovce, Zadru*, loc. *v Zadru* etc.

b. The fugitive *e* also occurs in the zero-ending gen. plur. of fem. and neut. substantives such as *her*, *hudeb*, *mezd*, *sester*, *studen*, *knihoven*, *karet* (but in the meaning 'thick sheets of paper' only *kart), čísel, vesel, divadel, vajec, den* (from *dno*), *skel, družstev*, and esp. in words containing the suffixes *-ka*, *-ko* like *matek, hraček, jablek, pravítek* etc.

← Neuters in *-sko* and some feminines in *-ska* also have forms without the fugitive *e*, e.g. *středisek* and *středisk*, *ložisek* and *ložisk*, *hledisek* and *hledisk*, *desek* and *desk*, *fresek* and *fresk* etc.

Other words, and esp. borrowings, sometimes show vacillation in respect to the fugitive *e*: *jachta* - gen. plur. *jachet* and *jacht*, *korba* - *koreb* and *korb*, *halma* - *halem* and *halm*; in most cases, however, one of the two variants has established itself firmly, e.g. *barva* - *barev*, *palma* - *palem*, *šachta* - *šachet* but *salva*, *salv*, *sekta*, *sekt*, *harfa*, *harf*.

Special types of substantive declension

§88. Declension of plural place and holiday names.

1. Plur. place names in *-y* (*-any*) like *Hradčany*, *Vinohrady*, *Kralupy*, *Klobouky* etc. are declined like *hrady* but have the gen. in zero (*z Hradčan*, *Vinohrad*, *Kralup*, *Klobouk* etc.).

Some such place names, in which the affinity to common names from which they arose is obvious, have the gen. in *-ů*, for ex. *z Mostů*, *Koutů*, *Borů* or vacillate between vocalic and zero endings, e.g. *z Karlových Var* and *Varů*, *z Lán* and *Lánů*, *z Hamer* and *Hamrů* etc.

It is the older form which is preserved in forms like *Hradčan*, *Var*.

Plural names of countries like *Čechy*, *Uhry* are simply declined like the plur. of *žena*, e.g. *z Čech*, *Čechám*, *v Čechách*, *Čechami*, *z Uher*,... .

Plural place names in *-ky* (*-ánky*), diminutives in origin, also have the *žena*-type declension, for ex. *Hodkovičky*, gen. *Hodkoviček*, dat. *Hodkovičkám*; *Kateřinky*, *Medlánky*, *Benátky* - *Kateřinkám*, *Medlánkám*, *Benátkam*, etc.

The word *Beskydy* has two sets of forms, one according to the fem. *žena* type and one according to that of the mas. *hrad*: dat. *Beskydám* and *Beskydům*, loc. *v Beskydách* and *Beskydech*, instr. *Beskydami* and (rarely) *Beskydy*; the only gen. is *(z) Beskyd*.

2. Plural place names in *-e* (*-ice*) like *Košíře*, *Budějovice*, *Hranice* etc., and the holiday names *vánoce*, *velikonoce*, *letnice*, *Hromnice* are declined like *nůše* (with zero-ending gen., *Košíř*, *Budějovic*,... ; instr. *Košířemi*, *Budějovicemi*), but words of the type *Hranice*, *Kraslice* (not formed from personal names, cf. §220) have only the dat. in *-ím*, whereas the others usually have *-ům* in addition to *-ím*, for ex. *Košířům* and *Košířím*, *Budějovicům* and *Budějovicím*. The words *vánoce*, *velikonoce* have only *vánocům*, *velikonocům* in the dat., but in the instr. have both *vánocemi*, *velikonocemi* and more rarely *vánoci*, *velikonoci*.

Plural place names in *-ce* such as *Jince*, *Brodce*, *Srbce*, *Tatce* etc. have a zero-ending gen. with inserted *e* only in local usage, while forms in *-ů* are penetrating the literary language:

z Jinec - z Jinců, *ze Srbec - ze Srbců*, *z Tatec - z Tatců*, *z Brodec - z Brodců*, etc.

Other place names in -*ice* like *Sušice, Vrbice, Bylnice*, *Lomnice*, *Skalice, Kamenice*, which designate a locality according to characteristics of its soil, surroundings etc., are singular and are declined regularly according to the type *nůše* (*v Sušici, v Bylnici* etc.).

On the declension of place names in -*ja*, -*ca*, -*ča*, -*dza*, -*dža*, -*ňa* like *Trója* (gen. *Tróje*, dat.-loc. *Tróji*, acc. *Tróju*, instr. *Trójou*), *Bystrica, Levoča, Prievidza*, *Dobrudža, Lubochňa* etc. see §78.1.

On the gen. and loc. plur. of masc. place names in -*k*, -*h* such as *Blaník* (gen. *Blaníku* and *Blaníka*), *Mělník* (gen. *Mělníka*, loc. *v Mělníku* and *v Mělníce*), *Hamburk* (gen. *Hamburku* and *Hamburka*), *Nymburk* (gen. *Nymburka*, loc. *v Nymburku* and *v Nymburce*), *Zábřeh* (loc. *v Zábřehu* and *v Zábřeze*) see §69.I.1,2.

On the loc. forms of plur. place names in -*ky*, -*chy*, -*sy*, -*zy*, -*ly* like *Diváky, Přepychy, Plasy, Plazy, Podmokly*, namely *v Divákách* and *v Divácích*, see §89.I.3.

On the declension of fem. place names like *Olomouc* (gen. *Olomouce*), *Dobříš, Boleslav* (gen. *Boleslavi* and *Boleslavě*), *Příbram*, see §80.

On the declension of neut. place names such as *Hovězí, Telecí, Strašecí* (*z Hovězí*, sometimes also *z Hovězího*) see §84.3.

§89. The declension of family and first names.

1. Family and first names, if of substantival origin and form, are declined like substantives according to their nom. or gen. sing. endings.

Only in isolated cases is a family name declined differently from its corresponding common substantive; cf. *Suk - Suka, Mráz - Mráze*, but *suk - suku, mráz - mrazu*; *Švec, Kadlec -* either *Švece, Kadlece* or *Ševce, Kadlce*, but only *švec, tkadlec - ševce tkalce*; see §87.4a.

Certain groups of names show minor deviations:

Masc. names in -*a* like *Stáňa, Váša, Vláďa, Ilja, Váňa, Pernica* with a "soft" consonant before the -*a*, are declined according to the hard type *předseda* (nom. plur. -*ové*), but -*i* is written instead of -*y* (*od Stáni, Váši*..., *Pernici* etc.); see also §73.2.

Similar fem. names like *Máňa, Nataša, Růža*, are declined according to the hard type *žena* (only in the dat.-loc. sing. do they have forms according to both the *žena* and *nůše* types, *Máně* and *Máni* etc.), but in the gen. sing., as was the case with the masc. names just discussed, -*i* is written instead of -*y* (*od Máni, od Nataši*...); see also §78.1.

Masc. names in -*o* such as *Stýblo*, *Janko* and in -*ů* like *Tomšů*, *Janů* are declined like the masc. substantives *pán*, *muž* (gen.-acc. *Stýbla*, *Tomše*, dat. *Stýblovi*, *Tomšovi* etc.); the forms in -*ů* are however often not declined at all.

> The name *Oto* has the deviant gen. *Oty*, identical with that of the similar *Ota*. *Ivo* has both a regular gen. *Iva* and a deviant *Ivy*.

Masc. names in -*e*(-*ě*) like *Srdce*, *Purkyně*, *Bičiště* take the soft *soudce*-type declension, gen.-acc. *Srdce*, *Purkyně*, *Bičiště*, dat.-loc. *Srdcovi*..., instr. *Srdcem*... .

The family names *Dítě, Hrabě, Kníže, Poupě* take both the expanded-stem forms of their common subst. equivalents (see §85) or forms of the type *soudce*: gen. *Dítěte* and *Dítě*, dat. *Dítěti*, *Dítětovi* or *Dít'ovi*... .

> On names in -*ek*, -*ec* and esp. in -*eš* like *Aleš*, *Tomeš* (with fugitive *e*) see §87.4a.

Family names which are of adjectival form and origin, like *Nový, Zubatý, Hořejší*, their corresponding feminines *Nová*, *Zubatá, Hořejší*, and fem. surnames in -*ová* like *Nováková* are declined like adjectives (*od pana Nového*, *paní Nové*, *s paní Novákovou*, *s paní Hořejší* etc.

> On the declension of sur- and first names of foreign origin see §90.II below.

2. Family names which designate the entire family as a group have a special declension. This holds for the nom. plur. of the substantivized possessive adj. in -ův formed from the surname: Novákovi, Svobodovi, and in Common Czech (more rarely in the literary language the petrified form in -ovic (Novákovic, Svobodovic). The other cases also utilize the appropriate possessive adj. forms, but with certain restrictions: acc. Novákovy, loc. o Novákových, instr. s Novákovými; only rarely do such forms appear in the dat. (Novákovým; ordinarily the forms k Novákům, Novákovům are used instead), and the gen. u Nováků is more frequent than u Novákových.

The designations of family groups and their members show considerable local variation; literary usage also vacillates.

Collectives designating a family are formed from common substantives in the same way: sousedovi, sousedovic; správcovi, spravcovic etc.

Names of family groups from surnames of adj. origin generally use the gen. plur. of the surname: Veselých Novotných etc.

Note. At times the form in -ovic is used (instead of the surname) in Common Czech to designate a member of the family other than the parents: Jeník Novákovic - Nováků.

By its origin the form in -ovic is a zero-ending gen. plur. of the name in -ovici (Novákovici); this is the same form as the gen. of plur. place names like z Budějovic, Opatovic etc.

§90. Declension of substantives of foreign origin.

Foreign substantives borrowed into Czech are usually declined like native words, although these are a number of deviations in the way they are attributed to native patterns and in certain individual forms.

I. Common and individual place names take their gender and declension type from their nom. sing. ending (except for words of Latin and Greek origin).

a. Words ending in a consonant are masc. and are usually declined according to the hard type *hrad*, *pán*, e.g. *autor*, *atom*, *bacil*, *traktor*, *kolektiv*, *Washington*, *Leningrad*, *Kyjev*, *Peking*.

Words ending in the vowels -*a* or -*e* (and plurals in -*y*, -*e*) are of fem. gender and are declined according to the hard (*žena*) or soft (*nůše*) type: *brigáda, fyzika, botanika, Moskva, Varšava, Kalkata, Athény* like *žena*; *diskuse, lóže, Sofie* like *nůše*.

> The foreign ending -*e* is often domesticated to -*a* in such cases; cf. German *die Methode*, French *la méthode* but *metoda*.

Words ending in -*o* are neut. and are declined according to the hard type *město*: *auto, kino, tempo, depo, Oslo*, [illegible] *Tokio*.

> The words *Oslo*, *depo* formerly (also spelled *depot*) can also be undeclined; see §91.
>
> Geographical names like Casablanca ([k...ka]), San

Francisco ([-ko]) are regularly declined according to the type žena, město with the single difference that the sound [k] is spelled with c only in the nom. sing. but as k elsewhere, e.g. gen. Casablanky, San Franciska, instr. Casablankou, San Franciskem; cf. however dat.-loc. Casablance, where c = [c].

On the peculiarities of names in -ja like Trója, sója see §78.1.

b. Feminine substantives in -ea like idea, Korea, Guinea take the forms both of žena (nom. idea) and of nůše (gen. ideje), but in the dat.-loc. sing. have only ideji, Koreji, in the gen. plur. only idejí, and in the acc. and voc. sing. only ideu, Koreu and ideo!, Koreo!:

	singular	plural
nom.	idea	idey, ideje
gen.	idey, ideje	idejí
dat.	ideji	ideám, idejím
acc.	ideu	= nom.
voc.	ideo!	= nom.
loc.	(o) ideji	ideách, idejích
instr.	ideou, idejí	ideami, idejemi

Substantives in -oa, -ua like Samoa, Nicaragua, Kapua take the soft nůše-type forms only the dat.-loc. sing. but are otherwise declined regularly according to the hard type žena:

gen. *Samoy*, *Nicaraguy*, dat.-loc. *Samoi*, *Nicaragui*, acc. *Samou* (disyllabic: [o] plus [u]), *Nicaraguu*, instr. *Samoou*, *Nicaraguou*.

Substantives in -*ia* like *Sofia*, *Adria* are regularly declined according to the soft type *nůše* and under the influence of the type also have nom. sing. forms in -*e*: *Sofie*, *Adrie* etc.

c. Neuter substantives in -*io*, -*yo* like *folio*, *embryo* are regularly declined in the sing. according to the hard type *město* but in the plur. (except for the nom.-acc. *folia*, *embrya*) according to the soft type *moře*: cf. gen. sing. *folia*, *embrya*, dat. *foliu*, *embryu* etc. but plur. gen. *folií*, *embryí*, dat. *foliím*, *embryím* etc.

d. Common masc. substantives in -*i*, -*y*, -*í*, if they designate live beings, are declined according to the type *ten* (see §107 below), taking the endings gen. -*ho*, dat. -*mu*, loc. and instr. -*m*: *kuli, kivi, pony, kádí* ([-*dý*]), gen. *kuliho*, *ponyho*, *kádího*...; in the plur. they are declined like the subst. *génius* (cf. III.11b below): nom. *kuliové, kádíové*, gen, *kuliů*, dat. *kuliům*, acc. *kulie*, loc. *o kuliech* and *o kuliích*, instr. *kulií*.

e. Common masc. substantives in -*u* designating live beings are sometimes left undeclined, like *zebu*, and sometimes declined, like *marabu*, *kakadu* (which also exists as an indeclinable), but then according to the type *pán*: gen. sing. *marabua*, in nom. plur. *marabuové*, gen. *marabuů*, acc. and instr. *marabuy*, loc. *marabuích*.

← Masculine common substantives in -*i*, -*y*, -*u* designating inanimate things are always indeclinable; see §91.1a below.

Common substantives and place names (except those of Latin and Greek origin, on which see III below) with endings other than those discussed in a-e above, are indeclinable; cf. §91.1 below.

Place names of foreign origin which are compounded of several words generally decline only their last word, and then only if it falls into one of the domestic patterns discussed above. Cf. *New York*, gen.-dat.-loc. *New Yorku*, instr. *New Yorkem*, according to the type *hrad*; the domesticated version *Nový York* declines both members: *Nového Yorku*...; *Mar del Plata* - gen. *Mar del Platy* (like *žena*); *San Marino* - gen. *San Marina* (like *město*)

In exceptional cases the first member of such foreign compounds may also be declined, provided that its ending fits one of the types discussed above, and esp. if this first member can also be used alone: *Rio de Janeiro*, gen. *Ria de Janeira*, like *město*, in addition to the regular gen. *Rio de Janeira* (cf. the independent form, e.g. *letíme do Ria*).

If the second member of such foreign compounds cannot be attributed to any domestic pattern, it remains indeclinable, and the first member is then declined if possible: *Santiago* *de Chile* - *gen. Santiaga de Chile* (according to the type *město*) etc. Such declensions are sometimes supported by knowledge of the origin and meaning (non-agreeing attribute) of such second members as *de Chile*.

The decisive factor in determining whether or not a foreign word is declined, and if so, according to which gender type, is the *pronunciation* (not the spelling) of its nom. sing. form. However, the written form can sometimes lead to a change of gender and thence to a different declension type; it can then influence the pronunciation, which is adjusted to the spelling either throughout the word or in the oblique cases only; cf. for ex. *foyer* ([foajé]) as a neut. indeclinable and *foyer* [foajé] as a declined masc. with gen. *foyeru* [fojéru]; *bufet* [byfé] as neut. indeclinable and *bufet* [bufet] and [byfetu] as declinable masc., gen. *bufetu* [bufetu] and [byfetu]; *tiret* masc., gen. *tiretu* vs. *tiré* neut. indeclinable, etc.; cf. §91.2 be

¶ II. Personal names, i.e. surnames and first names, take masc. or fem. gender according to whether they designate male or female persons, and are attributed to a declension class according to their gender and endings, more or less like domestic words. For ex., *Lenin, Dimitrov, Pasteur, Fleming* are declined like *pán*; *Mickewicz, Miklošič, Király* (pronounced [-ráj]) like the type *muž*, *Zola* like *předseda*, *Tamara* and *Dagmar* like *žena*, and *Beatrice* [-če] like *nůše.* -- Names of Greek and Latin origin are again an exception.

> ← The declension of foreign personal names is thus determined by the pronunciation, and not by the spelling, of the nom. sing.; cf. names like *Voltaire* [-tér] - gen. *Voltaira* (like *pán*), *Descartes* [-kart] - gen. *Descarta* (like *pán*) etc. -- The mute -*e* is not written in the oblique cases and the endings are added to the basic pronounced form of the stem. The mute -*e* is however preserved in the spelling if it functions to indicate the quality of the preceding consonant, cf. *Le Sage* [l̥-sáž] - dat. *Le Sageovi* [l̥-sážovi], in order to prevent the pronunciation of *g* as [g] instead of as [ž].
>
> Only rarely does the spelling form determine the declension, e.g. in English names like *Shelley* [šeli] - gen. *Shelleyho* [šeliho], but cf. also *Shelleye* [-lije]; similarly, *Marat* [-ra], *Dumas* [dýma], *Denis* [-ný] - gen. *Marata*, *Dumase* [-mase], *Denise* [-nýse].

a. Masc. personal names in -*s*, -*z*, -*c* and -*x* (except for Latin and Greek names in -*us*, -*os*, -*as*, -*is*, -*es*, on which see section III below p.) are regularly declined according to the type *muž* (*Engels - Engelse*, *Marx - Marxe* etc.). Some such names also have rarer forms of the harder type *pán*, e.g. *Alois - Aloise* and *Aloisa*, *Alfons - Alfonse* and *Alfonsa*, *Ámos - Ámose* and *Ámosa*, *Boris - Borise* and *Borisa*, *Kraus - Krause* and *Krausa*, *Felix - Felixe* and *Felixa*, etc.

Personal names in -*l* such as *Ábel, Daniel, Samuel* are declined regularly according to the type *pán* (gen. *Daniela, Samuela* etc.

b. Personal names in -*o* like *Marko, Ševčenko, Michelangelo, Sukarno* are declined like domestic names with the same ending (*Stýblo* etc.), according to the hard type with zero nom.: gen.-acc. *Marka, Ševčenka, Michelangela, Sukarna* etc.

Names in -*e* such as *Goethe, Heine, Dante, Niederle* and *Nietsche, Baše* are also declined like substantives with nom. sing. in zero; in the oblique cases the final -*e* is omitted and endings added, according to the type of stem-final consonant, of the hard type *pán* (gen.-acc. *Goetha, Heina, Danta, Niederla*, dat. *Goethovi, Heinovi, Dantovi, Niederlovi* etc.), or of the soft type (*muž*) (gen.-acc. *Nietsche, Baše*, dat. *Nietschovi, Bašovi* etc.). This declension type has established itself especially for frequently-used names of famous people. -- Among other names, especially recent ones, we frequently find forms with the pronominal endings -*ho*, -*mu* etc. added to the entire name just as is the case with names ending in -*i*, -*y* (gen.-acc. *Pompeho, Šaršeho*, dat. *Pompemu, Šaršemu* etc.

← Forms of this pronominal type are sometimes chosen to avoid confusion with different words, with which the non-pronominal forms would be identical; cf. for ex. *Linde*, dat. *Lindemu* as distinguished from *Linda*, *Lindovi*; *Tille*, gen. *Tilleho* as distinct from *Till* {[týl]}, gen.-acc. *Tilla* {[týla]}.

c. Personal names in -*i* or -*y* like *Benoni*, *Petöfi*, *Togliatti*, *Škultéty* add to this stem the gen.-acc. sing. ending -*ho* (*Benoniho*, *Petöfiho*, *Togliattiho*, *Škultétyho*), dat. -*mu* (*Benonimu...*), loc. and instr. -*im* (*Benonim*...). -- Names in -*é* are either declined the same way: *René, Linné,* gen.-acc. *Reného, Linného,* ... dat. *Renému, Linnému* etc., or they can remain undeclined.

d. Certain masc. names ending in other consonants (esp. in -*ó*, -*ú*), such as *Rousseau, Szabó, Sardou, Néhrú* etc. add the endings of the type *pán* to the entire nom. form in all other cases: gen.-acc. *Rousseaua*, dat.-loc. *Sardouovi* (pronounced [rusóa], [sardúovi]), instr. *Néhrúem,* etc. Names in -*é* sometimes take this declension as well, esp. if they are distinguished in their written form, for ex. *Richelieu* {[rišelijé]}, gen.-acc. *Richelieua* {[rišelijéa]}, dat. *Richelieuovi*... .

e. Surnames in -*u* are declined according to the type *pán*; Rumanian names add the endings directly to the stem without -*u*, while other names, esp. Oriental ones, add it to the entire nom. form: *Savu, Jonescu* - gen.-acc. *Sava, Jonesca*, dat. *Savovi, Jonescovi* etc.; *U Nu, Šigemiču* - gen.-acc. *U Nua*, *Šigemečua* etc.

f. Foreign surnames in -*er*,-*el*, as a rule keep the -*e* in the oblique cases (*Fischer, Hegel - Fischera, Hegela*), but certain names (esp. those in which the -*e*- is not pronounced in the nom.) show fugitive -*e* forms (*Rieger, Winter* -gen.-acc. *Riegra, Wintra*) or vacillate between the two types (*Wolker*-gen.-acc. *Wolkra* and *Wolkera*).

g. Slavic names of adjectival form and origin are declined like Czech adjectives, e.g. *Słowacki, Racki, Gorkij, Čajkovskyj, Tolstoj* - gen.-acc. *Słowackého, Rackého, Gorkého, Čajkovského, Tolstého* etc.

III. Sometimes common or personal names, esp. if they are of Latin or Greek origin, take gender and endings which do not correspond to the ending of the nom. sing. As the stem of the oblique cases one takes the foreign language items and drops the foreign nom. sing. ending; in such cases gender is determined by that of the original language, not by the nom. sing. ending. The föllowing types occur.

1.a. Names of Latin and Greek origin in -*um* and -*on* are of neut. gender; all in -*um* and some in -*on* drop these endings in the oblique cases and take the hard, *město*-type endings: *album, plénum, publikum, adjektivum, epiteton* - gen. *alba, pléna, publika, adjectiva, epiteta* etc.

Only those words which end in -ium, -eum, -uum, -ion, such as stipendium, gymnasium, muzeum, jubileum, individuum, vakuum, stadion, sympozion take the soft endings -í, -ím, -ích, -i in the gen., dat., loc. and instr. plur. (gen. stipendií, gymnasií; dat. muzeím, loc. individuích, instr. nad stadii etc.).

The substantives stadión in the meaning 'large playing field' and lexikon in the meaning 'dictionary' are masc. and retain the -ón, -on before the endings of the oblique cases: gen. stadiónu, lexikonu, etc. -- as distinguished from the rare neut. lexikon 'vocabulary', gen. lexika... .

b. Words in -us (-ius), -os and -es of Latin and Greek origin are masc. If personal names, they have oblique cases without the -us (-ius), -os, -es: Augustus, Tantalus, Pegasus, Vergilius, Olympos, Homéros, Aristoteles (usually however the nom. is Pegas, Olymp, Homér, more rarely Vergil; see below) -- gen.-acc. Augusta, Tantala, Pegasa, Vergilia, Olympu, Homéra, Aristotela etc.

Only surnames in -us can either retain or drop this ending in the oblique cases: Mathesius, gen.-acc. Mathesiusa and Mathesia, Serbus - Serbusa, etc.

Common substantives of this origin usually end in -us and are frequently technical terms; as a rule their oblique cases are formed without the -us: socialismus, komunismus, *asparágus, cyklus, rytmus, lapsus, logaritmus, úzus* -- *socialismu, komunismu, asparágu, cyklu, rytmu, lapsu, logaritmu*, etc.

The oblique cases without -*us* sometimes lead to the creation of secondary nom. sing. forms with zero ending, cf. *tetanus* and *tetan - tetanu*, *tyfus* and *tyf - tyfu* *sympatikus* and *sympatik* 'sympathetic nerve' - *sympatiku*, *stimulus* and *stimul - stimulu*, *obolos* and *obolus*, more rarely *obol - obolu*, *oboly* etc.; zero-ending forms in -*ism* are now rare and archaic (*socialism, impressionism*) alongside the regular -*ismus* forms (cf. *Homéros* vs. *Homér* etc. above).

Some words have dual forms, with and without -*us*, in the oblique cases, e.g. *virus - virusu* and *viru*, *sinus - sinusu* and *sinu*, *turnus - turnusu* and *turnu*, *papyrus - papyrusu* and *papyru*, *status - statusu* and more rarely *statu*, *glóbus - glóbusu* and more rarely *glóbu*. -- Some names which have become common take only the forms with -*us*-, e.g. *cirkus - cirkusu* (as distinguished from *z cirku* 'from the [classical] circus'), *luxus - luxusu, kaktus - kaktusu, korpus - korpusu, primus - primusa* etc.

Oblique-case forms without -*us* are also the rule in common substantives in -*ius* such as *génius, rádius, nonius* - gen. *génia, rádia, nonia*, but *mílius - míliusa* is general; in the plur. these words have deviant soft-type forms; nom.

géniové, nonie, gen. *géniů, noniů*, dat. *géniům, noniům*, acc. *génie, nonie*, loc. *géniích*, instr. *génii*.

> Occasionally nom. sing. forms without the original -*um*, -*us* have become usual in Czech: *objekt*, *subjekt, senát, traktát* etc.

c. Masculine substantives in -*as*, -*ias* of Greek origin have their oblique case forms without -*as* according to the types *pán* or *předseda, soudce*: *Leonidas, Pythagoras* - gen. *Leonida*, *Pythagora* and *Leonidy, Pythagory; Archias* - gen. *Archia* and *Archie* etc.

d. Some feminines of Greek or Latin origin in -*is* have oblique-case forms without -*is* patterned on *nůše*, e.g. *Nemesis*, *Persepolis* - gen. *Nemese, Persepole, pertusis, synopsis* 'synopsis of theatrical performance' - gen. *pertuse, synopse* etc. Here too one observes the creation of secondary nom. sing. forms in zero ending, such as *Akropol*, from an -is word or ~~-*u* and in -*se*, such as~~ *synopse* from one ending in -*sis*.

e. Feminine personal names in -*ó*, -*é* like *Sapfó, Kalypsó, Léthé* are declined like *žena*, but the endings are added to the stem without -*ó*, -*é*; cf. gen. *Sapfy, Léthy*, acc. *Sapfu*... . If they end in -*ió* like *Klió*, they are declined like *nůše*: gen. *Klie*, dat. *Klii* etc.

← Certain other substantives are treated in the same way as Greek and Latin borrowings, for ex. Rumanian names in -*u* like *Savu*, *Jonescu*, gen.-acc. *Sava* - *Jonesca* (cf. above) and sometimes Lithuanian names in -*as* and Latvian names in -*is* (but these are usually declined regularly according to the nom. ending; cf. *Lácis*, *Ignotas*, gen. *Láce*, *Ignota* but more frequently *Lácise*, *Ignotase* etc.).

¶ 2. Some substantives of Greek origin in -*ma*, such as *drama*, *klima, aróma, schéma, dogma* are neut. and form their oblique cases from augmented stems in -*mat*- according to the type *město* except for the gen. sing. *dramatu*, *schématu* etc.; only *revma* is as a rule indeclinable.

← The words *astma, panoráma* are either (according to their origin) neut. and form the oblique cases in -*mat*- (*astmatu, panorámatu*) or (according to their -*a* ending) fem. and declined regularly according to the type *žena* (*astmy, panorámy*).

The words *axióma, fonéma* have, in addition to these nom. forms in -*a* with the neut. declension (gen. *axiómatu, fonématu*), zero-ending masc. forms *axióm, foném* (gen. *axiómu, fonému*), in the same manner as *problém, program* which have gone over entirely to the masc. paradigm.

¶ 3. In a considerable number of Latin and Greek personal and place names with other endings and to some extent in common substantives of Latin or Greek origin as well, the nom. sing. form is different from that of the remaining cases.

a. Fem. names in -*is* , -*as* form their oblique cases from stems in -*id*, -*ad*: *Artemis - Artemidy*, *Aeneis - Aeneidy*, *Hellas - Hellady*, *Pallas - Pallady*. By analogy these -*d*- forms sometimes penetrate into the nom. case as well, giving rise to Czech-type forms of the *žena* type, cf. *Chalkis* and *Chalkida*, gen. *Chalkidy*, *Alexandreis* and *Alexandreida* - gen. *Alexandreidy*, *Hellas* and *Helada* (the bohemicised form is written with a single -*l*-). The same is true of names of illnesses in -*itis*, e.g., *bronchitis* and *bronchitida* - gen. *bronchitidy*, *apendicitis* and *apendicitida* - gen. *apendicitidy*, etc.

b. Similarly, some masc. substantives in -*is* either take a variant stem and the *pán*-type declension, or preserve the nom. stem form and are declined like *muž*: *Paris, Dafnis* - gen. *Parida, Dafnida* and *Parise, Dafnise*.

c. Certain other fem. names also show a changed stem form in the oblique cases, such as *Salamis - Salaminy, Ceres - Cerery, Dido - Didony, Juno - Junony*, and the same is true of masc. names like *Nero - Nerona, Cicero - Cicerona, Anakreón - Anakreónta, Laokoon - Laokoonta*. Analogy sometimes leads to the creation of secondary, bohemicized nom. forms like *Junona* (alongside *Juno*), gen. *Junony*; the same analogical reformations occur in new physics terms: *iont, kationt* (in addition to *ion, kation*) - gen. *iontu, kationtu.*

This vacillation in the nom. sing. form sometimes goes back to original Greek vs. Latin shapes of these names, e.g. *Apollón - Apollo*, *Platón - Plato* ([ó]), gen. *Apollona, Platona* etc. or to vacillation in the original source language (Greek), e.g. *faraón - farao*, gen. *faraóna*.

Masculine names like *pontifex, haruspex* have a changed stem in the oblique cases: gen. *pontifika*, dat. *pontifikovi*, etc.

Fem. and masc. substantives in -*nx* change their stem to -*ng*- in the oblique cases; analogical levelling then sometimes gives rise to new bohemicized fem. nom. sing. forms in -*nga*; cf. *sfinx, falanx* and *sfinga*, *falanga*, gen. *sfingy, falangy*, but only *larynx*, gen. *laryngu* etc.

Such stem changes also occur with individual words, for ex. with masc. substantives like *Mars* (the planet) - gen. *Marta* (and *Marsu*), *pankreas* - gen. *pankreatu*, *herpes* 'an infection of nervous origin' - *herpetu*, etc.

The Greek and Latin divinity names *Zeus* and (formerly) *Jupiter* have suppletive stems in the oblique cases: nom. *Zeus*, gen.-acc. *Dia*, dat.-loc. *Diovi* etc.; nom. *Jupiter*, gen.-acc. (archaic) *Jova* (alongside the bohemicized *Jupitera*), dat.-loc. *Jovovi* (and now *Jupiterovi*).

4. Some substantives of Greek and Latin origin were borrowed via other, intermediary languages, esp. French and German, and are classified according to the rules described under I above, e.g. the already-mentioned forms *problém, program, metoda* (which ended in -*os* in Greek and in -*us* in Latin), etc.

¶ §91. Certain borrowed substantives, common and personal, which according to their endings cannot be attributed to any declensional type (and esp. if their pronunciation differs from their spelling), are *indeclinable.*

a. This happens particularly with common substantives (only rarely with place names) ending in a long vowel (such words are now written in the Czech manner) and are usually of neuter gender. for example:

in -*á*: *angažmá, abonmá, apartmá, aranžmá* (also written in the original orthography: *engagement, abonnement, appartement, arrangement*),

in -*é*: *klišé, résumé* (pron. [-zi]), *expozé, turné, té* (and *thé*), *filé, želé, žervé, froté, relé, foyer* [foajé], *kupé*, and the masculines *atašé, abbé,* etc.

in -*í*, -*ý*: *curie* [kyrí], *revue* [revý], *Dillí*, etc.,

in -*ó*: *nivó, plató, byró, tabló, roló, Bordeaux* [-dó], etc., and

in -*ú*: *ragú, interview* [-vjú] etc.

← Personal names with such long-vowel endings are usually declined, cf. the examples above *Sapfó - Sapfy*, *Klió - Klie*, *Boileau* {[boaló]} - *Boileaua*, *Sardou* {[-dú]} - *Sardoua*, *Linné - Linného* etc., but a few isolated names are indeclinable, e.g. *Niké*, which can either be indeclinable or take a gen. *Niky*, etc.

On the possibility of declining some of the common substantives ending in a long vowel, cf. 2 below.

The word *abbé* is sometimes declined like a personal name with the same ending (*Linné, Linného*, ...): gen. *abbého*, dat. *abbému*, etc.

b. Some borrowed substantives ending in a short vowel (-*e*, -*i*, -*y*, -*u*, rarely -*a*, -*o*) or in a consonant are also indeclinable, esp. if they are of neut. gender, e.g. *extempore*, *faksimile, finále, skóre, penále, alibi, dementi, taxi, Soči*, *Tbilisi, Gori, brandy, derby, buly, tabu, zebu, Baku, pepita* (and rarely *pepito*, gen. *pepita*), *pyžama* (and *pyžamo*, gen. *pyžama*), *Oslo* (also declined: gen. *Osla*, etc.), *depo* (also declined: gen. *depa* etc.), *tangens* (and *tangenta*, gen. *tangenty*), etc.

← Certain undeclined substantives in -*i*, -*y* and in -*e* take a declensional ending in the instr. sing., e.g. *alibim, harakirim, cyankálim, bulym, faksimilem, finálem*, *expozém* etc.

The neut. substantives *faksimile* and *nacionále* also have declined forms in the plur.; their basic (nom. plur.) form is in *-ia* (from the original Latin ending, now sometimes bohemecized): nom. plur. *faksimilia*, *nacionália* (beside the more usual fem. *nacionálie*), gen. *faksimilií, nacionalií* etc. -- Indeclinable terminological words in *-ns* have the same kind of declined plur., e.g. *stimulans, reagens, pragense* -- nom. plur. *stimulancia, reagensia* (formerly written in the Latin manner *stimulantia, reagentia*), *pragensia*, etc.

¶ 2. When borrowed words are domesticated and enter into general use, the tendency appears to try to adopt them to a native declension pattern. Their pronunciation, spelling and gender can then change; cf. *ateliér*, gen. *ateliéru*, masc., but older neut. indeclinable *ateliér* {[atelié]}; *depo*, gen. *depa* neut. - somewhat archaic *depot*, gen. *depotu* masc. or *depot* {[depo]} neut. indecl.; *byró, tabló, roló* neut. indecl. - *byro, tablo, rolo,* gen. *byra, tabla, rola* etc. -- The new declined form *byro* is supported by the influence of Russian.

Some borrowed words are therefore either indeclinable, or are declined, either without changing their gender or form, or with such change. Cf. *foyer* {[foajé]} neut. indecl., or masc. with gen. *foyeru*; *interview* neut. or masc. indecl. or with gen. *interviewu* {[-vjúvu]}; *komité* neut. indecl. or *komitét*, gen. *komitétu*; *precedens,* neut. indecl. or masc. with gen. *precedentu*; *tangens, sekans* masc. indecl. or fem. *tangenta*, *sekanta*, gen. *tangenty, sekenty* etc.

Declensional forms are developing in recently-borrowed French words in -*ment* such as *establissement* (pronounced [etablismá]), *enjambement* [anžambmá] etc. If they are neut., they are not declined (sometimes they are written in a bohemicized form and classed with the -*má* words in group 1a above, e.g. *etablismá*). If they are masc., they keep as a rule their original spelling and are declined according to the type *hrad* (nom. *etablissement*, gen. *etablissementu* [-mánu] .

Bibliography. On the general principles of inflectional codification (emphasizing the living norm and criticizing the inflectional forms given in older editions of the *Pravidla českého pravopisu*) see *Havránek* 1935 (containing a proposed codification of norms whose declension vacillates between the types *kost* and *píseň*).

On inflectional changes in the school edition of the *Pravidla českého pravopisu* (1958) see in general *Jedlička-Šmilauer* 1958 and on individual problems, with up-to-date material, *Jazykový koutek* *československého rozhlasu* (3) 1959.

The general characteristics of noun declension and verb conjugation in contemporary literary Czech are discussed in *Jedlička* 1960ff. and *Dokulil* 1960ff. -- From a new viewpoint, cf. *Sgall* 1960, 1967.

The declension of personal and place names and of borrowed names is given in *Trávníček* 1948ff. and, more recently, in *Hausenblas* 1953, *Trost* 1955b, *Novák and Svozilová* 1961, *Bartušek and Váhala* 1959, *Dokulil* 1955a, *Jedlička* 1949, *Kuchař* 1960ff. and *Váhala* 1960ff. cf. numerous further articles in the volumes *Jazykový koutek československého rozhlasu* 1951, 1955, 1959, as well as in the '*Drobnosti*' columns of *Naše Řeč*.

ADJECTIVE

Meaning and form

¶ §92. The adjective expresses characteristics of persons, animals, things or states designated by substantives, making the latters' meaning more precise or otherwise setting boundaries to it, e.g. *pracovitý člověk, uvědoměly občan, divoký kůň, kovový nábytek*, *vzorná práce*. In its simple forms it expresses the grammatical categories of gender, number and case, generally agreeing with the substantive it modifies (cf. §45.1 ff.).

Adjectives, like substantives, are only partially non-derived; much more frequently they are derived, by suffixation and more rarely by prefixation, and in some cases by composition (cf. §41).

1. Non-derived, original adjectives as a rule express qualities in the narrow sense of the word (what sort of a person or thing one has to do with), its size, color, quality, e.g. *malý, veliký, žlutý, tvrdý, měkký, nový, starý, dobrý, zlý*, *veselý, zdravý, slepý* etc.

2.a. Adjectives derived from substantives and adverbs also express qualities in this narrow sense, as for ex. *pyšný, pilný*, *silný, chutný, bolestný, nemocný, hrdinný* etc., but more frequently they express various properties of a person or thing: from what material they are made or from what origin they come (*kovový*, *kamenný, dřevěný*), what they resemble or what their special characteristics are (*vejčitý, válcovitý, bradatý, dřevnatý, masitý, blátivý, kučeravý*), their temporal or spatial relations or their purpose (*lesní, pražský, zdejší; zimní, únorový, nynější, loňský; školní* as in školní *{hřiště}*); relations of possession and membership, etc. (*bratrův, dívičí, rybí, mužský, dětský, otcovský*).

b. Adjectives derived from verbs generally express qualities resulting from the verbal action (*prací, hravý léčivý, měnlivý, pitný, neviditelný, jiskřící, malovaný, umělý* etc.).

c. Adjectives derived from adjectives denote a greater or lesser measure of the quality denoted by the underlying adjective (*kratičký, měkounký, velikánský, překrásný*).

← The technical terms for the above types of derived adjective are *denominal*, *deverbal* and *deadjectival* (Cf. §50).

3. Adjectives which express qualities in the narrow sense are called *qualitative*; other adjectives, which express various characteristics and relations, are called *relative*.

The core of the qualitative adjectives is formed by non-derived adjectives. Qualitative adjectives are further characterized by the fact that they have comparative and superlative forms (see §94; cf. *slabý - slabší - nejslabší, nový - novější - nejnovější*) and that they often form antonymic pairs (cf. *malý - velký*, *slabý - silný*, *ostrý - tupý*, *veselý - smutný*). However, adjectives which express "absolute" qualities, not susceptible to variation, cannot take comparative and superlative forms (*slepý*, *hluchý* etc.).

§93.1. The most frequent denominal adjectival suffixes are: -ní (lesní, jarní, večerní, zábavní, srdeční); -ný (kamenný, účelný, časný, bolestný, smutný); -ský, -cký (mužský, dětský, městský, dílenský, vesnický); -ový (kovový, šípkový, růžový, únorový, světový, sborový, mírový, nářad'ový); -í (rybí, dívčí); -ův, -in (bratrův, matčin); less frequent are the suffixes -(n)atý (bradatý, bažinatý, hornatý, listnatý, rybnatý), -itý, -ovitý (dřevitý, vejčitý, kopcovitý), -avý, -ivý (děravý, červivý), and -ěný (drátěný, olověný, lněný) etc.

a. Adjectives in -ní express various characteristics (often responding to the question který?); adjectives in -ný frequently denote qualities (responding to the question jaký?) resulting from the action or other meaning expressed by the underlying substantive, e.g. prodejní doba - prodejný člověk ('who sells himself'), zábavní místnost - zábavný člověk, životní zkušenost - životný (životná postava 'lively character ') or a quality coupled with some hint of evaluation. e.g. srdeční sval - srdečný pozdrav, obecní les - obecný prospěch, početní úkol - početný (početná účast), živelní pohroma - živelný odpor, zájem, etc.

In many cases, however, the difference between the -ní and -ný adjectives is unclear; cf. učební or učebná látka, těžní or těžná jáma, výhradní or (more rarely) výhradné právo, etc.

Remember the spellings cenný, pohostinný, prostranný, jednostranný, denní, ranní (hodina), but rané (ovoce).

b. The suffixes -*ský*, -*cký* occur esp. in adjectives derived from substantives denoting persons according to their profession or activity, such as *učitelský, sběratelský, zednický, dělnický* etc. -- The same suffixes are frequently used to derive adjectives from place and personal names, such as *horský, dílenský, ostravský, kladenský, třebíčský, slezský, rožmberský* (from *Rožmberk*), *vesnický, rakovnický, roudnický* etc.

← Such adjectives derived from place names in -*ice* end in -*ický* in literary Czech, e.g. *strakonický, pardubický, ratibořický, boskovický* etc., even though local usage often has shorter forms like *pardubský, ratibořský, boskovský* etc. -- These shorter forms, derived from the stem of the underlying place names, also appear in place of other kinds of literary adjectives, from which they sometimes differ quite radically in form, e.g. *hodonský* (for the literary *hodonínský*) from *Hodonín* (but in local usage also from the name *Hodonice*), *mohelský* (for lit. *mohelenský*) from *Mohelno*, *vsatský* (for lit. *vsetínský*) from *Vsetín* (from the personal name *Vsata*); similarly, *novojický* from *Nový Jičín*, etc.

Place names which already contain the cluster -*sko* (-*sk*-) in their stems, such as *Blansko*, *Rovensko*, the Russian *Smolensk*, *Sverdlovsk* etc. do not redouble their -*sk*- with the further adjectival suffix -*ský* but are simply formed like *rovenský, blanský*, (the more extended form *blanenský* also exists), *smolenský*, *sverdlovský* etc.

The shorter forms of such adjectives are sometimes preserved in family names such as *Pardubský*, *Ratiborský* etc.

c. The suffix -*ový* is most frequently used to form adjectives defining the material or origin of something, such as *kovový nábytek, ocelové lano, olivový olej*, etc. Such adjectives, however, also have other meanings, esp. that of relation in the broad sense of the term, and it is in this meaning that they are very productive, esp. in specialized and ~~publicistic~~ journalistic styles, e.g. *vysavačový, výkonový, výživový, kombajnový* etc.; in this meaning -*ový* adjectives often replace older adjectives with a different derivational structure, cf. recently *věžový jeřáb*, but *věžní hodiny*, *poplachová siréna*, but *poplašný zvon*.

d. The suffix -*í* forms adjectives defining belonging, esp. to animals, such as *včelí, psí, rybí, králičí, vydří* etc., more rarely to persons, e.g. *dívčí, člověčí*, and isolated cases like *obří, otročí, opilčí*.

← The possessive adjectives from substantives like *kuře, zvíře*, which have an extended stem in -*et*- in the oblique cases (*kuřete, zvířete*, cf. §85), are formed on this extended stem and thus end in -*ecí*: *kuřecí, zvířecí, telecí, knížecí*; exceptionally, however, one now has the forms *jehněčí, kozlečí*.

Note. Certain other prefixes can also have this same meaning; cf. koňské, vepřové, hovězí maso.

2. Before the suffixes -ní, -ný, -í stem-final k and c alternate with č, h and occasionally z with ž, ch with š, and (before -í only) r with ř, e.g. roční, srdečný, dívčí, ovčí, knižní, peněžní, pyšný, hroší, vydří, netopýří.

The consonants h (g) and ch change to ž, š before the suffix -ský as well: pražský, soudružský, volžský, rižský, vlašský, but český. The sound which alternates with k and c combines with the c of the suffix -cký, e.g. dělník - dělnický, Mělník - mělnický, lovec - lovecký, Hradec - hradecký, vesnice - vesnický, Roudnice - roudnický etc. (cf. the similar situation with the suffixes -ctvo, -ctví in §59.1). Similarly, the stem-final ~~š alternating with~~ s combin~~es~~ing with the s in the suffix -ský results in only one sibilant as in ~~for ex~~. Brandýs - brandýský, Tbilisi - tbiliský, Tunis - tuniský etc.

Before the suffix -ský, however, stem-final t, d, t', d', ň, z, š, ž, č remained unchanged in their spelling forms and partially in their pronunciation; cf. dětský, lidský, radhošt'ský, modrad'ský, plzeňský (but, deviantly, míšenský in addition to míšeňský), francouzský, kavkazský, opyšský, strážský, třebíčský, etc.; on the pronunciation of the consonant clusters which obtain in such words see §26.4. -- The consonant ř remains unchanged in such circumstances; cf. mořský, vinořský (from Vinoř); only rarely does it alternate with *r* as in *Rudohoří - rudohorský*, patterned after *horský*, etc.

On the type *rožmberský* from *Rožmberk*, *benátský* from *Benátky* see 3a below.

The long *í* of substantives in *-(n)ík* is shortened before the suffixes *-ský* and *-í*, e.g. *básník - básnický*, *Mělník - mělnický*, *kamzík - kamzičí* etc. -- Long *á* or *ou* is frequently shortened before the suffix *-í*, for ex. *pták - ptačí, žabí, muší* (but with vacillation in *paví - páví)*; cf. §19.1.

3a. Adjectives derived from foreign words or stems are formed in part with the suffixes usual in domestic words, especially *-ní* (*kolektivní, telefonní, absolutní, normální, legální*), *-ový* (*atomový, motorový, kalciový*), and *-ský*, *-cký* (*evropský, sovětský, moskevský, alpský, americký, africký, asijský* (but *australský*, *sofijský, maliský*).

← Only rarely, and usually as an archaicizing device with individual authors, for ex. Šalda, does one find such foreign-based adjectives in *-ný*, for ex. *absolutný, abstraktný, konkrétný, normálný* etc.; on the other hand *reálný* is the usual form and *reální* is both very rare and somewhat different in meaning.

The abovementioned (section 2) rules for consonantal alternations before -*ský* are also observed with foreign stems: *volžský, vlašský, rižský, Kongo - konžský, Cambridge - cambridžský, Vladivostok - vladivostocký, kalkatský, budapešt'ský, mohučský, kavkazský*, but *tuniský, tbiliský* etc.; such alternations are particularly frequent in bohemicized names.

Proper names show certain deviations, especially:

aa) stems ending in -*k* (occasionally -*ka*, -*ky*, -*g*): *Rožmberk, Vamberk, Habsburk, Hamburk, Štrasburk, Helsinky, Heidelberg, Aljaška, Benátky* -- *rožmberský, vamberský* (and *vamberecký*), *habsburský, hamburský, štrasburský, helsinký, heidelberský, aljašský, benátský* etc.;

ab) The desire to preserve the shape of stems which are still felt as foreign can lead to the preservation of stem-final -*g*, as in *kongský* beside *konžský*, *cambridgeský* in addition to *cambridžský* (both are however pronounced alike: [-tšʒ-]), *haagský*, *chicagský*, etc.;

ac) sometimes the suffix -*ský* is simply added mechanically to the foreign name (*bakuský, peruský, bariský, goriský*), or names in -*i* add an extra -*j*- ~~after~~ by analogy with the type *asijský, sofijský (barijský, gorijský*) and names in -*u* an extra -*a*- (*peruanský*); however, the foreign too-deviant *bakinský* (from *Baku*) has not been accepted into Czech.

Names in -*a* generally also take an extended stem form in such adjectives as (*Penza - penzenský* and *penzský*, but from *Kuba* there is only *kubánský*).

On the type *Smolensk - smolenský* see 1b above.

b. Adjectives are often formed from foreign substantives by means of special suffixes, which are themselves partially of foreign origin. The most frequent are -*ický* (*demokratický, socialistický, komunistický, historický, metrický, schematický*), -*ální* (*materiální, individuální, centrální, normální, katastrofální, orientální, triumfální*), and more seldom -*ární* (*populární, literární, terciární*).

The suffixes -*inský*, -*ínský*, -*ánský* have already become rare: *florentinský klobouk*, *josefínské reformy*, *rudolfínské sbírky*, *tereziánský*, *trojánský* (to, from *Trója*), *peruánský* (*Peru*), *loretánský* (*Loreta*), in addition to *florentský*, *josefský*, *rudolfský*, *trojský*, *peruský*.

The suffixes -*ínský*, -*ánský* are sometimes maintained in fixed expressions (often belonging to specialized terminology), e.g. *pisánská věž* (in *Pisa*), *pompejánská červeň* (from *Pompeje*; otherwise only *pompejský*), etc.

In addition to adjectives in -*ický*, foreign words sometimes give rise to adjectives of the same meaning but formed with different (domestic) suffixes; cf. *atomový* (for older *atomický*), *synchronní, diachronní*, alongside *synchronický, diachronický*, etc.

In addition to the usual and appropriate forms in -*ální*, -*ární* which the literary language prefers, one occasionally encounters similar forms in -*elní*, -*érní* (*oficielní, individuelní, materielní, primérní*), esp. as an individual stylistic feature of certain authors, but not in general use. However, the forms *regulérní*, *iregulérní* are now usual; cf. in sport terminology *regulérní branka*, *zápas*, in medical terminology *regulérní* (and *regulární*) *tep*. -- In isolated cases such doublets serve to distinguish different meanings: cf. *reální* 'factual' - *reelní* '~~polite~~ honest, reliable'.

← All these suffixes, -*ický*, -*ální*, -*ární*, -*inský*, -*ánský* etc. are bohemicized foreign suffixes (Latin -*icus*, -*alis*, -*aris* and -*arius*, -*inus*, -*anus*), enlarged by adding the Czech suffixes -*ský* (-*cký*), -*ní*.

4. Adjectives derived with the suffixes -*ův* (-*ova*, -*ovo*) and -*in* (-*ina*, -*ino*) have a clearly defined meaning: they express possession by a ~~specific individual~~ single definite human being and are termed *possessive adjectives*. Such adjectives are formed from masc. substantives by the suffix -*ův* (*bratrův*) and from feminines by -*in* (*matčin*). Their special meaning among all derived adjectives is reflected in their special declension type; see §99.

If it is a question of belonging ~~not to a specific individual~~ but to a human being but not to a definite one, but to its kind, ~~but to a type~~, the adjective is formed differently (as a rule by the suffixes -*ský*, -*ovský* or -*í*) or possession can be expressed simply by the gen. of the possessing substantive; cf. *hlas mužův* 'the man's voice' - *hlas mužský* (of any man), *péče otcova* 'the father's care' - *péče otcovská* 'fatherly care', *tvář dívčina* 'the girl's face' - *dívčí tvář* 'a girlish face', *slovo mužovo* 'the man's word' - *slovo muže platí* (gen. sing. subst.) 'a man's word is good', ~~etc.~~ *ženiny povinnosti* 'the woman's/my wife's responsibilities', *povinnosti ženy* 'a woman's...,' *podle přání zákazníků* 'in keeping with the wishes of the customers', etc.

On the possessive meaning of the genitive case see §64.

5. Adjectives are also derived from verbs, and express qualities derived from the underlying verbal action; they preserve their original verbal characteristics to varying degree; see §139.

a. Deverbative adjectives in -*cí* have the meaning of *goal*, e.g. *prací* (*prostředek*), *žací (stroj)*, *mazací (olej)*, *hrací (karty)*, *oznamovací (věta)*, *dorozumívací (prostředek)*, *oddací (list)*, *sázecí, secí (stroj)*, *bicí (hodiny)*, *balicí (papír)* etc.; such adjectives express the characteristic of the substantive as a device or means of fulfilling a certain activity. They are derived from the past stem of imperfective verbs (only in isolated cases from perfectives) ending in a short vowel (-*a*, -*ova*, -*i*; more rarely *e*, *ě*).

b. The above adjectives are distinguished from those derived from the present gerund, such as perouci, žnoucí, hrající, sející, bijící, oznamující, dorozumívající se, balící etc.; this latter type expresses an activity of a person or thing as a (continuing or temporary) characteristic quality; cf. peroucí žena (who is actually in the process of washing) - prací stroj (designed, intended for washing), bijící hodiny (which are in the process of striking) - bicí hodiny (which is so constructed as to strike the hours), balící - balicí papír, etc.

These two types of adjective with different meanings, if derived from verbs with 3rd pers. sing. in -í and infinitive in -it, are formally distinguished only by the length of their punultimate vowels; cf. čistící - čisticí prostředek, honící - honicí pes, holící - holicí mýdlo, etc.

Adjectives expressing purpose are never used to modify proper names and only rarely with names of animals (cf. honicí pes). Proper names are modified by adjectives formed from the present gerund, such as vyšetřující soudce (but vyšetřovací vazba), řídící osoba (but řídicí přímka), vedoucí pracovník, předsedající člen výboru, etc.

c. Adjectives are also formed from the past participle and from the passive participle, e.g. umělý, minulý, nedbalý, trvalý; malovaný, pečený, vařený, složený, určený, užitý, ubitý etc.; these adjectives denote a quality as the result of the action named by the verb.

← Adjectives in -lý and -ný (rarely -tý) formed from the same verbal stem sometimes exist side by side with no noticable difference of meaning, for ex. zachovalý (šat) - zachovaný (somewhat archaic), proděravělý (oděv) - proděravěný, rozechvělý - rozechvěný, ochrnulý - ochrnutý, etc. .This occurs esp. with adjectives derived from reflexive verbs and from verbs which take no ~~subject~~ object, in which cases the "passive" participle does not express passive voice, see § 138.2.

← On ~~To~~ the extent to which ~~that~~ such adjectives derived from the present gerund and the passive participle maintain their verbal features, see further §139 below.

d. Adjectives formed from verbal stems by means of the suffix -vý (-avý, -lavý, -ivý, -(n)livý), more rarely -ačný, have a particular nuance of meaning: they designate a propensity toward the activity expressed in the verbal stem, e.g. hravý, štvavý, klouzavý, lezavý (lezavá zima), mazlavý, hořlavý, štiplavý, působivý, tísnivý, urážlivý, mlče(n)livý, snáše(n)livý, přičinlivý, trvanlivý, panovačný, pomlouvačný, etc.

e. The meaning of possibility or impossibility, together with that of passivity, appears in adjectives formed with the suffix -telný (-itelný),such as pochopitelný (such, that he can be understood), *nevyléčitelný, srozumitelný, neviditelný, nedosažitelný, přijatelný, nepřekonatelný, opakovatelný, nezapomenutelný* etc.; more rarely such adjectives are formed by other means, e.g. *pitný, nedobytný, nedostižný, jedlý, nejedlý* etc.

Adjectives in *-(i)telný* are unambiguous and for that reason are often used in scientific terminology, e.g. *rozpojitelné skály, roztažitelné kovy, nesouměřitelné hodnoty*. -- In some adjectives in *-ný* the original meaning of impossibility is weakened, effaced, and they thus acquire the meaning of high measure or intensity, ordinarily in fixed and bookish expressions, cf. *nespočetné množství, nezměrný bol, nezlomná víra, nevýslovné štěstí, neodvratný osud* etc. -- Adjectives formed with both suffixes, *-(i)telný* and *-ný*, exist for some stems, often with a fine distinction in meaning or style, cf. *neodolatelný* (more rarely *neodolný* in the same meaning), *nepostižitelný* (rarely bookish *nepostižný*), *nepopíratelný* (bookish *nepopěrný*), *rozpustný* (rarely *rozpustitelný*), *nerozlučný* (*nerozlučné přátelství*, more rarely the bookish *nerozlučitelný svazek*), etc.

Other adjectives than those discussed can have the meaning of possibility and impossibility in the older or bookish language especially those from past and passive participles; cf. the bookish *nedosáhlý* (*nedosažitelný*), *nedostihlý* (*ideál, nedostižitelný*), *nepřemožený* (*vůdce, nepřemožitelný*), etc.

<—— Adjectives in -(i)telný formed from verbs with a long ~~stem~~ vowel in the infinitive stem shorten ~~it~~ the vowel whenever the verb stem is monosyllabic (znát - znatelný, snést - snesitelný), and usually also with disyllabic stems in -á, -í, if the verb itself shows alternations of length in its own paradigm (řídit, řid' - řiditelný; dokázat, dokaž - dokazatelný; smířit, smiř - nesmiřitelný). Vowel length vacillates or is maintained in many adjectives formed in this way, for ex. nevyjádřitelný, nevyléčitelný, přemístitelný; nepopíratelný and nepopiratelný, postrádatelný and postradatelný, ovládatelný and ovladatelný, etc.

f. Adjectives are also formed from verbal stems by the suffix -itý: točitý (=točící se), náležitý, určitý, složitý, spletitý, spojitý etc.; their original meanings were close to those of adjectives in -ící, partly of those in -ný (složený), but their meanings have for the most part grown independent.

~~g~~6. Adjectives are also derived from other adjectives, by various suffixes and prefixes; the suffixes generally give a quantitative definition or emotive coloring to the quality expressed by the adjective.

Some suffixes designate a diminished or augmented degree of the adjective's quality (modrý - modravý, hořký - hořkavý, zelenkavý; krátký - kratičký, kratinký, měkký - měkoučký, měkounký, malý - maličký, malinký, malounký, malilinký, maloulinký (sometimes *malouninký*), *hluboký, hlubokánský, dlouhý - dlouhatý, dlouhánský, dlouhatánský, dlouhanánský, veliký - velikánský*.

The prefixes *pře-*, *pra-* generally strengthen the basic meaning of the adjective (*krásný - překrásný, předrahý, přemilý, přeučtivý* etc.; *starý - prastarý*).

Other prefixes (*na-*, *po-*, *při-*, *ob-*) occurring together with suffixes, limit or weaken the meaning of the adjective (cf. *kyselý - nakyslý*, *modrý - namodralý*, *žlutý - nažloutlý*, *bledý - pobledlý*, *hrubý - přihroublý*, *tlustý - obtloustlý*, *hustý - zahouslý* etc.)

> ← The prefix *po-* (rarely *ob-*) in this attenuative, limiting meaning sometimes occurs with the comparative degree of the adjective; cf. *poslabší, pomenší, postarší (obstarší)*, etc.
>
> > ← Prefixed adjectives like *nakyslý, pobledlý*, ... are in their origin verbal adjectives formed from the past participles of prefixed verbs like *nakysnout, poblednout*,...

7. Adjectives are formed from adverbs, esp. those denoting time and place, by means of the suffixes *-ní* (*dolní, tamní, dnešní, letošní*, etc.) and esp. *-ejší* (*-ější*) (*dolejší, zdejší, tamější, tehdejší, včerejší, zítřejší*, etc.).

Note the spelling *tamější*!

8. Adjectives are also derived from prepositional constructions (the substantive being altered by various suffixes, lately usually-*ový*), e.g. *bezbarvý - bez barvy*, *bezcenný - bez ceny*, *bezmotorový - bez motoru*, *bezporuchový - bez poruch*, *nadmořský - nad mořem*, *podzemní - pod zemí*, *postranní - po straně*, *zahraniční - za hranicemi*, *předčasný - před časem*. This type is very productive with the prefix (preposition) *po-* in temporal meaning, *porevoluční, pobouřkový, pobělohorský* etc.

9. Compound adjectives are very frequent (*československý*, *krátkozraký, žlutozelený* or *žluto-zelený*, etc.); cf. §41.

The above outline does not exhaust the means by which adjectives are derived from substantives, adjectives, adverbs and verbs, nor the suffixes by which such adjectives are formed. Such derivations are of many types; cf. for ex. from *srdce* not only *srdeční, srdečný*, but also *srdčitý*, *srdcovitý, srdnatý* with various shifting nuances of meaning.

Bibliography ~~Literature~~. Further literature on the derivation of adjectives will be found in the general bibliography ~~literature~~ on derivation~~, see p. f~~. following § 42.

Comparison

91 §94. Most qualitative adjectives have special forms to express three degrees of comparison: the *positive* (*smělý*), the comparative (*smělejší*) and the superlative (*nejsmělejší*). The comparative expresses a higher degree of the quality expressed by the adjective and the superlative its highest degree. As a rule only qualitative, not relative adjectives are compared (see §92.3).

1. The comparative is formed by the suffixes -*ejší*, -*ější* (e.g., *smělejší, novější, mokřejší, krutější*), -*ší* (e.g. *starší, tvrdší, prostší, sladší, hlubší, tišší, užší*), or -*í* (e.g. *měkčí, hezčí*).

The superlative is formed by prefixing *nej*- to the comparative form.

Adjectives in -*ký* form their comparatives in -*í*, such as *hezčí, kluzčí, lehčí, měkčí, tenčí, vlhčí, britčí*, *hebčí* (alongside *hebčejší*), *křehčí* (beside *křehčejší*), *křepčí* (and *křepčejší*), *mělčí* (and *mělčejší*), *trpčí* (and *trpčejší*); -*k* alternates with -*č* before this suffix -*í*.

Some adjectives have dual forms, a longer one in -*ejší* or -*ější* and a shorter one in -*ší* or -*í*, e.g., *hustější* and *hustší*, *pustější* and *pustší*, *hrubější* and *hrubší*, *trpčí* and *trpčejší*, *křehčí* and *křehčejší*, *krotší* and *krotčejší*, etc.

The suffix -*ký*, along with other adjectival suffixes (-*oký*, -*ný*, -*ní*) is often truncated in the formation of comparatives, and the comparative suffix -*ší* is added directly to the underlying stem, cf. *sladký - sladší*, *prudký - prudší*, *řídký - řidčí*, *krátký - kratší*, *krotký - krotší* (in addition to *krotčejší*), *blízký - bližší*, *úzký - užší*, *hluboký - hlubší*, *vysoký - vyšší*, *snadný - snazší* (and *snadnější*), *zadní - (nej)zazší*, *krásný* - bookish *krasší* (alongside the usual *krásnější*).

Before the suffix -*ejší* (-*ější*) the consonants *k*, *h* alternate with *č*, *ž* (*křepčejší, strožejší*), *r* changes to *ř* (*chytřejší, moudřejší, ponuřejší*), and the consonant clusters *sk*, *ck* become *šť*, *čť* (*lidštější, přátelštější, otročtější*).

Some consonantal alternations also occur before the suffix -*ší*: *ch~š*, *h~ž*, *z~ž*, *s~š*, sometimes *d~z* (but never *r~ř*); cf. *tišší, dražší, bližší, užší, vyšší, snazší* etc., but *starší*.

A long vowel in the adjective stem is shortened before the suffix -*ší*, for ex. *krátký - kratší*, *řídký - řidší*, *blízký - bližší*, *úzký - užší*; length is maintained before the suffix -*ejší* (-*ější*), for ex. *stálý - stálejší*, *krásný - krásnější*, but exceptionally *bílý - bělejší*.

Note. If one is in doubt how to write the comparative of an adjective, the comparative of the adverb may often help: *dráže - dražší*, *blíže - bližší*, *úže - užší*, *snáze - snazší*, *výše - vyšší*, but with the suffix -*ký* the two forms do not always correspond; cf. *sladčeji, prudčeji, řidčeji, kratčeji* but *sladší, prudší, řidší, kratší* and on the other hand *lehčeji, měhčeji* etc. -- *lehčí*, *měkčí* etc.

2. The comparative is sometimes formed from a different stem than the positive, cf. *malý - menší*, *velký - větší*, *dobrý - lepší*, *zlý - horší*, or from a considerably changed stem, as *dlouhý - delší*.

3. The comparative and superlative degrees are not formed from all adjectives, esp. not from those expressing relations rather than qualities (see § 92.3). Such relative adjectives can express the comparative and superlative analytically, by preposing the adverbs *více, silněji*, *nejvíce, nejsilněji*, e.g. *více žádoucí, silněji krátkozraký*, *nejvíce překvapující*, etc. Such comparison is called periphrastic.

Both the synthetic and the analytic forms occur with some borrowed adjectives (*více, nejvíce efektivní* and *efektivnější, nejefektivnější*) and with certain verbal adjectives (*více zachovalý*, *nejvíce opomíjený* and *zachovalejší*, *nejopomíjenější*) and compounds (*více, nejvíce pravděpodobný* and *pravděpodobnější*, *nejpravděpodobnější*).

Lesser and least degrees of quality are always expressed by adverbs, for ex. *méně schopný, nejméně průkazný* etc.

←— Some adjectives which are formed like relative adjectives, but which express some characteristic of a person or thing, are close in meaning to qualitative adjectives and can be compared, cf. *barvitý - nejbarvitější popis*, *hornatý - hornatější krajina*, etc.

4. The object with which a comparative adjective compares its substantive is usually joined to the comparative construction by the conjunction *než* (for ex., *rydlejší než letadlo*, *veselejší než včera*, *schopnější, než jsem si myslil*), more rarely -- in bookish style and lately in the jargon of sport reporters -- it appears simply in the gen. case or in a prepositional construction (*statečnější tebe*, *Bubník lepší Borovičky*, *milejší nad tebe*, in the fixed phraseological unit *nad slunce jasnější*); in subliterary and Common Czech one uses *jak* for this purpose (*větší jak ty*).

The object with which the superlative is compared is joined to the superlative construction by *z*(*ze*) plus the gen., more rarely by *mezi* with the instr. (e.g. *nejstarší ze všech*, *nejzkušenější mezi všemi*).

<— 5. Comparative forms are used in some cases where it is not really a question of comparison, but of expressing in absolute terms a measured quantity of the adjective's

quality, e.g. *starší člověk*, *větší zkušenost*, *vyšší postavení*, *lepší společnost*, *delší čas*, *slabší prospěch*, etc. The comparative in such cases expresses a limited quantity of the quality expressed by the positive adjective, cf. *starší člověk*, i.e. not 'old', but not 'young' either.

The quality expressed by the adjective can also be strengthened or weakened by several varied adverbs, e.g. *velmi, neobyčejně, náramně, zvláště, zcela, málo* etc.

Forms and their meanings

§95. Adjectives have different forms expressing gender (*mladý, mladá, mladé*), number (*mladý, mladí*), case (*mladý, mladého* etc.), and within the masc. gender sometimes distinguish between animate beings and inanimate things (*mladí lidé*, *mladé hlasy*).

The categories of gender, number, case and animation are however not expressed independently by the adjective, but only in agreement with the gender, number, case and animation of the substantive modified by the adjective; the adjective agrees with the substantive in all these categories.

← Certain adjectives, esp. of foreign origin, of subliterary or conversational tone, are indeclinable, cf. e.g. *lila šaty, v lila šatech, kostým pepita, drap punčochy, glazé rukavice, khaki košile, nóbl člověk*. Such adjectives are also used without change of form as adverbs:

nóbl se oblékat (see §162.6). Some of them become domesticated and acquire declined forms, e.g. pepitový, drapový, and the common fainový (to fain), etc.

For expressive purposes fem. attributive adjectives are used to modify masc. substantives, for ex. chudák stará, kluku miliónská, etc. (see §195.2b).

2. In the structure of the sentence the adjective can be an attribute (mladý člověk, poznal mladé lidi, život mladého člověka), a predicate adjective or complement (je zdráv, cítím se zdráv).

As attribute the adjective always has long forms (except for possessive adjectives, cf. §99). In the predicate (both alone and a secondary member, as complement) the adjective sometimes takes a form different from that of the attributive position, namely it can take so-called nominal forms (see §98), cf. zdravý chlapec závodí -- je zdráv, cítí se zdráv (but: je silný, cítí se silný).

← Those adjectives which have nominal forms sometimes also use the long forms in the predicate, but often with a distinction of meaning: the long form expresses a permanent quality, the nominal form a temporary quality which is itself often further modified. Cf.: děvčata jsou zvědavá, but jsem zvědav, jak budeš spokojen; jeho syn je živý 'is lively' ~~(je živé povahy)~~ but jeho syn je živ 'is alive' ~~[illegible]~~.

3. Adjectives are sometimes used instead of substantives, for ex. nemocného zavezli do nemocnice. Such adjectives are called substantivized, they have independent grammatical meanings (gender, number, case) just as do other substantives and serve the same functions within the sentence, i.e. they can be subject or object and can themselves be modified by attributes. For ex. sytý hladovému nevěří; na úspěších se podíleli všichni pracující.

Some adjectives which have become substantivized ~~in their~~ are already substantives in meaning~~s~~ but have retained their adjectival declension forms. They can be declined like hard adjectives of all three genders (nemocný, vrátný; pokojská, žitná; vstupné výkupné, cestovné) and also like soft masculines (vrchní, pokladní). Adjectives derived from participles and gerunds can also be used as substantives (dospělý, obžalovaný, raněný, cestující, pracující, vedoucí). Many family- and place names are also substantivized adjectives in origin: Bílý, Veselý, Nejedlý, Hořejší; Slaný, Hluboká, Rovné etc.

← Substantivized adjectives in -né, -ovné form a closed semantic group: these are names for payments, rates etc. Original -ný adjectives are however rare; more frequent are substantives formed with the suffix -né and declined like ~~substantives,~~ ~~not~~ adjectives (cestovné, vstupné, etc.).

← Substantivization is basically restricted in the current literary language to a limited number of fixed cases; some usages which have arisen under foreign influence, are not proper and considered incorrect, e.g. odpověděl následující, přeloženo z německého etc.

← In origin the substantives dobro, zlo, dobra..., are also substantivized adjectives, but come from the nominal forms of the adjectives (in older periods they had the forms dobré, zlé).

Adjective declension

§96. Adjectives have two types of form, a long form (mladý, mladá,..., jarní...) and a nominal form (šťasten, bratrův, bratrova,...).

The long forms have two kinds of endings, a hard declension (mladý) and a soft declension (jarní).

The nominal forms are used only in the nom., occasionally still in the acc., they have only hard forms.

Possessive adjectives have a separate declension type (with nominal forms in some cases and long forms in others).

We therefore distinguish:

I. The basic adjectival declension (the long type) in its hard (type mladý) and soft (type jarní) variants:

II. The nominal type (šťasten);

III. The possessive adjective declension (types bratrův, matčin).

I. The long declension type

§97.1. The hard type mladý

	masc. animate	masc. inanimate	neuter	feminine
Singular				
nom.	mladý	mladý	mladé	mladá
acc.	mladého	= nom.	= nom.	mladou
gen.		mladého		mladé
dat.		mladému		mladé
loc.		(o) mladém		mladé
instr.		mladým		mladou
Plural				
nom.	mladí	mladé	mladá	mladé
acc.	mladé	= nom.	= nom.	= nom.
gen.		mladých		
dat.		mladým		
loc.		(o) mladých		
instr.		mladými		

In the animate masc. plur. of this type the stem-final consonants k, h, ch, r alternate with c, z, š, ř, e.g. hezcí, blízcí, brzcí, prudcí, drazí, hluší, dobří. Adjectives in -ský take -ští in this form, and those in -cký take -čtí (venkovští, francouzští, slezští, pražští, vlašští, čeští, brandýští, třebíčští; dělničtí, socialističtí etc.); adjectives in -čký take -čcí (maličcí, mladičcí, staričcí).

In Common Czech there is no distinction between nom. and acc. plur. and there is only one form (mladý) for all three genders (mladý hoši, mladý stromy, mladý ženy, mladý děvčata.

2. The soft type jarní

	masc.			neuter	feminine
	animate		inanimate		
Singular					
nom.	jarní		jarní	jarní	jarní
acc.	jarního		= nom.	= nom.	= nom.
gen.			jarního		jarní
dat.			jarnímu		jarní
loc.		(o)	jarním		jarní
instr.			jarním		jarní

Plural		
nom.		jarní
acc.		= nom.
gen.		jarních
dat.		jarním
loc.	(o)	jarních
instr.		jarními

In soft-type adjectives like jarní (which in the nom. have only one form for all three genders), one writes the "soft" -í after neutral consonants, e.g. rybí, husí, včelí, ryzí, cizí etc.

In the instr. plur., when modifying substantives in the dual form, adjectives take the ending -ma, for ex. modrýma rybíma, očima, drsnýma rukama, rovnýma nohama, etc.

II. The nominal forms

insert ¶ on back

	masculine		neuter	feminine
	animate	inanimate	_	
nom. sing.	št'astem	št'asten	št'astno	št'astna
nom. plur.	št'astni	št'astny	št'astna	št'astny

1. Not all adjectives have nominal forms; they occur only with certain non-suffixed adjectives of the hard declension such as zdravý- zdráv, mladý - mlád, starý - stár, jistý - jist mrtvý - mrtev, etc., and with a few adjectives in -ný, such as dlužen, hoden, schopen etc.

Soft adjectives never have nominal forms, nor do most adjectives of the hard type, e.g. malý, velký, černý, teplý, časný, srdečný, obecný, mužský, kovový, hornatý, dřevěný; in particular, no derived adjectives other than those in -ný can have such forms.

§98. Nominal forms are found only in the nominative and occasionally in archaic usage also in the accusative of both numbers. They are formed only from hard-type adjectives and agree in form with hard-type substantives (pan, hrad, zena, mesto) and for that reason are called nominal.

Adjectives which have no nominal forms use the same form in predicative as in attributive position (*dům je veliký - veliký dům*).

On the other hand, the adjective *rád* and possessive adjectives in some of their case forms (see §99) have only the nominal forms.

2. Some adjectives have a long vowel in the nominal forms but a short vowel in the long forms, e.g. *slabý - sláb, zdravý -zdráv, mladý - mlád, starý - stár*.

3. The nominal forms are used primarily in the masc. sing.; the remaining sing. and all plur. forms can be used only with those adjectives which have masc. sing. nominal forms (these other nominal forms are in any case much rarer, and in some instances impossible, in the contemporary literary language). Generally only the nom. is used; the acc. is very rare.

The remaining nominal forms (i.e., those other than the masc. sing.) were very frequently used as a deliberate stylistic device -- in the literary language of the nineteenth century, for example in J. Neruda, J.V. Sládek etc.; cf. Neruda's "*houby nejsou pouze příjemny a lahodny, ony jsou také živny*", or in Sládek's verse, "*Jako ono (nebe) krásny (jsou lány polí), jako ono volny a v své plodné síle navždy neúdolny*."

Some adjectives have preserved nominal forms in fixed bookish expressions with verbal meanings; they are used in referring to persons and with a dependent nominal modifier, for ex. *být blízek (blížit se) zoufalství*, *být dalek toho úmyslu*, *být mocen slova*, *být pln ochoty*, *věren zásadám*, *být si jist úspěchem*, *být hotov udělat vše*, *být hoden důvěry*, *být práv uloženému úkolu,* etc. Some such fixed nominal forms have already lost their semantic connection with the corresponding long forms, and acquired a largely independent meaning, e.g. *práv* and *pravý*, *hoden* and *hodný* etc.

4. In a few additional cases adjectives have nominal forms only in the neut. sing., e.g. (*je, bylo*) *možno*, *nutno*, *radno, záhodno, zřejmo, těžko* etc.; these forms usually occur with the infinitive or with a subject clause, e.g.: *je težko se tak rychle rozhodnout*; *není radno pokoušet osud*; *je jisto, že ses mýlil*.

←—— These forms (*možno* etc.) have modal force in most cases. They are only seemingly an exception, since they can be understood as adverbs; sometimes they are considered an independent part of speech, the so-called predicatives; cf. §162.3.

In some fixed phrases nominal forms appear in cases other than the nom. sing., after prepositions, in attributive position. For ex.: *do široka*, *do mokra*, *po suchu*, *na sucho,* *po domácku*, *z čista jasna*, *z plna* hrdla etc. These are fixed adverbial expressions and in most cases can also be spelled as a single adverb: doširoka, domodra, posuchu, nasucho, podomácku, zčistajasna; some such expressions are written only together, as adverbs; cf. doprava, nalevo, zhusta, zřídka, nabíledni (on the spelling of such forms see §34.1).

<--- We also find the remains of original nominal forms in compound place names like Suchdol, Kněždub, Kněževes, Uhříněves, etc. (kněž-, kněže-, uhříně- are soft nominal forms with possessive meaning to kněz, Uhřín). -- The fixed and now archaic form páně is by origin a nominal form of the lost possessive adjective to pán; cf. ~~ve spojení~~ chrám Páně, léta páně 1780, sestra páně Novákova, etc.

III. Declension of possessive adjectives

§99. Possessive adjectives in -ův (-ova, -ovo) and in -in (-ina, -ino) are declined alike, as the hard type.

Their declension is as follows:

<table>
<tr><th>Singular</th><th colspan="2">masculine</th><th>neuter</th><th>feminine</th></tr>
<tr><th></th><th>animate</th><th>inanimate</th><th></th><th></th></tr>
<tr><td>nom.</td><td>bratrův</td><td>bratrův</td><td>bratrovo</td><td>bratrova</td></tr>
<tr><td>acc.</td><td>bratrova</td><td>=nom.</td><td>= nom.</td><td>bratrovu</td></tr>
<tr><td>gen.</td><td colspan="3">bratrova</td><td>bratrovy</td></tr>
<tr><td>dat.</td><td colspan="3">bratrovu</td><td>bratrově</td></tr>
<tr><td>loc.</td><td colspan="3">(o) bratrově, -ovu</td><td>bratrově</td></tr>
<tr><td>instr.</td><td colspan="3">bratrovým</td><td>bratrovou</td></tr>
</table>

<table>
<tr><th>Plural</th><th></th><th></th><th></th><th></th></tr>
<tr><td>nom.</td><td>bratrovi</td><td>bratrovy</td><td>bratrova</td><td>bratrovy</td></tr>
<tr><td>acc.</td><td>bratrovy</td><td>= nom.</td><td>= nom.</td><td>= nom.</td></tr>
<tr><td>gen.</td><td colspan="4">bratrových</td></tr>
<tr><td>dat.</td><td colspan="4">bratrovým</td></tr>
<tr><td>loc.</td><td colspan="4">(o) bratrových</td></tr>
<tr><td>instr.</td><td colspan="4">bratrovými</td></tr>
</table>

In the nom. and acc. of both numbers these adjectives have nominal forms. The nominal forms, identical with those of the hard substantive declension (pán, hrad, žena, město) also occur in the other cases of the sing. except the instr. (z bratrova úspěchu, k bratrovu úspěchu etc.). In the oblique plur. cases and in the instr. sing. the same endings appear as in the hard adjective declension (type mladý), namely the long forms (bratrovým instr. sing. and dat. plur., bratrových..., like mladým, mladých...).

← In Common Czech the entire sing. except the nom. has the long forms (*bratrovýho*, *bratrovýmu*, etc.); in southwestern Czech dialects there is a single undeclined possessive form for all three genders (*bratrovo kabát*, *sestřino kniha*, etc.).

Notes 1. On the use of these possessive adjectives see §93.4.

2. On place names derived from possessive adjectives, like *Ondřejov*, *Libušín*, cf. §220.1.

3. On names like *Novákovi*, *správcovi* denoting the family as a group, see §89.2.

Bibliography. On the function and use of nominal forms of adjectives see esp. the two articles by *Kopečný* 1953b, 1954a.

The periphrastic comparative in Czech is discussed by *Bosák* 1961.

Cf. the general study by *Vachek* 1954.

The Pronoun

Meaning and types; the forms and their meanings

9 §100.1 Pronouns are words which do not themselves designate persons or things or qualities, but which merely replace substantives and adjectives. They can name or refer to some definite person, thing or quality or express the speaker's relation to them, but only from the concrete speech situation is it clear just which specific person or thing is being referred to. The pronoun expresses case and number, and in some types of pronouns three genders as well (on their grammatical meanings see §104).

2. According to their meanings one distinguishes the following pronouns: (1) personal (and reflexive); (2) possessive; (3) demonstrative; (4) interrogative; (5) relative; (6) indefinite; (7) negative.

> ← The various pronominal meanings express the various relations of the speaker to the person, thing or quality referred to by the pronoun (with the personal pronouns we express this relation directly; with the demonstrative pronouns we point to the person, thing or quality, with the interrogative pronouns we ask questions about them, etc.), or their relations to the context or speech situation (referred to by the possessive, demonstrative or relative pronouns, etc.).

§101.1. *The personal pronouns* denote the first, second or third person. For the first person (when the speaker refers to himself) the forms are *já*, *my*; for the second person (when the speaker refers to his conversation partner) the forms are *ty*, *vy*; for the third person (referring to the person or thing being spoken of) the forms are (*on*), *jeho*, *jemu*, *mu*... .

> On the grammatical meaning of the three persons see §130.

The reflexive pronoun (*sebe*, *sobě*, *si*...) denotes a relation to the person or thing who or which is the subject of the clause, regardless of whether this is in the first, second or third person.

> <--- For ex.: *Poznejme sami sebe. -- Kritizuj sebe upřímně*! (But: *Tebe jsem nepoznal*. *Však mě poznáš*). --*Obě vesnice byly od sebe vzdálény na dvě hodiny cesty*. (But: *Od nich na pět hodin cesty bylo okresní město*).

The nom. case of pronouns is used as subject (the so-called pronominal subject) only when it is necessary for the sake of emphasis or comprehensibility (see §188.2). The reflexive pronoun has no nom. case.

2. The possessive pronouns express belonging to someone in the first, second or third person or to the subject in any person: first person *můj*, *náš*; second person *tvůj*, *váš*,

third person jeho, její, jejich. It is only the third person feminine which has a special declined pronominal adjective (její); the masc. and neut. use the non-declined form jeho and the third person plur. the non-declined form jejich; these forms are in their origin the gen. sing. and plur. of the personal pronoun on, but are placed like agreeing adjectives before the words they modify.

The possessive ~~adjectives~~ pronouns jeho, jejich have the syntactic valence of indeclinable adjectives (and like such adjectives are placed before the noun.)

E.g. K jeho bratrovi, sestře, bratrům; k jejich bratrovi, sestře, bratrům; but k jejímu bratrovi, k její sestře, k jejím bratrům.

Note the difference: z jejích knih (e.g. ze sestřiných knih 'from my sister's books') vs. z jejich knih (e.g. z knih sester 'from my sisters' books).

Possession by the subject of the clause, in no matter what person, is expressed by the reflexive possessive pronoun svůj.

The first and (more rarely) second person possessive pronouns náš, váš are used instead of svůj whenever the possessor is a broader, larger group, of which the subject (my, vy) is only a part, for ex. Slibujeme (my vojáci) že naši vlast (t.j. vlast všech Čechů a Slováků) ubráníme 'We promise (we soldiers) that we shall defend our country (the country of all Czechs and Slovaks)'.

The reflexive possessive pronoun is avoided whenever it might lead to ambiguity, for ex. Děkujeme vám za rychlé vyřízení naší žádosti (our, not your wishes).

← The substantivized neuter forms mé, tvé, své are used in the literary language in the meaning 'my property' 'your property', 'someone's property'.

In Common Czech the substantivized forms můj, náš are used in the meaning 'my husband', svůj in the meaning 'husband', and similarly moje, naše, svoje in the meaning 'my wife', 'wife'; the substantivized její, jeho have the meanings 'husband' and 'wife' in Common Czech. The substantivized naši means 'our (or my) parents, siblings ~~relatives~~, our family, our people, our followers', etc., depending on the situation.

E.g. Nedělá rozdílu mezi mým a tvým. Žijí každý za své. Můj už se vrátil. Náš není doma. Naše odešla. Moje na mne hubuje. Přišel i se svojí. Ta jeho se k němu vrátila. Ten její si našel místo.

← Note. In correspondence one can write personal and possessive pronouns with capital letters (Ty, Vy, Tvůj, Váš) whether the addressee is an individual or a group; capital letters are however often not used in informal private correspondence (cf. § 32. II).

§102.1. Demonstrative pronouns are those which point to a specific person, thing or quality; they are: ten, tento, tenhle, onen, takový, týž and tentýž.

The demonstrative pronouns ten, tento, onen sometimes merely indicate or call attention to the subject of the discourse. Ten has this same meaning with the superlative degree of adjectives. E.g. Byl jednou jeden král a ten měl tři syny; Hudba, ta dovede uchvátit. -- Jsem toho názoru, že bys mohl mít úspěch. To je ta nejlepší jakost, která se vyrábí.

shouldn't we translate these?

The demonstrative pronoun ten also serves as a means of expressive coloration, expressing the speaker's attitude; this occurs esp. in the spoken language, for ex. Ta naše maminka je starostlivá. Ten je opálený!

← The pronouns tento and týž are not third person pronouns and should not be used in place of the latter; the colloquial ten samý should similarly not be used instead of týž. For ex.: Pošlete mi účet, abych jej mohl zaplatit (not: abych mohl tento or týž zaplatit). -- Vrátil se ještě týž den (not ten samý den).

The scholarly terms for the referring meaning is anaphoric and for the demonstrative meaning (in the narrow sense) deictic.

2. *Interrogative pronouns* are those which ask questions about persons, things or qualities: *kdo*, *co* *čí*, *který*, *jaký*. They introduce questions (interrogative sentences; cf. §173.2).

The pronoun *kdo* 'who' asks about a person, *co* 'what' about an object or a situation; *čí* 'whose' asks about the owner or origin of something.

The pronoun *který* 'which' asks to identify one member of a group of people or things. -- *Jaký* 'what kind of' asks about someone's or something's qualities. For ex.: *Kdo je to?* *S čím si hraješ?* *Co to znamená?* *Čí je to pero?* *Čí je to nápad?* -- *Který z vás (synů) je nejmladší?* *Kterým vlakem přijedeš?* (*ranním, večerním* etc.). -- *Jaké bude dnes počasí?*

> ←The pronoun *ký* (originally a long form of the interrogative *k(to)*, *koho*...) is archaic and bookish, e.g. *Ký vítr sem ho zavál?* (Jirásek). It is maintained only in a few fixed interjectional phrases such as *kýho čerta*, *kýho d'aša*, *kýho výra* etc.

3. *Relative pronouns* are those which express the relations between the subordinate clauses of a sentence to some member of the main clause (usually a substantive or pronoun). These are *jenž*, *který(ž)*, *jaký*, *čí*, and *kdo(ž)*, *co(ž)*, -- The clause which is introduced by such a pronoun is called a relative clause (see §202.2).

The pronoun *jenž*, unlike *který*, belongs strictly to the literary language and often has (esp. in the nom. and acc.) a bookish flavor; the nom. plur. animate *jíž* and the acc. sing. fem. *jíž* are very rare. The other forms are current in the literary language, esp. after prepositions.

For ex.: *To je cíl, který (jenž) stojí před námi*. *Těšil jej slib, jehož se mu dostalo*. *Úkol, na nějž nestačí*. To *je píseň, kterou* (rarely, bookish *jíž*) *máme všichni rádi*. -- *Poznal přítele, jakých je málo*. -- *Na čí ránu medvěd padne, ten je první střelec* (Němcová). -- *Všiml si toho každý, kdo šel kolem*. -- *Ošklivý netvor, kterémuž říkali robota* (Třebízský). *Už jsou všichni v hrobě, kdož mně přáli* (Neruda).

The pronoun *co*, undeclined and not agreeing, is sometimes used instead of the agreeing *který* or *jenž* in colloquial style, for ex. *To je ta kniha, co jsi nedávno četl*. *Poslal dopis, co včera napsal*. In Common Czech and in dialects one uses the pronominal adverb *jak* in similar situations, e.g. *To je ten chlapec, jak jsem ti o něm říkal* (instead of literary *o kterém jsem*... or colloquial *co jsem*...).

All the above types of pronoun (personal, possessive, demonstrative, interrogative and relative), referring to definite people, things and qualities, are **definite pronouns**.

§103.1.a. *Indefinite pronouns* are those by means of which we give only general, categorial or imprecise definitions of people or things, such as *někdo, něco, něčí, některý, nějaký; kdosi, cosi, čísi, kterýsi, jakýsi* etc. They are formed from interrogative pronouns and various prefixes or pronominal stems (*ně*-, *lec*-, *leda*-, *kde*-, *málo*- etc.) and particles (-*si*, -*koli*, etc.; see §41.1), giving such forms as *někdo, kdosi, leckdo, ledakdo, kdokoli, kterýkoli, kdekdo, kdeco, kdojaký, málokdo, všelicos, bůhvíkdo* etc.

b. The pronouns *každý*, *všechen* (*všichni*), *týž* and *sám*, *samý* are also classified as indefinite. They form a special group within the indefinite pronouns known as quantifying pronouns. The pronoun *všechen*, *všichni* 'every, all' expresses totality, completion; *každý* 'every, each' identifies the individual thing or person as a part of a complete entity, *týž* 'same' marks identity, and *sám*, *samý* emphasizes the role of the substantive or pronoun it modifies.

The pronoun *každý* is used only in the sing. (except when modifying names of materials) or in conjunction with pluralia tantum if the latter denote individual objects; otherwise one uses the indefinite pronoun *všechen*, *všichni* (with the attendant difference in meaning). For ex.: *každý občan* 'every citizen' -- *všichni občané* 'all citizens', *každá kniha* 'every book' - *všechny knihy* 'all books', *každé dveře* 'every (individual) entrance' - *všechny dveře* 'all entrances (taken collectively)'; names of materials however take only *všechen*, cf. *všechen písek*, *všechen sníh*, *všechna mouka*.

The pronouns *kdo*, *co*, *který*, *jaký* can also be used as indefinite pronouns, in which case *kdo* and *co* are stressless. E.g.: *Jak si kdo ustele, tak si lehne; A než se rok obrátí -- kde z nás bude která* (Erben); *Když tě co na jazyku svrbí, našeptej to jen do staré vrby* (Havlíček); *Nevím, že by tudy vedla jaká cesta*.

2. *Negative pronouns* are those by which one denies the existence of some person, thing, or quality, e.g. *nikdo* 'noone', *nic* 'nothing', *nijaký* 'no (kind of)', *ničí* noone's', *žádný* 'no (=not any)'. They are generally formed by adding the particle *ni-* to the pronouns *kdo*, *co*, *jaký*, *čí*. For ex.: *Nidko nepřišel* 'no one came'; *Nic se mu nestalo* 'Nothing happened to him'; *Nemá to nijaký vliv* 'That doesn't have any (kind of) influence'; *Ničím to nenahradí* 'He can't replace it by anything', *Není to žádný žert* 'That's no joke'; *Není to žádná pravda* 'That's not true at all' (lit. 'That's no truth').

Cf. the section on negative pronouns in the discussion of negation and negative sentences in §174.

§104. Pronouns express case and as a rule number.

The pronouns *kdo*, *co*, *každý* have only sing. forms and meanings; the reflexive pronoun *sebe* has the same forms for the sing. and plur.

Some pronouns also express the three genders and the animate-inanimate distinction within the masc., e.g. *ten*, *ta*, *to*, *ti*, *ty*, *ta*; *můj*, *má*, *mé*, etc.; *jej*, *ji*, *je* etc.; *kteří*, *které*, etc. In the sentence these pronouns agree with the substantives they modify or to which they refer; they are called *gendered* pronouns.

Other pronouns have the same form for all genders and are known as ungendered pronouns (the first and second person personal pronouns and the reflexive pronoun: *já*, *ty*, *my*, *vy*, *se*; for ex. *ty*, *tebe*, can refer equally well to a man, a woman or a child.

The pronouns *kdo*, *co* in interrogative, relative and indefinite use, and the negative pronouns *nikdo*, *nic* do not distinguish gender ~~nor do they~~ but only mark the difference between persons and things.

← The pronouns have essentially the same grammatical meanings as substantives and adjectives and play the same syntactic roles in the sentence. The ungendered pronouns have the same sentence limitations as substantives; the gendered pronouns have either a function similar to that of adjectives (as attribute, nominal predicate, or complement: *náš dům*, *ten dům*, *jaký dům*, *týž dům*; *přišel sám*, *byl tam sám*) or that of substantives (as subject or object: *žádný to nevěděl*, *potkal jsem ho*, *od některého z vás jsem slyšel*).

The declension of pronouns

§105. The ungendered pronouns have their own type of declension.

The gendered pronouns either take a declension similar to that of adjectives (*který*, *týž*, *sám*, *samý*, *její*, *čí*) or they have a variant declension called pronominal.

The pronominal declension can be hard (type *ten - toho*) or soft (type *náš - našeho*).

add ¶ on back →

I. Ungendered pronouns

	1st person	2nd person	reflexive
		singular	
nom.	já	ty	--
gen.	mě, mne	tebe, tě	sebe
dat.	mně, mi	tobě, ti	sobě, si
acc.	mě, mne	tebe, tě	sebe, se
loc.	(o) mně	tobě	sobě
instr.	mnou	tebou	sebou

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§106. The pronouns of the first and second person and the reflexive pronoun are declined as follows:

1st person 2nd person reflexive

plural

nom.	my	vy
gen.	nás	vás
dat.	nám	vám
acc.	nás	vás
loc.	(o) nás	vás
instr.	námi	vámi

In the dat., gen. and acc. sing. these pronouns have two forms, a *short form* (dat. *mi*, *ti*, *si*; gen. *mě*, *tě* and acc. *mě*, *tě*, *se*) and a *long form* (dat. *mně*, *tobě*, *sobě*; gen. and acc. *mne*, *tebe* and acc. *sebe*).

The short forms of the second person sing. pronoun (*ty*) and of the reflexive pronoun are enclitics (see §22.3); they are not used after prepositions or when the pronoun is used emphatically. For ex. *to se tě netýká*, *řekl jsem ti to, uškodil si, viděl jsem tě*, etc. -- The long forms of these pronouns are only used after prepositions and in position where emphatically stressed, e.g. *na tebe se to nevztahuje, vztahoval to na sebe, tebe se to netýká, tebe jsem tam neviděl, sobě uškodil*, etc.

The dative *mi* of the first person pronoun *já* is enclitic and cannot be used after prepositions or in emphatic position; the long form *mně* can however be used not only after prepositions and under emphasis but also in neutral (non-emphatic) use, for ex. *dej mi to* and *dej mně to*, but only *obrátil se ke mně*, *mně to neříkej* etc.

In the gen. and acc. the two forms *mne* and *mě* are not syntactically distinguished and can both be used without restriction both in enclitic position and when after prepositions or under emphasis; the form *mne* however has a more bookish character. For example: *To se mě* (and *mne*) *netýká*; *to mě* (and *mne*) *nezajímá*; *pro mě za mě* (and *pro mne za mne*).

<—— Colloquial Czech uses only the form pronounced [mňe]. The form [mňe] (*mně*, *mě*) thus functions as a general case everywhere except in the nom. and the instr.

II. Gendered pronouns

a. The pronominal declension

§107. The pronominal declension has a hard type (*ten*) and a soft type (*náš*).

	masculine		neuter	feminine
	animate	inanimate		
Singular				
nom.	ten, náš	ten, náš	to, naše	ta, naše
acc.	toho, našeho	= nom.	= nom.	tu, naši
gen.		toho, našeho		té, naší
dat.		tomu, našemu		té, naší
loc.		(o) tom, našem		té, naší
instr.		tím, naším		tou, naší
Plural				
nom.	ti, naše	ty, naše	ta, naše	ty, naše
acc.		ty, naše	= nom.	= nom.
gen.		těch, našich		
dat.		těm, našim		
loc.		(o) těch, našich		
instr.		těmi, našimi		

<- Note that the soft declension has a short i there where the hard declension has a short vowel, and a long í there where the hard declension has a long vowel or a diphthong, e.g. naši - tu, našim - těm, but naší - té, naším - tím, etc.

The instr. plur., when used with the dual forms of substantives takes the forms těma, našima (rukama, nohama, očima).

The hard pronominal declension (type *ten*) is used for *tento* (gen. *tohoto*,...), *on*, *onen* (*onoho*,...), and *kdo, někdo, nikdo, kdosi, kdopak, kdokoli*... (*koho, někoho, kohokoli*... but instr. *s kým, někým, kýmkoli*...). -- The pronouns *co, něco, nic, cosi, copak, cokoli* take their oblique cases according to the soft type *náš*: *čeho, čemu, o čem, čím; ničeho, o čempak, s čímkoli*,... .

The pronoun *co* also has a special acc. sing. form *-č* which is used only with certain prepositions: *nač, oč, proč, zač, več* (archaic *seč*).

The soft type (*náš*) is also used for the pronouns *váš*, the third person personal pronoun *(on), jeho, jemu*,..., the relative pronoun *jenž* and the oblique cases of *co, něco, nic* (see above).

The compound pronouns *kdekdo, kdeco, málokdo, málokterý* etc. are declined regularly in their second component, but when used with prepositions are sometimes separated so that the preposition is inserted between the two components, e.g. *(přátelil se) s kdekým or kde s kým, (obrátil se na mne) s kdečím* or *kde s čím, v máločem* or *málo v čem (se tak vyznal)*.

§*108*.1. The third person personal pronoun and the relative pronoun *jenž* have some forms which differ from those of the soft type; for this reason we give their complete declension.

	masculine		neuter	feminin
Singular				
nom.	(on);	jenž	(ono); jež	(ona); j jei
acc.	jeho (anim.), jej, ho, -ň	jehož, jejž	ho, je; jež	ji; již
gen.	jeho, ho; (colloq) jej, (do) něj;	jehož		jí; jíž
dat.	jemu, mu;	jemuž		jí; jíž
loc.	(o) něm;	němž		ní; níž
instr.	jím;	jímž		jí; jíž

Plural	animate	inanimate		
nom.	(oni); již	(ony); jež	(ona); jež	(ony); je
acc.	je;	jež		
gen.	jich, jejich;	jichž, jejichž		
dat.	jim;	jimž		
loc.	(o) nich;	nichž		
instr.	jimi;	jimiž		

← The 3rd pers. pronoun has no nom. forms of its own. In oblique cases after prepositions the initial j- alternates with ň- (written ně-, ni-, ní-), for ex. do něho (colloq. also do něj), do něhož, k nim, s ním etc.

In addition to the forms jeho, jemu the 3rd pers. pronoun (like those of the 1st and 2nd pers.) has the short forms ho, mu, which are used when not after prepositions and not under emphasis; they are called the weak forms, and are enclitics like mi, ti, si, tě, se, cf. §22.3. For ex.: Zeptal jsem ho, řekl mu to, poznal jsem ho, but jeho se to netýká, právě jemu to musím říci, přišel k němu.

In the animate and inanimate acc. sing. masc. either ho or jej can be used, while the form jeho is used for emphasis and after prepositions, and that only for animate referents (the form jehož likewise refers only to animate beings). For ex.: Potkal jsem jej (or ho), vrátil jsem jej (or ho; inanimate, e.g. nůž 'knife'), jeho (animate, e.g. bratra 'brother') jsem tam neviděl.

> ← After certain prepositions the -ň forms are used instead: naň, zaň, proň.

In the acc. sing. neut. both ho and je are used; in emphatic position (which is however rare with neut.) the form je is used. After prepositions the basic form is ně (na ně, etc.); the form na něj, as is the case with the non-prepositional jej, has a colloquial flavor; in dialects one also finds the form na něho. E.g. Otevři ho (okno), budeme je (usnesení) uskutečňovat, právě je (toto pole) jsme oseli, díval se na ně (na dítě).

> ← The forms na něho, na něj (which resemble the masc. forms), if they are used to refer to live beings, tend to be felt as of masc. gender.

In the gen. sing. masc. and neut. the form *jej* tends to penetrate into the literary language, esp. into its spoken variety; this happens most frequently after prepositions (*bez něj, u něj, do něj* alongside *bez něho, u něho, do něho*).

The remaining forms of the gen. sing. masc. and neut. (*jeho, jehož*) are used in the function of possessive pronouns, e.g. *jeho kniha*; the corresponding gen. plur. forms *jejich*, *jejichž* have only this possessive function (cf. §101), e.g. *Jejich úspěchy (vědců) nás povzbuzují; vědci, jejichž úspěchy nás povzbuzují; vážím si jich; rodiče, jichž si vážím*.

2. The indefinite pronouns *všechen, všecek, vše* is except for the nom.-acc. declined partly according to the soft type (*náš*; gen. *všeho*, dat. *všemu*, etc.), partly according to the hard type (*ten*; gen.-loc. plur. *všech*, dat. *všem* etc.).

In the nom. and partly in the acc. these pronouns have forms extended by the elements -*chen*, *-cek*, rarely *-cken* (plur. -*ckni*), as follows:

	masculine		neuter	feminine
	animate	inanimate		
Singular				
nom.	všechen, všecek		vše, všechno, všecko	všechna, všecka
acc.	všeho	= nom.	= nom.	všechnu, všecku

Plural

nom.	všichni, všechny, všecky	všechna, všecka	všechny, všecky
acc.	všechny, všecky	= nom.	= nom.

The remaining cases are as follows:

	masc. and neut.	feminine	
	singular		plural
gen.	všeho	vší	všech
dat.	všemu	vší	všem
loc.	(o) všem	(o) vší	(o) všech
instr.	vším	vší	všemi

← In certain fixed expressions the archaic short forms without *-chen* can appear in the nom. and acc. sing., esp. in the acc. sing. fem., e.g. *nade vši pochybnost, pode vši kritiku*, and in the acc. plur. *na vše strany*.

Forms with *-chen* in the oblique cases of the plur. are strictly literary, for ex. gen., *všechněch*, dat. and loc., *všechněm*, instr. *všechněmi*.

b. The adjective-type declension

§109.1. The pronouns *její* and *čí, nečí, čísi*... are declined according to the soft adjective type (*jarní*).

1. The gen. plur. of její (indicating possession by a single feminine being, 'hers') is thus jejích (e.g. z jejích (sestřiných) knih 'from her (e.g. sister's) books') like jarních, distinguished by its long í from jejich, indeclinable marking possession by third-person plur. beings or things in any gender ('their'), e.g. z jejich knih (sester) 'from their (e.g. the sisters') books'. Cf. §101.

The pronoun čí has the appropriate forms k čímu prospěchu, v čím zájmu, z čích peněz etc.

2. The pronouns který, kterýž, některý (leckterý), jaký, takový, týž, samý, každý and žádný are declined according to the hard adjectival type mladý.

The pronoun sám also has some long, adjectival forms: gen. samého, dat. samému etc.; in the nom. and partly in the acc. it has nominal forms (sing. sám, sama, samu, samo; plur. sami, samy, sama). -- The pronoun samý takes only the long adjectival forms.

The pronoun týž has forms like mladý, but with the addition of the particle ž or že, for ex. gen. sing. masc. z téhož domu, loc. sing. v témž domě, gen.-dat.-loc. sing. fem. z téže ulice, k téže myšlence, v téže škole, acc. and instr. touž myšlenku, s touž ochotou, gen. plur. z týchž příčin, dat. k týmž lidem etc.

The nom. sing. and plur. also have forms compounded from the pronouns *ten* and *týž* (*tentýž, tatáž, totéž, titíž, tytéž, tatáž*); these compound forms also occur in the acc., provided it is like the nom., and the acc. masc. plur. animate also has *tytéž*.

Compound forms occasionally occur in other cases as well; they are composed from the appropriate case forms of *ten* and an appended undeclined -*též*, cf. the acc. sing. fem. *tutéž knihu*, instr. *toutéž cestou*, loc. sing. masc. and neut. *o tomtéž*, instr. *tímtéž* (the plur. forms *těchže, těmže, těmiže* are incorrectly used in place of the correct *týchž, týmž, týmiž*).

	masculine	feminine	neuter
Singular			
nom.	týž, tentýž	táž, tatáž	totéž
gen.	téhož	téže	téhož
dat.	témuž	téže	témuž
acc.	téhož (anim.) tentýž (inan.)	touž, tutéž	totéž
loc.	(o) témž(e), tomtéž	téže	témž(e), tomtéž
instr.	týmž, tímtéž	touž, toutéž	týmž, tímtéž
Plural			
nom.	tíž, titíž (anim.) týtéž (inanim.)	tytéž	táž, tatáž
acc.	tytéž	tytéž	táž, tatáž
gen.-loc.		týchž	
dat.		týmž	
instr.		týmiž	

§110. The possessive pronouns *můj, tvůj, svůj* have forms like those of the hard adjective declension (*mladý*) (gen. *mého*,... instr. *s mým*, ...) except in the nom. and acc., where they take somewhat different forms, as follows:

	masculine		feminine	neuter
	animate	inanimate		
Singular				
nom.	můj	můj	má, moja	mé, moje
acc.	mého	= nom.	mou, moji	= nom.
Plural				
nom.	mí, moji	mé, moje	mé, moje	má, moje
acc.	mé, moje	= nom.	= nom.	= nom.

The double forms, short (*má* etc.) and long (*moje* etc.) occur only in the nom. and acc. and are used indiscriminately in these cases, except for the nom. plur. masc. animate, where the long forms *moji, tvoji, svoji* are more frequent than the short forms; *nesvůj* however in its adjectival meaning 'distraught, beside oneself' has as a rule the nom. plur. *nesví*, e.g. *chlapci byli celí nesví*.

← The substantivized *moje, svoje* of Common Czech (see §101 above) has long, uncontracted forms in the oblique cases, e.g. *byl jsem tam s mojí*,...

The long, uncontracted forms *mojí, tvojí, svojí* are also current in the gen. and instr. sing. fem. of personal pronouns in Common Czech and are penetrating Colloquial Czech as well.

The possessive pronouns, when used with dual-form substantives, take the instr. plur. forms *mýma, tvýma, svýma* (*rukama, nohama, očima*).

Bibliography. The meaning and function of pronouns are discussed in *Trávníček* 1961b, *Hauser* 1961 and *Porák* 1962a. On the forms cf. *Těšitelová* 1962.

Changes in the codification of certain pronominal forms are described in *Sgall* 1961, *Bělič* 1961 and *Svozilová* 1970.

5

NUMERALS

Meaning and types

§111. Numerals are words denoting quantity or place in a series. For the most part they are declined and express the grammatical meanings of case and sometimes also of number and gender (see §112); more rarely they are indeclinable.

According to their meanings, one distinguishes the following kinds of numerals: *cardinal*, *ordinal*, *typic*, and *multiplicative* (either *definite* or *indefinite*).

1. *Cardinal numerals* express quantity (they answer the question *kolik* 'how much, how many'), for ex. *jeden*, *dva*, *tři*,..., *dvacet*,..., *sto*...

> In addition the numeral *jeden* is used in the literary language (a) to separate out one member of some collective, (b) together with *druhý* (*jeden druhý*) in the meaning of jointness, reciprocity, (c) instead of the indefinite pronoun, and (d) in some other meanings (*samý; stejný*, *týž*). For example: (a) *slepý na jedno oko* 'blind in one eye', not both, *jeden z našich největších básníků* 'one of our greatest poets'; -- (b) *ptali se jeden druhého* 'they asked one another'; -- (c) *byl jednou jeden král* 'once upon a time there was a certain king', *jednoho dne* 'one day';

--(d) *strom je jeden květ* 'the tree is nothing but flowers' (i.e. completely covered with flowers); *jeden národ*, *jeden jazyk* 'one folk, one language'.

In sub-literary Czech the numeral *jeden* is also used in the general meaning of 'one', 'anybody', 'people' (*člověk*, *lidé*), e.g. *jeden by se z toho zbláznil*.

The cardinal numerals *sedm*, *osm* are pronounced in literary Czech also as [sedum], [osum].

Cardinal numerals compounded of tens and digits have double forms: *jedenadvacet* and *dvacet jeden*, etc. In counting, especially in simply counting off numbers without naming the objects being counted, and in dictating numbers, or if writing down and speaking the numbers simultaneously, one most frequently uses the second type of forms *dvacet jeden* etc., with the word for each component of the coupound numeral written separately. Otherwise the first type is used and the compound is written as a single word (*jedenadvacet*, etc.); this is the usual type and is also used when naming the objects being counted.

> *Note.* In accounting, writing postal money orders, etc., larger compound numerals are also written as single words, e.g. *dvatisícepětsetsedmdesátosm Kčs*.

2. The *ordinal numerals* express place in a numerical series or sequence (answering the question *kolikátý, který* 'which'), e.g. *první, druhý, třetí*, ..., *dvacátý*... .

Ordinal numerals compounded of tens and digits also (like the cardinals; cf. above) have two forms: jedenadvacátý or dvacátý první, čtyřiadvacátý or dvacátý čtvrtý, etc.

> When ordinal numerals are written as Arabic or Roman numbers, they are followed by a period, for ex. o 8. hodině, 9. květen, 18. ročník, Karel IV., etc. -- The period is however not used when writing dates (r. 1948, 9/5 1945) nor when designating the part of a book, the volume of a journal, chapter, page or paragraph of a book, to designate local districts or sections of cities, even when the numeral follows the substantive (e.g.: Trávníčkova Mluvnice II, str. 115; Naše řeč, roč. 40, str. 129; Praha I -- Malá Strana, etc.). Numerals denoting years (esp. large numbers) can be read as if they consisted entirely of cardinal numerals rather than of ordinals, e.g. roku tisíc devět set čtyřicet pět; cf. also na straně dvě stě čtyřicet osm, etc.

3. Typic numerals indicate the number of different kinds of entity one deals with (answering the question kolikerý 'how many kinds of'), e.g. dvojí 'two, dual, double', troje, čtverý, paterý, ...

When used with pluralia tantum, collectives and abstract substantives, the typic numerals indicate simple number, as do the cardinal numerals with other kinds of substantive, e.g.

dvoje dveře, trojí včelstvo, dvojí stanovisko, patero dveří etc. They are also used instead of cardinal numerals in some fixed expressions, such as devatero řemesel, desatero přikázání etc.

4. Multiplicative numerals indicate the number of times some object appears or how often some event is repeated (answering the question kolikanásobný, kolikrát 'how often, how many'), e.g. dvojnásobný, ... pateronásobný, ...; jednou, dvakrát...

All numerals which express a precise quantity or exact place in a series, etc., are known as definite numerals (pět, pátý, paterý, etc.).

5. Numerals which indicate an indefinite number, indefinite place in a series, etc., are known as indefinite numerals, e.g. několik, mnoho, málo, několikátý, několikerý, několikanásobný, několikrát. One thus has indefinite numerals of the cardinal, ordinal, typic and multiplicative types.

> Note 1. Definite numerals can be written with numbers but indefinite numerals cannot.
>
> 2. Definite numerals are written as numbers only in arithmetical or statistic operations and in dates; otherwise they are spelled out, e.g. za pět dní, pátý den, etc.

Some definite numerals (cardinal, typic and multiplicative) can acquire the meaning of indefinite numerals. This happens in the case of large even units, which then express an indefinite but very large quantity and are emotionally colored, e.g.

sto chutí, *tisíc výmluv*, *tisícerý dík*, *prosím milionkrát za odpuštění*.

6. Certain prepositional phrases consisting of prepositions plus definite or indefinite numerals, should be considered together with the numerals themselves. The prepositional phrases indicate the size of groups in which a larger number of persons or things is considered (answering the questions *po kolika*), for ex. *po jednom* 'singly', *po dvou* 'in twos', *po dvaceti* 'in groups of twenty', *po několika* 'several at a time', etc. These are called divisive numerals. -- The construction *dva a dva* 'two by two' also has divisive meaning.

We do not include among the grammatical class of numerals several substantives and adjectives with a partially numerical lexical meaning, such as *jednotka*, *dvojka*, ... *stovka*, or *jednoduchý*, *dvojitý*, *trojitý*, etc.

Forms and their use

§112. As a rule numerals are declined and thus express case; these are nominal forms. Only a few multiplicative and indefinite numerals are indeclinably like adverbs, and are therefore known as adverbial numerals, e.g. *jednou*, *dvakrát*..., *málo*, cf. §48.2.

1. The ordinal, typic and multiplicative numerals (except the adverbial ones) express not only case but also gender and number, agreeing as adjectives with the substantive they modify; they generally have an attributive function in the sentence (see §195). For ex. *čtvrtý ročník*, *ve čtvrtém ročníku*, *dvoje noviny*, *dvojenásobný zisk* etc.

2. The cardinal numerals *jeden, dva, tři, čtyři* combine as adjectives with substantives denoting the objects being counted and express case, number and sometimes gender in agreement with these substantives (*jeden hoch - jedna dívka - jedno dítě, dva domy - dvě střechy - dvě slova, čtyři stroje - čtyř strojů - čtyřmi stroji*); such numerals have attributive function.

3. The remaining cardinal numerals, from *pět* to *devětadevadesát* and *sto, tisíc, milión, miliarda*, have a syntactic function largely like that of substantives, expressing case and (beginning with *sto*) sing. or plur. number (*dvě stě, tři sta*,... *dva tisíce*,...). The object being counted with all these numerals, if the numerals are in the nom. or acc. -- is in the gen. case e.g. *pět let (prošlo)*, *za sto let*, *milión korun*, etc.

In the oblique cases, however, the object being counted is in the same case as the numeral (i.e., in the case required by the syntax of the surrounding sentence, preceding preposition, etc.; this is without exception the case with numerals from *pět* to *devětadevadesát* (cf. *do pěti let*, *k pěti letům*, *po pěti letech*, *s pěti lety* just like *do čtyř let*, *ke čtyřem letům*, *po čtyřech letech*, *se čtyřmi leti*, etc.), and is sometimes the case with the numerals *sto* and *tisíc* as well, although these also occur in the gen. (cf. *ke stu* or *sto* *letům - ke stu let, se sto lety - se stem let, k tisíci lidem - k tisíci lidí, s tisíci lety - s tisícem let*. On these forms see §114.5 and 6.

The numerals *milión, bilión, trilión, miliarda* have the substantive in the gen. in all cases, e.g. *k miliónu korun*, *s miliardou korun*.

With the indefinite numerals *několik, kolik, tolik, mnoho, málo* the object being counted is always in the case required by the preposition or sentence syntax, for ex. *učit se několika jazykům, v tolika případech, z mnoha důvodů, k mnoha příčinám*, etc.; on the numeral forms *několika, kolika, mnoha..*. see §115.

Typic numerals used instead of cardinals, such as *devatero řemesel* take the counted object in the gen. case, but also -- like *sto* -- in the same case as the numeral, cf. *o devateru řemesel* or *o devateru řemeslech* (and *o devatero řemeslech*).

Verbs depending on the numerals from *pět* to *devětadevadesát* and on indefinite numerals like *několik* take the neut. form (*pět pracovníků bylo vyznamenáno*, *několik pracovníků bylo vyznamenáno*).

Adjectival attributes agree not with the numeral but with the substantive being counted (*plných pět let*, *plným pěti letům*), as do nominal predicates and complements (*pět žáků bylo pilných, mnoho žáků bylo pilných*).

In the case of numerals compounded of digits plus tens the form of the counted substantive and the dependent verb is determined by the second member of the compound numeral, e.g. *jedenačtyřicet pracovníků bylo odměněno* (like *čtyřicet pracovníků*), but *čtyřicet jeden pracovník byl odměněn* (like *jeden pracovník*).

> In the type *pět let* etc., the counted object is grammatically dependent on the numeral (as a non-agreeing attribute), but in such constructions as *k pěti letům*, *v pěti letech* such dependency is weakened and the numerals acquire the role of indeclined attributive adjectives, as confirmed by the undeclined *sto* (*před sto lety*). -- The core of the matter lies in the fact that in combinations like *pět let*, although the numeral *pět* is grammatically the headword and *let* the subordinate member of the word-combination, the semantic relations are just the opposite, as in combinations where the numeral modifies the substantive (as in *čtyři léta*); this tension between grammar and meaning is partially resolved in constructions like *v pěti letech*. Cf. §175.2 below.

Declension of numerals

§113. Ordinal, typic and multiplicative numerals are declined like adjectives, either of the hard type (*druhý, čtverý, dvojnásobný* etc. like *mladý*) or of the soft (*první, třetí, tisící, obojí, dvojí, trojí* like *jarní*); that is, they take the long (compound) adjective forms.

Only the ordinals of the hard, *mladý* type (*druhy, čtvrtý, pátý*, etc.), when combined with the morpheme *půl* 'half', can also take the short (nominal) endings: *půl druha* (alongside the more frequent *půl druhého*), *půl čtvrta, půl páta* (spelled also as single words: *půldruha, půlčtvrta, půlpáta*) (in addition to *půl čtvrtého, půl pátého (litru)*).

> In addition to the gen. sing. masc. and neut. the dat. and loc. short forms can also occur, but much more rarely: *k půl pátu stu*, *po půl čtvrtu roce* etc. -- The forms *půldruha, půlpáta* etc. also occur in such compound numerals as *půldruhastaletý, půlpátaletý* etc.

The typic numerals *dvojí, obojí, trojí, čtverý, etc. kolikerý, několikerý* in the nom. and acc. plur. have not only long but also short (nominal) forms; this also occurs, but more rarely, in the sing. (except for the nom. and acc. masc. sing.):

	masculine	*feminine*	*neuter*
		plural	
nom.-acc.	čtverý, dvoje (šaty, inan.)	čtvery, dvoje (noviny)	čtvera, dvoje (vrata)
		singular	
nom.		čtvera, dvoje (věc, látka)	čtvero (sukno)
acc.		čtveru, dvoji (věc)	= nom.

The short forms of these numerals are used primarily with pluralia tantum, collectives, and material names, and often in the meaning of cardinal numerals (*čtvery hodinky* = *čtyři h.*, *několikery noviny*, etc.

§114.1. *The cardinal numerals* *sto, tisíc, milión, miliarda* (and the numerals *devatero, patero*,... when used in the meaning of cardinals in such combinations as *devatero řemesel*, cf. §111.3 above) are declined like substantives with the same endings: *sto, patero*... like *město, tisíc* like *stroj* (but the gen. plur. is both *tisíc* and *tisíců*, cf. *sto tisíc* but *výdaje šly do tisíců*), *milión* like *hrad*, *miliarda* like *žena*.

The numeral *sto*, when used with the numeral *dvě*, takes the dual form *dvě stě* (but *dvou set*, *dvěma stům*, *se dvěma sty*..., *tři sta*...).

2. *Jeden* is declined like a hard pronoun (type *ten*) but retains the *n* in all cases, cf. *jednoho* but *toho*, etc.

3. The numerals *dva*, *oba* are declined as follows:

	masculine	feminine and neuter
nom.-acc.	dva, oba	dvě, obě
gen.-loc.	dvou, obou	
dat.-instr.	dvěma, oběma	

These are the same *dual* forms which appear with certain substantives: *ruce*, *rukou*, *rukama* etc. (cf. §60).

4. The numerals *tři*, *čtyři* are declined like fem. substantives of the type *kost*, except for the gen. plur. *čtyř* and the instr. plur. *třemi*:

nom.-acc.		tři	čtyři
gen		tří	čtyř
dat.		třem	čtyřem
loc.	(o)	třech	čtyřech
instr.		třemi	čtyřmi

These two numerals take the instr. forms *třema*, *čtyřma* when modifying dual substantives (*rukama, očima* etc.).

The forms *dvouch*, *dvoum*, *dvouma* and the gen. plur. *třech*, *čtyřech* are subliterary; they arose by analogy with the pronominal forms *těch*, *těm* (in the case of *dva* and *oba* by adding analogical endings to the base *dvou*, *obou*).

Common Czech has the forms *čtyry*, *čtyr* (with *r* instead of *ř*), but these are tending to disappear from colloquial usage.

5. The remaining cardinal numerals (from *pět* to *devětadevadesát* have only two forms: *pět* in the nom. and acc., and a fixed form in -*i* in all other cases (*s pěti, dvanácti*,... *korunami*).

The numerals *devět, deset, dvacet, třicet, čtyřicet* change their stem-final *e* to *í* in the oblique cases (*devíti, desíti, dvacíti, třicíti, čtyřicíti*); all but *devět* also have forms with unchanged stem vowel (*deseti, dvaceti, třiceti, čtyřiceti*).

The numerals from *pět* to *devětadevadesát* were originally declined like *kost*, but all that remains of their original declension is the single fixed form in -*i*.

The numeral *tysíc* also has a single form in -*i* in all cases except the nom.-acc. (*tysíc*) and gen. (*tysíce*); cf. *na tysíc stran*, *počítej do tysíce*, *s tycíci lidmi* or *s tysícem lidí*, *k pěti tysíci korunám* and *k pěti tisícům korun* (or, more rarely, *korunám*), *o pěti tysíce lidech* and *o pěti tysících lidí* (or *lidech*), etc.

6. The numeral *sto* sometimes remains undeclined when modifying a substantive: *ke sto korunám*, *o sto korunách*, *se sto korunami* (alongside the regularly declined forms *ke stu korunám* or *ke stu korun*, *o stu korunách* or *o stu korun*, *se stem korun*). *Sto* also remains undeclined when combined with a following numeral, cf. *po sto padesáti letech* etc.

§115.1. *The indefinite numerals* *několik, kolik, tolik, mnoho* also have only two forms; the nom.-acc. just given, and a single oblique-case form in *-a* (*několika, kolika, tolika, mnoha*). The numeral *málo* is undeclined when combined with a substantive being counted (but in the gen. it also takes the form *mála*); it is declined, however, when it stands alone.

For ex.: *mým několika přátelům, o těch několika přátelích, od tolika hodin, s mnoha lidmi*, etc.; *stýkal se s málo lidmi*, *jeden z mála lidí*, but *s málem, k tomu málu*... .

The numeral *mnoho* (and occasionally *tolik*) also appears in the adjectival form *mnohý* (*toliký*) when functioning as attribute, cf. dat. *k mnohým zkušenostem*, loc. *v mnohých případech*, etc.

Bibliography. On certain individual problems connected with numerals see recently *Kopečný* 1953a and the supplemental and polemical articles responding thereto K.F. *Svoboda* 1956a (*Kopečný's* answer *ibid*. 1956b), *Poldauf* 1957 (cf. *Kopečný* 1957); further, *Porák* 1958 and *Daneš* 1968. -- On codification cf. *Hausenblas* 1966.

THE VERB

Meaning and formation

§116. *The verb* expresses an activity performed by the subject of the sentence, an *action* (*nesu*, *jdu*) or a *state* or *change of state* (*žiji*, *stárnu*); or, it can express *an activity in general*, unconnected with any particular subject (*prší*, *hoří*, *spí se mi dobře*).

> The relation between the activity and its subject is not always the same. In the case of actions the subject is usually the performer; in that of state and change of state, the subject usually bears or undergoes the action. There are additional distinctions of this sort; cf. 2 and 3 below.
>
> > Verbs expressing actions are called *action verbs*, those expressing states, *stative verbs*. The performer of the activity is termed the *agens*.

In its various simple and compound forms the verb expresses the grammatical meanings of *person*, *number*, *tense*, *mood*, and *voice* (i.e., the verb is conjugated, cf. §142). The grammatical meaning of *aspect* is not expressed by conjugational forms, but in the derivation of verbs (by prefixes and suffixes). Voice is expressed by (compound) conjugational forms, but not in all verbs: only action verbs express voice. For this reason these two grammatical categories will be treated separately below (see §119-128).

1. A verbal activity can be connected not only with a subject but also with an object. One distinguishes for this reason objective verbs which require the presence of an object in order that their meaning be complete (*nesu dříví*, *knihu*, etc.; *dosáhl cíle, dosáhlo se cíle; pomáhám tobě, mamince*, etc.; *mluví* or *mluví se o úspěších, o filmu* etc.), and objectless verbs, whose meaning either does not require the obligatory presence of an object or renders an object impossible (*vidím dobře, jdu, žiji, stárnu* etc.). Verbs expressing states or changes of state are always objectless.

> Objectless verbs are sometimes referred to as subjective verbs.

Objective verbs have a constant, fixed *rection*, i.e. they determine or govern the case of the dependent substantive. They are combined either with the simple cases (most frequently with the acc., but also with the gen., dat. and instr.) or with prepositional phrases (in which case one speaks of prepositional rection).

Objective verbs which take the simple acc. case are called transitive (*vyrábět stroje, číst knihu* etc.; cf. §194); all other verbs are intransitive (*dosáhnout úspěchu, podobat se otci*, etc.).

> The meanings of the terms "transitive" and "intransitive" tend to vacillate. Sometimes all objectless (= subjective) verbs are called intransitive (or this term is used to cover both objectless and objective intransitive verbs), but sometimes on the other hand all objective verbs are termed transitive.

One and the same verb can be sometimes objective, sometimes objectless according to its nuances of meaning, for ex. táhnout: koně táhnou vůz - jeřábi táhnou... -- In some cases it is best to speak of the objectless use of an objective verb, e.g.žáci už čtou dobře (rusky) -- čte knihu, vidí špatně - vidí bratra, hodiny bijí - hodiny bijí dvanáct, etc.

Objectless verbs are occasionally -- rarely -- followed by a so-called internal object, for ex. žiji (krásný) život, sní (sladký) sen; see §194.1.

2. The activity expressed by an action verb as a rule assumes the presence of an actor, an agens, which is usually expressed by the subject. In some cases, however, the agens is not expressed by the subject and this latter instead expresses the object or person upon which the action is directed (mládež nese prapory v čele průvodu - prapory jsou neseny v čele průvodu), or the activity may

be unconnected with any agens (*napřed se mlátí, potom se platí*). In such cases the relation of activity to subject changes radically; however, this is not a matter of verbs with different meanings, but of different grammatical meanings of one and the same verb, namely of different *voices* (see §124).

3. If one adds the reflexive pronoun *se* to an objective verb the resultant form is the reflexive form of the verb (*myje se, přijme se prodavačka, pádem se zabil*); if the reflexive pronoun is added regularly, one has a reflexive verb (*držet se čeho, rozplakat se, nanosit se s něčím*, etc.). Such reflexive forms and reflexive verbs have various meanings, but in general they change the relations between the verb's activity and its subject (and object); see §125 below. Some verbs are always accompanied by *se*, i.e. they are only reflexive (*bát se, smát se rozprchnout se*, etc.).

The pronominal form *si* can also be added to all types of verb and also creates a reflexive form of the verb (*nakoupit si, zpívat si, jít si na procházku* etc.).

> On reflexive verbs and reflexive verb forms see §126-128 below.
>
> Reflexive verb forms and reflexive verbs proper are both sometimes referred to by the Latin term *reflexivum*, plur. -*va*. Verbs which have only the

reflexive forms are called reflexivum tantum, plur. reflexiva tantum.

§117. Verbs generally have a full referential (lexical) meaning and a complete set of grammatical meanings; that is, they are full-meaning (or non-auxiliary) lexico-grammatical words, cf. § 39.

1. However, some verbs, when combined with the infinitive of a full-meaning word, do not themselves express a full referential meaning but rather express various relations of the subject to the action expressed by the full-meaning infinitive. These are auxiliary verbs (být, musit, moci, mít, chtít, začít etc.). Auxiliary verbs combined with a full-meaning infinitive thus help to complete the referential meaning of the whole word-combination; they themselves express the appropriate grammatical meanings of person, number, tense and mood of the combination, not however voice nor as a rule aspect, these latter two categories being expressed by the full-meaning infinitive.

a. These are first of all verbs which express the personal relation of the subject to the action expressed by the full-meaning infinitive (mít, moci, muset, smět chtít) and are called modal auxiliaries.

b. Further, there are verbs which indicate various temporal limitations on the action of the infinitive, for ex. the beginning, end etc. of the action (začít, začínat, přestat, přestávat...); they express various phases of the action and are called *phasal auxiliaries*.

Phasal auxiliaries themselves determine whether the word-combination into which they enter is of perfective or imperfective aspect; the full-meaning infinitive is neutral in this respect (*začne se učit* - *začíná se učit*, *přestal zpívat - přestává zpívat*; only the imperfective infinitive of the full-meaning verb can appear in such combinations); such auxiliaries are also called *aspectual auxiliaries*.

2. Further auxiliaries are *být, bývat, stát se, stávat se*, whose function is to join the subject to the nominal predicate; they are called *copula (verbs)* (cf. §189.a). For ex.: *bratr je zdráv*, *je to dobrý člověk*, *stal se spokojeným* etc.

3. Forms of the verbs *být, bývat* are also used as components of compound verb forms, such as *přišel jsem*, *byl bych přišel*, *je tázán*, *bývá tázán*.

These are auxiliary verbs with absolutely no referential meaning of their own, which express only certain grammatical meanings and acquire others in particular compound forms (*jsem* in the form *přišel jsem* does not have the meaning of present tense that it has when functioning as a copula -- *jsem zdráv* --; on the contrary, the entire compound form has the meaning of past tense); for more details see §39.2.

Note. In most cases all these auxiliary verbs can be used independently, without a full-meaning verb (and not merely elliptically, as in Budeš mu odpovídat? Budu...). In independent use the auxiliaries acquire a referential meaning of their own: mám bratra, chci tomu, škola začala, hlad přestal, v Arktidě je věčný led.

§118. Verbs are partially non-derived (primary), like jít, mít, nést, vidět, etc.; in some cases they have the same stem as words of other parts of speech, but are not derived from the latter, e.g. veze - vůz, skočit - skok, umře - smrt etc.

Other verbs are derived by means of prefixes and suffixes from other words.

1. Suffixes are used to derive verbs either from other verbs, as utíkat from utéci (utekl), usínat from usnout, vynášet from vynést, sázet from sadit, házet from hodit, kupovat from koupit, ohrazovat from ohradit, ohrožovat from ohrozit protahovat se from protáhnout se, mívat from mít, etc., or from substantives and adjectives, such as pracovat from práce, úkolovat from úkol, hněvat se from hněv, dloužit from dlouhý, bělet se from bílý, zahradničit from zahradník etc.

Such derived verbs are called deverbative and denominal (from nouns, i.e. substantives and adjectives.)

Suffixal derivation is often accompanied by vocalic and consonantal alternations in the stem of the deriving base, e.g. *sadit - sázet*, *snížit - snižovat*, *rozvinout - rozvíjet*, *vymyslit - vymýšlet*, *práce - pracovat*, *koupit - kupovat*, *vynést - vynášet*, *hodit - házet*, *oplatit - oplácet*, *opustit - opouštět*, *ohradit - ohrazovat* etc.

Sometimes a stem vowel or stem-final consonant disappears or appears in the course of derivation, for ex. *usínat - usnout*, *zajímat - zajmout*, *načínat - načnu*, *usýchat - uschnout*, *odestýlat - odestlat* (but *odestele*), *vypisovat - vypsat* (but *vypíše*), *hýbat - hnout* etc.

Such alternations render the verb root less obvious, e.g. *utopit - utonout* (root *top*), *hnout - hýbat* (root *heb*, from an older *gъb*, cf. *zhebnout*), *začínat - začnout*, etc. (cf. § 40.3)

For further details on alternations in vowel length and stem-final consonants see the descriptions of individual verb types below, esp. under the type *sázet* in § 158 ~~on p.~~ and the type *kupovat* ~~on p.~~ in § 156.

The derivation of verbs from other verbs is as a rule connected with an aspectual difference (perfective or iterative) or with some other difference of verbal action; see §119-122 below for details.

Verbs derived from nouns denote activities of the general meaning 'make somebody or something into or like something', e.g. *dloužit, bílit, zlepšit, zkrátit*, or they can indicate a state or change of state, 'become something or like something', e.g. *bělet, stárnout, zmodrat* etc.

A small number of verbs are derived from interjections, esp. onomatopoetic ones, such as *břinknout* from *břink*, *cvaknout*, *cvakat* from *cvak*, etc.

2. Prefixes are used to derive verbs from other verbs, whose meaning is altered by their derivation, e.g. *vyskočit*, *poskočit, přiskočit*. Some verbs have two o more prefixes, for ex. *po-vy-skočit*, po-po-nést, *po-roz-u-téci se*.

> Verbal prefixes have short vowels, unlike substantival prefixes, which generally have long vowels (*přijet - příjezd*, *navnadit - návnada*, *navštěvovat - návštěva*, *vyrábět - výroba*, *dokázat - důkaz*, *převážet - přívoz*, cf. §54.1c), but there are verbs like *náležet, záležet, záviset, závidět*, *příslušet, přísahat, nenávidět* and others, where either the prefix is no longer recognized as such, or the verb is itself derived from a prefixed substantive, e.g. *přísahat* from *přísaha*.

Prefixal derivation often changes objectless verbs into objective verbs and sometimes into reflexives (with simultaneous addition of *se*), e.g. *jít - předejít někoho*, *plakat - rozplakat někoho*, *žít - dožít se něčeho*; objective verbs can change their rection when prefixed, e.g. *hnout, hýbat něčím - ohnout, ohýbat něco*, *pít vodu - napít se vody*, etc.

Prefixation often changes aspect (*vidět - uvidět* etc., see §120.3 below) and occasionally -- with the prefix *po-* combined with present-tense forms -- tense (*nesu - ponesu*, see §131.2 below).

> Sometimes prefixation changes a verb's meaning to such an extent that the derived verb becomes semantically independent, for ex. *najít, nalézt - jít, lézt*, *pomluvit, pomlouvat - mluvit*, *naříkat - říkat*.
>
> Some types of derived verb occur only with prefixes, e.g. -*pojit* to *pít* (*napojit* etc.), -*nášet* to *nosit* (*vynášet, odnášet* etc. On the other hand, a prefixless verb can itself arise secondarily from a prefixed form, occurring only occasionally and stylistically restricted (in period artistic prose style, cf. *slát* from *poslat*).

3. A verb's meaning is also changed by addition of the reflexive pronoun *se*(*si*), for ex. *valit - valit se*, *spát - prospat se*, *plakat - rozplakat se*, *nosit něco - nosit se s něčím*, *prosit o něco - prosit se oč*, *zpívat si* etc. See details in §126.

Aspect

§119. Verbs can express one and the same action in various ways according to *aspect*, that is, according to how the action is displayed in time. The grammatical meaning of aspect defines the action as perfective or imperfective (roughly = completed vs. incompleted, e.g. *vyrobí - vyrábí*, *napíše - píše*, *koupí - kupuje*), or as iterative vs. non-iterative (*nosí - nese*, *jídá - jí*, *psává - píše*, *mívá - má*).

Aspect sometimes distinguishes only perfectivity, not iteration.

§120. All verbs are of *perfective* or *imperfective* aspect.

1. Perfective verbs present the verbal action as somehow limited, imperfective verbs as taking place without any limitations.

> Perfective verbs usually express completed actions (*doběhl*, *přinesl, bodl*), but can emphasize the (completion of the) beginning of the action (*rozběhl se*) or its temporal restriction (*poseděl*); in all cases, however, the perfective verb expresses the action viewed as a closed or completed entity; for this reason we call it "restricted". -- One sometimes speaks of the complex nature of the action (A. Dostál), but we use this term in another sense, cf. §48.3; or, the action can be viewed in its "completedness", i.e. in its result, and one speaks of "resultativeness"

(Fr. Kopečný); however, the verbs of position express the result of an action (*seděti* is the result of *usednutí*), and these are imperfective.

Imperfective verbs simply express the action without the concept of perfectivity (perfectivity is a marked feature of the action and imperfective verbs are therefore neutral or "unmarked".

2. Perfective verbs cannot express a real present tense; their present-tense forms have a future meaning (*vyrobí, napíše*). Such verbs can express only past and future tenses (*vyrobil - vyrobí*, *napsal - napíše*); their future-tense forms are simple (non-compound).

Imperfective verbs, which express real present time by their present-tense forms, can thus express present, past and future (*vyrábějí - vyráběli - budou vyrábět*); their future tense is generally compound, consisting of the infinitive and the forms *budu*, *budeš*, etc. (*budu vyrábět, budu psát*). -- On the few imperfective verbs of the type *jdu*, *nesu* etc. which express future tense through simple forms (*půjdu, ponesu* etc.) see §131.2 below.

3.a. Perfective verbs are most often formed from simple imperfectives by addition of a prefix, e.g. *vidí - uvidí*, *učí se - naučí se*, *píše - napíše*, *zpívá - zazpívá* etc.

A small number of simple verbs without prefixes are also perfective, e.g. řekne, sedne, koupí, dá etc.

Imperfective verbs are often non-derived, such as nese, jde, bere, dělá, píše, leze etc.

The majority of imperfective verbs are however derived by suffixes from simple or prefixed perfectives (říká from řekne, skáče from skočí, hází from hodí, kupuje from koupí, dává from dá, vyrábí from vyrobí, rozvíjí from rozvine etc.).

b. Verbs formed by prefixing simple imperfectives are as a rule perfective, e.g. přinese, přijde najde, ubere, vydělá, vzdělá, sepíše, vyleze etc. Prefixation however changes not only aspect (imperfective to perfective) but also the verb's lexical meaning, either completely as in the case of najde, nalezne, vzdělá, or partially, as in přinese... -- in the same manner as the lexical meaning of simple perfective verbs is altered by prefixation, e.g. usedne, vyskočí, nakoupí, vydá, zřekne se compared to sedne, skočí, etc.

Prefixation thus creates a new, perfective verb, but one which is not merely a perfective counterpart to the original imperfective (přinese - nese etc.). On the contrary, it is as a rule only by adding a suffix to the prefixed perfective (usually with accompanying alternations in the stem) that one obtains an imperfective aspectual partner to the prefixed perfective, e.g. přijde- přichází, najde - nachází, ubere - ubírá, vydělá - vydělává, *vzdělá - vzdělává*, *sepíše - sepisuje*, *vyleze - vylézá*, similarly as the prefixed perfectives (from simple perfectives) have *zřekne se - zříká se*, *usedne - usedá*, *vyskočí - vyskakuje*, *nakoupí - nakupuje*, *vydá - vydává* etc.

There are however verbs which when prefixed change only their aspect (imperfective to perfective), such as *uvidí*, *zemře, zestárne, zazpívá, napíše, spočítá, poprosí* etc. In such cases prefixation results only in an aspectually opposed pair of verbs (*vidí - uvidí*), not in a lexically new verb. Such perfective verbs cannot be made imperfective again by suffixation, as was the rule with lexically new perfectives above. Certain verbal prefixes are used primarily in this non-lexical, purely aspectual meaning, e.g. *u-*, *z-*(*ze-*), *za-*, *na-* and less often *s-*, *po-*.

> However, these "aspectual" prefixes do not always have a purely aspectual meaning; in some cases they can give rise to lexically independent verbs, which then have their own suffixed imperfective partners, e.g. *načrtat - načrtávat*, *nanést (barvu) - nanášet*, *unést - unášet*, *zatajit - zatajovat*, *zavařit - zavařovat*, *zbarvit - zbarvovat*, *vztyčit - vztyčovat*, *spéci - spékat*, *svařit - svářet*, *podivit se - podivovat se*, *povýšit - povyšovat.* -- It is clear that although both types of verb have their limitations, neither is a rigidly fixed group.

In some verbs the prefix po- does not form a perfective verb, but merely the future-tense forms of the imperfective, e.g. ponesu, pojedu, půjdu, cf. §131.2 below. -- Po- has other peculiarities as a verbal prefix, cf. ležel - poležel si (see section 5 below.

4. Czech verbs thus ordinarily come in pairs -- a perfective-imperfective pair with a single lexical meaning and as a rule a single root. For this reason we can speak of aspect as a grammatical meaning.

a. From the point of view of form there are two types of aspectual pair:

simple imperfective		prefixed perfective
vidí	-	uvidí
učí se	-	naučí se
zpívá	-	zazpívá
počítá	-	spočítá

simple or prefixed perfective		suffixed imperfective
řekne	-	říká
sedne	-	sedá
hodí	-	hází
skočí	-	skáče
koupí	-	kupuje
dá	-	dává

zřekne se - zříká se
usedne - usedá
vyhodí - vyhazuje
vyskočí - vyskakuje
nakoupí - nakupuje
podá - podává

simple imperfective

(nese) - přinese - přináší
(jde) - najde - nachází
(bere) - ubere - ubírá
(dělá) - dodělá - dodělává
(píše) - sepíše - sepisuje
(jede) - vyjede - vyjíždí
(chodí) - vychodí (školu) - vychází (ze školy v 15 letech)
(hází) - vyhází - vyhazuje
~~(robí)~~ - vyrobí - vyrábí

Occasionally there occur aspectual pairs of two additional types:

b. The perfective and imperfective members of an aspectual pair are formed from different roots, as in:

perfective	imperfective
vezme	bere
položí	klade
lekne se	bojí se
vyjde	vychází etc.

> Such forms are *suppletive*, at least in those cases where the native speaker feels them to be forms of the same verb, as with *vyjde - vychází*; cf. §43.2 above.

c. A few verbs have the same forms for both perfective and imperfective aspects; they are *biaspectual*. According to the situation and syntax, their present forms can express a present action (if we understand it as imperfective) or a future action (if conceived of as perfective); their aspectual duality is clearer in past-tense forms.

Such for ex. are the verbs *obětovat, věnovat, stanovit, stačit, zprostředkovat*, more rarely *darovat, hodit se, pravit*, and especially frequently verbs derived from foreign roots, such as *absolvovat, socializovat, typizovat* etc.

Such native and borrowed verbs often have the compound future forms (*bude se hodit, budu absolvovat* etc.); their perfective-future meaning forms tend to disappear and are very rare (*informuje, organizuje*, also *daruje* [but *to ti nedaruji*], *praví*). -- The perfective meaning occurs, alongside the imperfective, more frequently in the past-tense forms (*informoval, organizoval, pravil*, etc.).

> Such biaspectual verbs from borrowed roots are gradually adopted to the paired-verb system, acquiring prefixed perfective forms, e.g. *zaktualizovat, zautomatizovat, zmodernizovat* etc.; there thus arise such purely perfective

verbs as *zorganizovat, zesocializovat*, lately *naprogramovat* etc. The simple verbs (*aktualizovat, organizovat, programovat* etc.) gradually become restricted, as members of such new aspectual pairs, to the imperfective aspect. -- This is a natural development, but one which should not be hastened artificially, certainly not by using the inappropriate prefixes *od-*, *vy-*.

> A short time ago slang formations such as *odabsolvovat (divadelní kus)*, *odklasifikovat*, *odkanalizovat* (provide with sewerage system), *odizolovat (sál)*, etc. began to spread. These are clearly improper formations patterned on *odzvonit*, *odhlasovat* etc. in which the prefix not only makes the verb perfective but also emphasizes the completion of the action. They are improper primarily because the prefix *od-* generally has a different meaning in this type of verb (*od-magnetizovat, odfašizovat*) so that *odizolovaný sál* could mean either 'deprived of isolation' or 'provided with isolation'. -- Very recently the prefix *vy-* has been spreading in such formations, e.g. *vyprojektovat.*

5. There are certain verbs which do not belong to aspectual pairs and which are either only imperfective or, more rarely, only perfective.

Imperfective only are the modal auxiliaries *mít, muset, chtít, smět,* and the similar *umět, znát* (with the infinitive), *zdát se (jakým)*, *jmenovat se,* verbs of stative meaning like *být, týt, spát, ležet, stát, sedět, klečet, vězet, bydlet, trůnit, chybět, scházet; znamenat*, etc.; *náležet, záležet, příslušet*; stative verbs derived from nouns like *pyšnit se, dlužit, vévodit* etc.; verbs expressing a state or train of thought (sometimes objective) like *mínit, dbát, pečovat, doufat, zoufat, tušit, naříkat, snít* etc.; some others, e.g. *vést si* (*jak* 'behave'), *hledět si (čeho)*, *pronásledovat, stíhat*.

Some stative verbs (in the narrow sense) have perfective aspectual partners only with a special nuance of emotional meaning (indulgence), usually with the prefix *po-*, e.g. *pospal si, poležel si, poseděl, postál*.

> Verbs which express states or trains of thought have lately been giving rise to new perfective forms such as *zatušit, zanaříkat, zasnít, zadoufat*, etc.
>
> The verb *chce* has a perfective partner *zachce* but the latter is generally used only in impersonal constructions such as *zachce se mi, zachtělo se mu*, etc.

Verbs which are only perfective are rarer; they occur as a rule only in some specified or emotive meaning, such as spatří in the meaning 'will see' (spatřuje usually exists only in the meaning 'assumes, perceives': spatřuje v tom podvod 'he considers that to be fake'; not in the meaning of vidí 'sees'), unese (kolik unese? 'how much can he carry?' -- the pair unášet - unést has a different meaning ' to carry away '), projede (projel to zcela), doběhne (ten mě doběhl), zřídil (ho nepěkně), etc.; dovede (to udělat), dokáže (to), nadchne, přiměje; uběhá se, vyběhá se, vybouří se etc., and some other verbs such as zaslechne, zahlédne, uhodí.

These isolated counter-examples can cast no doubt on the existence of perfectivity and imperfectivity as grammatical meanings (categories) of the verb; compare for ex. the similar situation in the case of the grammatical meanings of singularity and plurality in the verb, categories whose reality is not denied by the existence of substantives which are only singular or only plural. The occasional lack of one member of a pair or nondifferenciation of members does not affect the existence of the grammatical oppositions perfective - imperfective or singular - plural.

6. There also exist imperfective verb pairs such as jdu-chodím, nesu - nosím, letí - létá, lomím - lámu; see §122.3 below.

Verbs with the prefix *na-* are unusual (*nachodit se* to *chodit*, *nanosit se* to *nosit*, etc.); cf. §127.1 below.

§121.1. On the usage of perfective and imperfective verbs it must be said first of all that when the action described really occurs in the actual present, i.e. is taking place at the moment the speaker refers to it, one can use only the imperfective aspect.

2. Otherwise the choice of aspect is determined by the semantic structure of the sentence and the context; in general the perfective is used for successive incidents in a narration and the imperfective for accompanying actions or actions of a descriptive character, this distinction being carried out more consistently in the past than in the future tense. For ex.: *Když matka přišla k nám, podívala se na stěnu, kde visel obrázek jejího syna; Půjdeme do lesa a lehneme si do trávy, která nám bude sloužit (or poslouží) jako měkká pohovka.*

3. Repeated actions in the past or the present are as a rule expressed by perfective verbs. For ex.: *Kdykoli přišla matka domů, vždy se podívala na obrázek svého syna.* -- *Přijde-li na nepořádek, vždy se rozzlobí* (but: *vždy jej pronásleduje*, where there exists no perfective verb). -- For that reason gnomic actions (those expressed in proverbs and aphorisms) occur in the perfective, e.g. *Pomalu dál ujdeš* (cf. §132.2a).

Repeated past actions also occur, but much less often, in the imperfective, e.g. Kdykoli přicházela matka domů, vždy se dívala...; the imperfective in such cases emphasizes the long duration of the repetition or the fact that it occurred in the distant past.

4. In some cases one and the same action, one and the same reality, can be referred to by either perfective or imperfective verbs with no essential difference in meaning.

a. In negative commands or warnings the imperfective is ordinarily used, even if the corresponding affirmative command would occur in the perfective. For ex.: nezavírej dvéře - zavři dvére, nechod' pozdě - přijd' včas, neříkej mu nic - řekni mu vše, nesmís říkat - musíš říci...; nechci, abys tam chodil - chci, abys tam šel, etc.

If the negative command or warning is given in the perfective, it has the force of a more insistent order, e.g. nepíchni se, neuhod' se, nestáhni ten ubrus, nepřijd' ani o minutu později, etc. -- In the same fashion, a positive command expressed by a perfective verb acquires greater insistence, for ex. tak zavírej dvéře, etc.

b. In general negated actions or actions having a negative meaning tend to be expressed by imperfective verbs. For ex. Nic neříkal a hned odešel. -- "Půjdeš tam také?" "Nevím, nač bych tam měl chodit (Jir.). -- Ta věc nemohla nás uvádět v pochybnost. -- Čert vás sem nosil.

c. When the activity in general or its quality is stressed, and not its completion, the imperfective aspect is used even if the action has in fact been completed: kdo vám ty šaty šil, kdo vám maloval, kdo to psal, etc.

5. If past actions are expressed by present-tense forms (the so-called historical present), both the perfective and the imperfective can be used (cf. §132.2c).

§122. According to how we conceive of the manner in which an action occurs, we can express it as an iterative action, i.e. one which took or takes place several times, is repeated, or as a non-iterative action. We thus have iterative and non-iterative verbs.

1. Iterative verbs are as a rule derived from non-iterative perfectives and imperfectives, with which they then form iterative - non-iterative pairs, e.g. házet - hodit, vracet - vrátit, zavírat - zavřít, vyházet - vyhodit, mívat - mít, mluvívat - mluvit.

More rarely, iteratives can be non-derived members of pairs, e.g. chodit - jít, projezdit - projet etc. -- Sometimes there exists only an iterative verb, such as pozavírat (okna), or only a non-iterative, such as zničit.

2. Iterative verbs are in the majority imperfective. Some of them can express either iterative or non-iterative actions, according to the context, for ex. ted' házím já

(non-iter.) - *tys házel už čtyřikrát*, *děti házely celé odpoledne míčem* (iter.); *zde ti vracím knihu* (non-iter.) - *nerad vypůjčené knihy vrácel* (iter.); *dávám ti to rád* (non-iter.) - *dával mu každý den dva krejcary na most* (iter.).

Other iterative verbs can express only iterative actions, often those which are repeated frequently or regularly, such as *mívá (pravdu)*, *mluvívá (mnoho)*, *čítává (celé večery)*, *plakává*. Such iteratives are usually derived with the suffixes -*ívá*-, -*ává*-.

Such verbs with only the meaning of repeated actions are sometimes called *frequentatives*. They have an emotional coloring, e.g. *chodívá k nám*, especially if they are expanded by the additional suffix -*vá*-, for ex. *chodívává (tam rád)*. Their past-tense forms, such as *chodíval (k nám)*, *chodívával (tam rád)*, have in addition a nuance of emotional recollection of the distant past. Such emotional coloring can sometimes occur in both members of the pair, e.g. *nachodil jsem se tam (mnoho) - nachodíval jsem se tam*.

3. A special group of imperfective iteratives are members of imperfective pairs, such as *chodit - jít*, *nosit - nést*, *létat - letět*, *běhat - běžet*. Such verbs, in addition to their iterative meaning (*děti chodí denně do školy* etc.), can also express meanings which while not iterative, are also not completely identical with those expressed by the "non-iterative" member of the pair; they express rather a trait, ability, etc. for

ex. dítě už chodí do školy (= je školákem), nosí rád hezké šaty, sokoli létají vysoko (=umějí létat vysoko), etc.

The verbal action in such verbs (chodí, nosí, létá etc.) is expressed without reference to any specific instance, to any concrete situation as is the case with e.g. jde, nese, letí; verbs of the first type (chodí etc.) are therefore called non-determined and those of the second (jde etc.) determined.

4. There also exist iterative perfective verbs, of two types.

a. On the one hand these are verbs like vyházet (vycházel všechny věci z okna, i.e. one after the other), projezdit (mnoho kilometrů), propíchat (papír), přeskákat (přeskáče všechny překážky), which form pairs with non-iterative perfectives like vyhodit (vše z okna), projet, propíchnout, přeskočit etc.

b. On the other hand there are perfective iteratives expressing a visibly repeated action, formed with prefixes (especially po-) from already iterative verbs of the type házet; they have no non-iterative perfective partners, e.g. pozavírat (okna).

Both types of iterative perfectives have an accompanying distributional meaning; it is not simply a matter of an action's being repeated, but of its being repeated in such a manner that it touches one object after another (vyházel věci z okna, i.e. he threw them out one after another - vyhazoval hračky z kočárku; pozavíral okna, i.e. he closed them one after another - zavíral denně okna), or one and the same action results in the creation of several objects (zaházeli rance).

This distributive meaning is regular in iterative perfective verbs, but one can nevertheless not separate out a special group of distributive verbs, distinct from the iteratives. The distributional meaning, in both nuances, also occurs among imperfective iteratives, cf. lidé chodili na výstavu nepřetržitě (i.e. one after the other) - studenti šli na výstavu (i.e. all together); sbírali peníze na stavbu Narodního divadla (in many small sums), vybírali poplatky (expressly from several individuals) - sebrali peníze, vybrali poplatky (where one is concerned only with the result). -- The distributive meaning also occurs among non-iterative perfectives, esp. those with the prefix po-, for ex. pobral všechny věci (i.e. one after the other), vybral (všechna hnízda) etc. Vybral hnízda is just as distributive as povybíral hnízda, but in the latter case the "iterativeness" of the action is given overt expression, that is, it is made clear that the action could not be other than iterative. -- For this reason the distributive meaning is simply an accompanying feature (a constant, not only an occasional one) of iterative perfective verbs, adjoined to the meaning of iteration (iteration is thus not simply repetition of the action).

§123. In addition to perfectivity and iteration, verbs can sometimes express other nuances in the manner in which the action occurs. These are however not regular meanings, occurring in the majority of verbs; they are frequently called "modes of action" (German "Aktionsart").

An action can be presented as occurring suddenly at a given moment or as spreading over a longer period of time (e.g. bodl, sekne, donese - bodá, seká, nese jde); one speaks in such cases of semelfactive (or punctual) and durative verbs.

In other cases verbs can emphasize the end of the action (doběhl, donesl, přinesl...) or on the other hand the beginning of the action (rozběhl se, rozplakal se), or at least the fact that a certain action (a state or change of state) is progressing or will progress (bledne, stárne).

These latter verbs are called inchoatives; verbs denoting the beginning of an action are called inceptives or ingressives, and verbs emphasizing the ending of an action, finitives.

Such various presentations of the mode of verbal action are only nuances of the referential (lexical) meanings of these verbs, not grammatical meanings.

These verbs do not have special grammatical meanings (they do not form grammatical categories), and the same is true of stative, factitive, causative etc. verbs (cf. §125 below).

Bibliography. The complicated problem of verbal aspect is discussed in the older general work *Trávníček* 1923, more recently in the introductory comments in *Dostál* 1954 and in polemical exchanges between Poldauf and Kopečný: *Poldauf* 1954b, 1954c, *Kopečný* 1948, 1947/8 (cf. *Poldauf* 1948/49 , 1948/49) 1965 (cf. *Poldauf* 1966); cf. *Kopečný's* reviews 1951, 1956a of M. Vey's important studies (with a reply to *Poldauf* 1954c; cf. *Poldauf*'s reply *ibid*. 1956). On iteratives see *Němec* 1958, on semelfactives *Němec* 1962.

On various nuances of "Aktionsart" see recently *Isačenko* 1960.

A great deal has been published on the origin and development of aspect, but these works do not concern the contemporary language.

On the usage and function of aspectual forms see *Mathesius* 1938 (reprinted in *Mathesius* 1947), *Poldauf* 1942/43, *Dokulil* 1948.

A new general study of contemporary Czech aspect is found in *Kopečný* 1962.

The approach adopted in the current book was first sketched in *Kopecký* et al. 1935 and theoretically grounded in the contributions of Havránek to the III International Congress of Slavists and printed in the publications prepared for the congress which was to have been held in 1939.

Voice and reflexive verbs

§124. The relation of the verbal action to its subject is expressed by verbal voice, which can be *active* or *passive*.

> The most important fact for the relation of the action to the subject is the relation of the underlying actor, the agens, to the grammatical subject on the surface. In the grammatical structure of Czech this relation takes the form of active or passive voice, although in general other relations are also possible, for example that between the activity of the subject and the state in which the subject is (the relation between *active* and *stative* verbs), e.g. *věšet - viset*, *položit - ležet*, *bílit - bělet* etc.; in Czech, however, stative verbs are not an independent grammatical category (see §125 below).

1. The *active voice* expresses what the subject does; the grammatical subject is also the real performer (the agens) of the action (*dělníci vyrobili stroje*).

The *passive voice* expresses actions performed by some agens other than the grammatical subject of the sentence; the agens is usually not even expressed in the sentence, and if the sentence has a subject, this is usually the object (the goal) of the action, not its performer (*stroje byly vyrobeny*, *stroje se vyrábějí*), -- just as the goal (object) of the action is the grammatical object in active sentences.

As a rule it is only objective verbs which express both voices; they are the only verbs to have special, passive forms (*je trestán*, *veze se*). Other verbs have only active voice.

> Strictly speaking, both active and passive voice appear only in those verbs for which an underlying agens can be assumed (see §116.2), which can then be the same or different as the grammatical subject; these are then performer-type, action verbs, and objective verbs are in the majority action verbs. However, verbs expressing possession or train of thought, like *mít*, *chtít* etc. do not express actions, activities, but rather relations (they are not action verbs), and therefore, in spite of their taking accusative objects, such verbs do not have passive voice forms.
>
> Verbs without passive forms -- primarily verbs which express states or changes of state (*statives*: *žít*, *spát*, *stárnout*) -- do not distinguish between active and passive and are therefore voiceless. Since they have no passive, but only active forms, they are generally classed as active verbs.

2. The *passive voice* is expressed by compound passive forms consisting of a passive participle and the copula *být*, more rarely *bývat* (*byl potrestán*, *je trestán, je bit*), or by the reflexive form of the verb (*obilí se mlátí*, *zpívalo se celou noc*).

Transitive objective verbs (which take an object in the accusative), when in the passive voice, take their original object as grammatical subject (the so-called *personal passive*).

Intransitive objective verbs (those with objects in cases other than the acc.) do not change their original objects to subjects, but retain these original objects in the same case as in the active sentence; the sentence thus becomes a mononuclear verbal sentence with the verb used without subject (the so-called *impersonal passive*). The passive voice expressed in the impersonal manner sometimes occurs with non-objective verbs as well. For ex.: (personal passive) *Mlátí obilí - obilí se mlátí*, *obilí je vymláceno*; (impersonal passive): *dosáhli cíle, nehnuli ničím - cíle bylo dosaženo, ničím nebylo hnuto*; *na poli nemohli pracovat - na poli se nemohlo pracovat*; *zpívali od rána do večera - zpívalo se od rána do večera*; *šli cestou necestou - šlo se cestou necestou*.

> On the concepts "impersonal use of the verb" and "impersonal verb" see §130.3a and on mononuclear verbal sentences with impersonal passives see §180.

Verbs which when negated take the object in the genitive are nonetheless transitive and usually have personal passive forms, e.g. *nebyla učiněna ani zmínka o jeho osobních vlastnostech*, *dobré slovo se u nich neslyší* etc.

Verbs requiring a genitive object even when not negated, if they are frequently used in the conversational language with acc. objects, can take the personal passive alongside the older impersonal passive, e.g. *město bylo dobyto* (instead of *města*), *paláce se dnes užívají jako muzea* (instead of *paláců se užívá...*). In the correct literary language the personal passive is used only to the extent that the acc. object occurs in the active voice; if the acc. predominates in the active, the personal passive can even become obligatory, e.g. *kniha se stále požaduje* (cf. §194.2).

In cases where the verb takes only a gen. object (not admitting an acc.), or an object in some other case, the personal passive cannot be used, e.g. one has only *cíle bylo dosaženo*, *dbalo se jejich rady*, *nebylo tím hnuto*, etc.

As a rule the impersonal passive does not occur with passive objective verbs like *bojí se hladu*, *váží si knihy*, *zbaví se nepřítele* etc., but there are some exceptions such as *je tázán*, *dotazován (tázat se, dotazovat se matky)*, *je obáván (obávat se někoho, něčeho)*, *je vysmíván (vysmívat se někomu)*.

Objectless verbs take the impersonal passive when they contain the idea of an agens, such as *zpívalo se*, *šlo se.* -- Such passives must be distinguished from impersonal reflexive forms such as *spí se dobře*, *chce se mi*, etc. (see §126.4 below).

3. There are certain differences in the use of the two kinds of passive, the compound passive and the passive (*se*) form of the verb.

The *reflexive verb form* clearly expresses an *activity*, especially with *imperfective* verbs. There are no differences between passive verb forms and their active counterparts as far as tense and aspect are concerned (*vydávají - vydávají se*, *vydávali - vydávaly se*, *vydají - vydají se*).

The passive voice is expressed by the reflexive verb form only when the subject is a thing, e.g. *okna se myjí*, *lístky se vydávají*, etc. With personal subjects the reflexive verb forms have a different meaning, esp. with first and second person subjects, namely that of an activity directed at the actor himself (*myjí se, myješ se* etc.; cf. §126.2). For this reason this type of passive is generally not used with personal subjects; only when no ambiguity is possible do such forms sometimes occur, especially in the third person (*přijmou se, přijímají se stavební dělníci*), more rarely in the second person (esp. in bureaucratic style: *vyzýváte se, abyste se dostavil*...).

The reflexive verb form is frequently used in the conditional, ~~clearly~~ apparently in order to emphasize the activity of the goal and the conditions which are difficult to picture as a result of the action. For ex.: *Bylo požadováno, aby se zrušily všechny výsady šlechty*. *Kdyby se byl plán dobře promyslil, nebylo by třeba tolik dohánět*.

In the *compound passive* the meaning of a state can arise as a result of an activity; this is particularly often the case with perfective verbs, but is relatively infrequent with imperfectives (*kniha byla vydána ve velkém nákladu - knihy se nyní vydávají ve velkých nákladech*), but is not impossible (*knihy jsou nyní vydávaný*...), and occurs esp. with the auxiliary *bývat* (*knihy bývají vydávány*...). -- In the impersonal passive, such as *města bylo dobyto, bylo oznámeno*, the compound form generally occurs only in the perfective.

In imperfective verbs the compound passive is parallel to the active voice as far as tense is concerned (*trestá - je trestán*, *trestal - byl trestán*, *bude trestat - bude trestán*). Perfective verbs do not show a similar parallelism: the present forms of the compound passive have a temporal meaning different from that of the present forms in general: the type *je potrestán*, *okna jsou umyta* designates the present consequence of a past action (this is the type of "perfect tense" expression, cf. §132.3). This meaning occurs in isolated cases with imperfective verbs as well: *je psáno* is not the same as *píše se*, but means rather, *je napsáno*; cf. the meaning of such adjectives as *vařený* in §93.5 and §139.

> Sometimes in combinations of the type *hrad je (byl) vystavěn*, *okna byla zazděna* one has to do not with a passive construction but with an adjective and copula. The distinction can be recognized only from the context: *hrad byl tehdy už vystavěn (adj.) - byl vystavěn* (comp. pass.) *za Karla IV*; if one uses an adjective, it should be in the long form: *okna byla zazděna, aby... - byla již dlouho zazděna/zazděná*. However, when the action is viewed as a state in the compound passive, weakening the meaning of action, it is not always possible to make a clear distinction between the two forms.

The reflexive verb forms are widespread in the spoken language and are almost the only possible forms for the present tense passive voice (exceptions like *je bit jako žito* are rare); the compound passive often has a bookish flavor. For ex.: *Obchody se otvírají v 9 hodin*. *Výstava se otevře zítra*. *Plán se pečlivě připravuje*. *Plán se pečlivě připravil*. *V práci se bude pokračovat.* -- *Žáci byli přijati*. *Zranění byli ošetřeni*. *Přednášky budou dokončeny*.

4. The performer of the action (the agens) is only rarely expressed in the passive, its suppression being one of the typical features of this voice. To the extent that the agens is expressed, this occurs only with the compound passive, and then

in the form of the instr. case, or -- and this only for a personal agens -- in the prepositional (*od někoho*). For ex. *byl kárán*, *trestán, pokárán, potrestán od matky - matkou; peníze byly vyplaceny pokladnou*.

Since the agens is usually not expressed with the reflexive verb forms, one sometimes has to use the compound passive in order to express the agens there, where the reflexive verb forms would otherwise be more usual, e.g. not only *korespondence Němcové byla vydána Mil. Novotným*, but also *je vydávána Mil. Novotným*.

The meaning of the active forms of action verbs with generalized subject often approaches that of passive constructions: *kde tě nezvou, nehrň se* is close to *kde nejsi zván; hlásili v rozhlase* is close to *hlásilo se*...; cf. §188.3. The two constructions share the feature that the agens is not expressed, but in sentences with generalized subject one has an active verb form implying the existence of a subject-agens, no matter how generalized the latter may be.

On the passive meaning of the *infinitive* and constructions formed with it, see §135.3 below.

§125. The relation of the verbal action to its subject is not restricted to the active-passive dimension. Czech also expresses another, similar set of relations, namely those of *reflexivity*, for ex.:

1. the verb expresses a state deriving from an action: *visí - věšet něco*, *leží - položit někoho*, *zabil se - zabít někoho*, etc. -- among stative verbs (see §126.3 below);

2. the verbal action *attains* the subject through the latter's own activity: *mýt se* (*ráno se myjeme studenou vodou*) - *mýt dítě*, etc.; these are the so-called proper reflexives, cf. §126.2 below;

3. The verbal action also expresses the interest which the actor (subject) has in the action: *prosit se tebe nebudu*, *nanosil jsem se s tím dítětem*, *jdu si na procházku*; these are known as the reflexive of interest, cf. §126.5 below.

> Such relations are not grammatical meanings of the verb in Czech, because they occur only in a restricted number of verbs and because they have no overt morphological manifestation. They belong basically to the realm of the verbs' lexical meaning and its utilization; that is, they are basically semantic categories, not grammatical.
>
> One should therefore speak of stative verbs only as of a particular lexical group of verbs; they do not form opposed pairs with action verbs (*viset* to *věšet*) in the

same regular way as, say, aspect oppositions form pairs; stative verbs generally have action-verb partners only in an indefinite, lexical sense (spadnout - shodit) and often have none at all (trpět etc.). -- They have no formal peculiarities; even the reflexive verb form (zabil se) cannot be considered a specific expression of stative meaning. It occurs only with certain verbs and itself has many meanings; the same reflexive verb form (zabil se) can express the subject's own action exerted on himself as object (in the case of suicide), the state of the subject (involuntary killing ~~exertion~~) and finally -- and only in certain semantic, not grammatical conditions -- the passive voice, in addition to various further nuances in the relations between action and subject. -- On the other hand, one cannot deny that these verbs do fulfil a certain task within the grammatical system of the language, especially since they do not distinguish active from passive voice (see §124.1).

One could identify other such lexically significant groups of verbs, expressing various relations between the action and its agens. One of these would be the so-called factitives (causatives), which express one subject's activity as the cause of another subject's state: věšet to viset, polozit (klást) to ležet, napojit to pít, rozplakat to plakat (to the extent that they create states, these causatives form opposed partners to the stative verbs).

One can likewise not see grammatical categories in the two further groups of verbs, the proper reflexives and the reflexives of interest; these relations are expressed only in a small number of verbs, they cover a wide variety of semantic situations and they have no fixed morphological form of their own; the passive verb form has many meanings, as we shall show below.

§126. The reflexive verb form, in its multiple meanings is partially connected with the category of voice (as one of the forms of the passive), and partially it expresses various other relations between the verbal action, its subject and agens, as shown above in §125. For that reason the meanings both of the reflexive verb forms and of the reflexive verbs themselves are comprised within the category of voice.

The reflexive verb form is a compound verbal form consisting of forms of the verb itself and one of two forms of the reflexive pronoun, se or si. It has the following basic meanings:

1. With objective verbs (more precisely, verbs of action, cf. §116) it expresses the grammatical meaning of passive voice (dům se staví, see §124.2); this is the passive reflexive.

2. With transitive objective verbs it expresses a verbal action which attains the subject itself as object, such as *mýt se* (*myji se studenou vodou*), *koupat se* (*rádi se koupají*), etc.

In the case of objective verbs requiring a dative object, the reflexive pronoun *si* clearly functions as an objective form, e.g. *přát si* 'wish (for oneself)' etc. (*si* could be substituted by the dative *sobě*), but the objective function is often considerably weakened, cf. *přejeme si mír, koupím si motorku, vezmi si deštník, vylomil si zub, vypůjčil si knihu*, etc. (in these cases one has to do with the free dative of interest (dativus commodi), cf. §194).

For both of these types (*myji se* and *přeji si*) we use the term "proper reflexive" (instead of the widespread "objective reflexive").

> The reflexive pronoun *se*, an accusative in form, is only exceptionally the actual object of the action, e.g. *viděl se v zrcadle*, *činil se odpovědným;* in such cases it could be replaced by the full. acc. form *sebe*.
>
> The reflexive verb form -- as a rule with *se* partially with *si* -- is a semantically and syntactically indivisible unit (divisible only morphologically); the reflexive pronoun is not an independent objective case, but a 'reflexive particle' forming part of the compound verb form.

The reflexive pronoun can however serve as object in all cases: *dát dárek sobě*, *poznat sám sebe*, *držel zbraň daleko od sebe*, *obracet se v mysli k sobě*, *mluvit se sebou* etc. But even here the syntactic independence of the pronoun is often weakened and fixed phraseological units arise: *být bez sebe*, *přijít k sobě*, *vzít s sebou*, *jít s sebou* etc.

A special sub-type of proper reflexives are the *reciprocal reflexives*; here each individual member of a plural subject is the object of the other's action, for ex. *milujeme se, líbají se, radí se, překážejí si* etc. Here too the meaning of object gradually fades from the pronouns *se*, *si*, and in the case of some verbs it disappears completely (*prali se* - *pral se*, cf. §127.2 below). -- The meaning of reciprocity is however fixed in the pronoun itself and appears in forms other than the reflexive verb form itself, cf. *dívali se na sebe* (i.e., each at the other)*nevraživě*.

3. In the reflexive (se) form of objective (action) verbs, the concept of subject can be so weakened that one is conscious only of the intervention of a subject. One nonetheless assumes the existence of an agens, but the agens is not equated with the subject, that is, one has to do with the passive voice (*myjí se okna*, *zpívalo se*),

If the concept of action disappears completely, that of the state or change of state of the subject comes to the fore, for ex.: *zabil se (pádem se stromu)*, *topí se (v hluboké vodě)*, *(jehla) se ztratila*, *vrátil se (domů)*, etc. This use of the reflexive verb form is called the *stative reflexive*.

> In some cases the "neutralization of voice" is emphasized in such forms and one speaks -- without adequate justification -- of a "neutral voice".

4. The reflexive form with *se* is felt to be a form (a formal means of expression) of the stative concept of the action (the so-called neutral concept of the action in itself).

a. Reflexive forms alternate with non-reflexive in stative verbs, such as *blysknout* and *blysknout se*, *blýská* and *blýská se*, *bělet* and *bělet se*; sometimes the reflexive form becomes regular, as in *leskne se (hladina)*, *černá se (les)*, etc.

b. The reflexive forms can express an impersonal action in a mononuclear sentence conveying states and feelings of body or mind, e.g. *chce se mi spát*, *spí se mi dobře.*

5. The reflexive form expresses the interest the subject has in the verbal action:

a. the type with *se* is not too frequent, for ex. *prosit se vás nebudu*, *nosila se s něčím*, *nanosil jsem se s ním*, *rýpá se pořád v něčem*, etc.;

b. the type with *si* is very widespread, for ex. *zpíval si*, *šel si (na procházku)*, *naříkal si na tebe* etc.

This type is known as the *reflexive of interest* (see §125.3 above).

> In the case of certain verbs it is a matter of intensification of action (*nosit se s něčím*, *nanosit se s někým*), and for this reason one speaks in these special cases of a "dynamic reflexive"; in order to include the other meanings, however, it is better to retain the more general term "reflexive of interest".

§127. The reflexive verb form, especially with the meaning of subject interest, becomes lexicalized in various ways, giving rise to relatively independent *reflexive verbs*. The following types occur with *se*:

1. A special nuance of meaning and a different syntactic rection: *držet se něčeho (držet něco)*, *přiznat se k chybě* (*přiznat chybu*), etc.; more rarely, the syntax can remain unchanged, for ex. *dočkat se čeho (dočkat čeho)*. Such reflexive verbs show a more or less clearly defined distinction in

meaning from their non-reflexive counterparts.

This type occurs regularly with certain prefixed verbs and together with the prefix can designate:

a. intensity of the action: *najíst se*, *napít se*, *nanosit se něčeho*, *vyspat se*, *prospat se*, *vyskákat se*, *proskákat se*, *dokopat se*, etc.

b. various phases of the verbal action: *roznemoci se*, *rozejít se*, *sejít se*, *rozprchnout se*;

c. in certain prefixed verbs objectless verbs are changed to objective, e.g. *plakat - rozplakat koho - rozplakat se* etc., cf. §118.2 (the *rozplakat se* type is close to the preceding type b.).

2. The reflexive form of the verb has become independent of the non-reflexive verb, as *pere se (rád)*, *(kráva) se běhá.* Reciprocal reflexive verbs sometimes move into this type, when they are used with a single subject, in which case their reciprocal meaning is lost, for ex. the *pere se* just mentioned (*stále se jen pere*; *chlapci se perou*); *sešel se s někým*, *radí se s někým*, *musím se poradit*. In these cases too one has to do with the lexical independence of the reflexive element of the reflexive verb.

3. One can also speak of reflexive verbs in the case of reflexive forms of the verb with *si*, where the verb has acquired exclusively or predominantly the reflexive form,

denoting the interest of the subject, e.g. stěžovat si, lehnout si, sednout si etc.

4. Finally there is a considerable number of verbs which have only reflexive forms, the so-called reflexiva tantum, such as smát se, bát se, nadít se, dotknout se, ptát se etc. Certain prefixed verbs like rozpuknout se move into this category. -- In such verbs one cannot discuss the meaning of the reflexive form, because the latter cannot be compared with a non-reflexive form; the reflexive form is simply their lexical marker.

Closest in meaning to the reflexiva tantum are (except for a few prefixed verbs) those verbs in which the reflexive form is merely a formal variant with no particular lexical meaning, e.g. blýská (se), spoléhat (se), začínat (se), končit (se), etc.

§128. From the above by no means exhaustive survey we can clearly see the great variety of meanings of the reflexive verb forms, which themselves have double forms: one with the pronominal particle se (originally an accusative) and the other with si (dative). In some cases one has to do with the expression of an obviously grammatical meaning (the passive), in others with the designation of a semantically marked group of verbs (and sometimes even of individual verbs, such as běhá se), although these groups depend on the relation of the action to the subject, and in yet other cases with the independent designation of various situations or of the interested relation of the subject to the action.

From the formal point of view one has not only the double reflexive form of the verb (in se and in si) but also the fact that in some cases one can speak only of the reflexive form of a specific verb (mýt se, zabít se), which is by no means always unambiguous within that same verb, while in other cases one must speak of reflexive verbs there is no opposition of reflexive to non-reflexive form. (Sometimes it is a matter only of a nuance of meaning in the non-reflexive verb, so that one could speak both of the verb's reflexive form and of a reflexive verb.)

Finally, there are many transitional cases, both formal and semantic which we have touched upon only occasionally without exhausting them (such transitional cases would be significantly more numerous if we were to consider historical or dialectal facts).

From all the above considerations it is clear that we cannot speak of a "reflexive voice", but only of a semantically diffuse reflexive verb form.

Such forms with several meanings are termed polysemantic and the multiplicity of meaning itself, polysemy; these terms are taken from the field of semantics, cf. §221.2 below.

Bibliography. On voice and on the reflexive form of the verb see the basic general work *Havránek* 1928-1937 and the articles by *Trávníček* 1939a, *Kopečný* 1954b, *Ružička* 1960; cf. *Mathesius* 1947l and recently *Daneš* 1968b.

Definite and indefinite forms. Person, number, tense and mood of definite forms

§129. The grammatical meanings of the verb which we have yet to discuss are: person, number, tense and mood. Every verb can express these categories through its simple or compound forms.

1. Although every verb can express person, number, tense and mood, every individual form of the verb does not have all these meanings. There are two types of form.

Some forms express all four of these categories, for instance *nese* expresses third person, singular number, present tense, and indicative mood; *nesl jsem* first person, singular number, past tense, and indicative mood. -- Other forms express either none of these categories at all (*nést*) or only some of them, for ex. *nesa, nesouce* (number and partially tense — (simultaneity)).

Forms expressing all the grammatical categories of the verb, and especially a definite person (first, second or third) and number (singular or plural) are called *definite forms* (for ex. *nesu, nesl jsem, neste, nesl bych* etc.).

> In the imperative mood, and partially in the conditional (see §134) the concept of varying grammatical tense is reduced, but person and number are always expressed in these moods, although not all persons appear in the imperative.

Forms which do not express all grammatical meanings, in particular a definite person, are called *indefinite forms*; these are the infinitive (*nést*), the past participle (*nesl*), the passive participle (*nesen*) and the gerunds (*nesa; přines, spatřiv*). The infinitive expresses only aspect and partially voice but does not express person, number, tense or mood; the participles and gerunds express aspect, voice, number and partially tense (temporal relation).

> The participles and gerunds agree with the subject in number and gender (masc., fem. or neut. -- the gerunds only partially) in the same manner as adjectives (see §138 below).

The definite forms are simple (*nesu, neseš..., nes, neste*) or compound (*nesl jsi, nesl bych, budu chválit, jsem chválen, byl pochválen*, etc.). -- The indefinite forms are only simple, with the exception of the compound passive forms (*být trestán, jsa trestán, byv potrestán*).

> The reflexive forms of the verb, both definite (*myji se, přeji si*) and indefinite (*mýt se, přát si*), are also a kind of compound form; cf. below.

2.a. In the simple definite forms the present stem of the verb takes an ending which expresses person and number (in the indicative and imperative mood, and present and partially the future tense), for ex. *nes-e*, *nes-ou*, *kupuj-e*, *kupuj-í*, *jd-i*, *nes-te*.

The simple indefinite forms add their suffix to the verb stem (as a rule the past stem) (*nés-t, kupova-t*) and, in the case of participles and gerunds, also an ending expressing number and gender, e.g. *nes-l, nes-l-a, trestá-n, trestá-n-i*, etc.

The *verb stem* has two forms, *present* and *past* (see §143 below).

b. In the compound forms an indefinite form of the principal verb (participle or infinitive) is combined with a definite form of the auxiliary verb *být* (more rarely, *bývat*), for ex. *nesl jsem, nesl bych, býval bych nesl; budu chválit, jsem chválen, byl jsem chválen, budu chválen* etc. The auxiliary verb form expresses person and number (mood and partially tense).

Indefinite compound forms occur only in the compound passive (*být trestán, jsa trestán, byv potrestán* etc.).

> The reflexive verb form and the reflexive verb are a particular type of compound form (*mýt se, bát se*, etc.); however, since the verb forms themselves are the same as in the non-reflexive verbs, they are not usually morphologically classed as compound forms.

> In the compound past *nesl jsem*... contemporary Czech omits the form of the auxiliary *být* from the

3rd person sing. and plur. forms; the principal verb form *nesl* (*nesla, neslo*) *nesli* (*nesly, nesla*) in such cases itself expresses third person and sing. or plur. number. In a sense these are simple, not compound forms, but they can nonetheless not be separated from the other, compound forms of the past tense, *nesl jsem* etc. It is therefore best to take them as special instances of a compound verb form with omitted auxiliary verb forms (in other words, with a zero auxiliary verb, just as there are forms without endings or, putting it differently, with zero endings, for ex. *maž!, přines!*).

There are further distinctions between the auxiliary verb forms in the compound past and in the other compound verb forms: (a) the auxiliary need not be present in the 1st person forms, if person and number are expressed by a pronominal subject (*já to věděl, my viděli*): (b) the 2nd person sing. form *jsi* can be replaced by a mere -*s* (see §131.3); (c) the auxiliary's lack of independence is demonstrated by the fact that they cannot be used elliptically in answers, for example *Šel jsi domů?* -- *Šel (not Jsem)*, but in the future *Budeš mi psát?* -- *Budu,* and in the third person past *Byla okna umyta?* -- *Byla*, and also by the fact that the negative particle *ne*- cannot be added to the auxiliary but only to the principal verb, e.g. *nepsal jsem* as distinguished from *nebudu psát*, *nejsem tázán*.

The forms of the verb *být* have become mere morphological devices (morphemes) in the past tense, with no semantic independence, although they nonetheless retained the formal character of an independent word (e.g. by their variable word order in the sentence; they are then "word morphemes", cf. §39.2 above.

There are, then, two types of compound verb form: (1) *nesl jsem*..., and (2) *byl bych přišel*, *býval bych přišel*, *budu pracovat*; *jsem tázán*.

The present conditional *nesl bych*..., stands between these two types: in the 3rd person *nesl by*, *nesli by* the participle itself expresses number, in the 2nd person sing. -*s* in *bys* is in some environments mobile (*nebál by ses*, cf. §134.3), the negative particle is added to the participle, not the auxiliary (*nenesl bych odpovědnost)*, in answers one cannot use the auxiliary *bych*, *bys* alone (*Přišel bys zítra*? -- *Přišel*); however, the auxiliary cannot be omitted from the 1st and 2nd person even if the subject is expressed by a pronoun; the auxiliary retains a greater degree of independence than is the case with *jsem*...

> The auxiliary forms bych etc. can combine with certain conjunctions, such as abych, kdybych, ..., cf. §134.3.
>
> In Common Czech the connection of the conditional with the past tense forms nesl jsem... has gone further, so that the auxiliary has gradually split into two forms: a fixed by (cf. Russian бы) and forms identical with the past auxiliary forms by-s, by-sme, by-ste; for this reason the new form by-sem is beginning to appear.

A. Person and number

§130. The definite verb forms express three persons (1st, 2nd, and 3rd) and in each person, two numbers, singular and plural. These forms are often referred to simply as the definite verb. In the binomial sentence they serve as the verbal predicate, in the mononuclear sentence as the basic sentence element.

> The definite verb forms are also known by the Latin term verbum finitum.

1. The 1st person forms (nesu, neseme) express the fact that the subject of the sentence is the speaker (expressed by the 1st person pronouns já, my); the 2nd person forms (neseš, nesete) show that the subject is the person spoken

to (expressed by the pronouns *ty*, *vy*); the 3rd person forms (*nese*, *nesou*) indicate that the subject is someone or something being talked about, i.e. neither the speaker nor the hearer.

2. The verb agrees in number with its singular or plural subject; if the subject occurs in the form of several substantives, each in the singular, the verb can take either the sing. or the plur. form (see §191.1b).

a) The plur. form of the 2nd person is used in addressing a single person -- just as is the 2nd person plur. pronoun -- to whom one says *vy* (not *ty*). In compound forms, however, the participle remains in the singular. For ex. *Vrat'te se domů* (about one person or several), but *přišel (přišla) jste právě včas, jen abyste nepřišel (nepřišla) pozdě* (about one person) vs. *přišli jste právě včas, jen abyste nepřišli (nepřišly) pozdě* (about several people).

b) The 1st person plur. is used instead of the singular, especially if the speaker or writer does not wish to emphasize his own person, his own opinions, for ex. *Připomněli jsme to hned na počátku své úvahy*. *Jsme toho názoru, že*... .

> In earlier times the 1st person plur. was used in the solemn speeches of the ruler or other representative of the state (the so-called *pluralis majestaticus*), e.g. *My známo činíme*. *My, Zikmund, z boží milosti král český, vzkazujeme věrným nám milým milost královskou*.

3. a). The 3rd person sing. forms are used as impersonal forms, that is, of actions expressed without a subject (in the mononuclear sentence and the impersonal passive, see §124.2 and §180); in such cases the 3rd person form does not indicate a 3rd person subject, but rather the absence of a subject in any person, e.g. *prší*, *šlo se domů*.

b). The 3rd person plur. is used to indicate a generalized subject, for ex. *hlásili to v rozhlase*. More rarely this meaning is rendered by other forms, e.g. the 3rd sing. (*kam by kamenem dohodil*), 2nd sing. (*s poctivostí nejdál dojdeš*), or 1st person plur. (*od součtu odečteme*); cf. §188.3.

4. Person and number in the simple definite forms are expressed by personal endings; these are not identical in all verbs (see §142).

Person and number in the compound definite forms are expressed by forms of the verb *být*, e.g. *přišel jsem, přišel jsi*..., *přišel bych, přišel bys*..., *jsme chváleni, jste chváleni*..., *budu psát, budeš psát*... .

Furthermore in the 3rd person conditional number is not expressed by the auxiliary *by* (*přišel by, přišli by*).

Number is also expressed by the endings of the participles, which also mark the gender of the subject, masculine feminine and neuter (and the animate-inanimate distinction in the plural) (see §138).

Only the 3rd person in the past is not marked by the auxiliary verb (form of the verb *být*) (*přišel, přišli,* but *je chválen, jsou chváleni*).

On the fact that the forms *přišel*, *přišli* express person by themselves, and on the expression of person by the pronoun, as in *já přišel*, see §129 above.

B. Tense

§131. The definite verb forms also indicate the time when the action takes, took or will take place, expressing these times by the three tenses, present, past, and future.

The verbal action is attributed to present, past or future time from the point of view of the speaker (narrator, author); this attribution is however not a subjectively individual matter, but rather a subjectively collective (collectively controlled) one, and in this respect it reflects objective reality in the given or assumed time of the narration -- unless of course one has to do with stylistically conditioned tense shifts, cf. §132.2.

The past tense is also known as the preterite. For ex. *píši, psal jsem, budu psát* or *napíši*; *je volán, byl volán, bude volán*.

1. The simple definite forms (with personal endings) like *píši, píšeš*, ... are called present forms; they express the *present tense* of imperfective verbs.

2. The future tense of perfective verbs is expressed by their present forms, e.g. *napíši*, *vrátím* se etc.

The future tense of imperfective verbs is expressed by compound forms consisting of the infinitive and the forms *budu, budeš*... , for ex. *budu psát* (*psáti*), *bude pracovat* etc. The forms *budu, budeš* are special future-tense forms of the verb *být*.

Some imperfective verbs (mainly with the meaning of motion, more rarely of status) express the future tense by means of simple forms with the prefix *po-* (*pů-*), namely *půjdu, pojedu, poběžím, poběhnu, poletím, polezu, popluji, poplavu, potáhnu, poteče, povleče, poženu; ponesu, povedu, povezu, porostu, pokvětu, povládnu* etc.

> These are not forms of prefixed perfective verbs; they have no infinitives or past-tense forms (the forms *pošel, povedl* se are from different verbs). However, these verbs sometimes also have imperative forms in *po-*, cf. *pojd', pojed', poběž* etc. (and in the isolated form *poslyš*), alongside *jdi, jed'* etc., with a small difference in meaning, cf. §134.2.

In live speech such future forms are frequently created with other verbs of motion, often synonymous with those mentioned above, for ex. povrávorá, pošlapu, pomašíruju (pošlap), pofičím, pokutálím se, pohrnu se, etc.; such forms sometimes penetrate the literary language, e.g. pochvátám, pokvapím, etc.

As a rule such verbs do not have the compound-form future tense, except in a somewhat different meaning, budu běžet 1 km. (in a race), bude letět (in a plane), etc., but budu hnát exists alongside poženu.

3 The past tense (preterit) of all verbs is expressed by a compound form consisting of the past participle (psal, napsal, pracoval,...) and the present forms of the verb být (jsem, jsi, jsme, jste), for ex. psal jsem, napsal jsem etc.; only in the 3rd pers. sing. and plur. does the participle occur alone (psal, napsal, psala, ..., psali, napsali...).

In the 2nd pers. sing., instead of the form jsi, there can also occur a simple -s, which combines with a personal or reflexive pronoun or with the conjunction že, e.g. tys to napsal; vrátil ses; přál sis to; viděl jsem, žes přišel. -- This -s sometimes combines with other conjunctions or conjunctive expressions or even with the verb itself, e.g. *kdes včera byl?* *pracovals dobře?* *rozumělas?*

In the usual spoken language, especially in Central and Southwestern Bohemia, the unshortened form *jsi* occurs (*ty jsi to napsal*), pronounced [si]; in other areas the form -*s* (*tys to napsal*) is quite alive.

On the type of compound past tense in which the form *jsem* does not attribute the action to the present, but merely defines the person and number of the subject, cf. §129.

§132.1. The past forms (*psal jsem, přišel*) and the compound future forms (*budu psát*) always attribute the action to the appropriate time (past or future). Occasional exceptions are only apparent. For ex. *Vzal to d'aš!* *Bodejt' tě husa kopla!* -- *To bude omyl.* *Hloupá holka, to není muzikant, to bude nějaký pán* (Němcová). *Bodejt', budu tak hloupý.* -- Here it is not a question of temporal attribution, but of *mood*; in both types one has to do with an emotionally colored utterance, in the first with a command and in the second with an attenuated statement presented as uncertain (cf. §134.2 and .3 below).

2. The present forms of perfective and imperfective verbs can express both temporally unattributed action and action attributed to a time other than that which would be appropriate.

a) The present forms of imperfective verbs sometimes express an action without regard to any specific time. It can be an action expressing an ability or constant quality not connected with time, or it can be an action which is continually potentially valid and which could occur at any moment. If the action is one which could occur at any moment, the perfective verb forms can also be used. For ex. *Dítě uz chodí*. *Pták lítá, ryba plove*. *Otec pracuje v továrně* ('is employed'). -- *Sytý hladovému nevěří*. *S poctivostí nejdál dojdeš*.

> Actions which are not temporally attributed and which exist outside of time are called *atemporal* and the present forms which express them the *atemporal present*. -- Actions which are continually valid are called *gnomic* (they occur in proverbs, etc., the Greek *gnóma* means 'proverb') and the present forms which express them, the *gnomic present*.

b) The present forms of imperfective verbs can also express -- especially in everyday speech -- future actions; the future setting is however most often expressed in some other way, by a temporal modifier (*zítra* etc.). For ex.:

Já nikam nejedu. Tak já tam jdu a řeknu mu... -- Zítra se stěhujem. Za týden jsi doma.

> Sometimes in this sort of live expression the future meaning acquires a certain modal nuance, e.g. ted' házím já (= budu házet, chci házet, mám házet), tu knihu se neber, tu si beru já (=vezmu, chci vzít), to nedělej, to dělá Franta (= udělá, má udělat), etc.

c) The present forms of perfective and imperfective verbs can also express past actions (the so-called historical present). For ex.: Nikdo z nás neřekl ani slova. Potichu jsme vykouzli z pelechů. Chopili jsme se zbraní. Ten třetí jde se sekerou ke dveřím (P. Jilemnický). -- Chtěl jsem si odpočinout a potěšit se pohledem na krásný svět. Nestačil jsem však ani dosednout do mechu... Můj pes najednou zavětří, potom svěsí hlavu a -- běží podél lesa. Jdu za ním. Po několika krocích se zastavil, hlavou rozhrnul borůvčí, čmuchá, frká a nakonec ježí srst (P. Jilemnický).

> In these cases there is no essential difference between the use of perfective and imperfective verbs. The perfective verbs emphasize more the consequtive nature of the related actions (cf. zavětří, svěsí) and the imperfective either

emphasize the static nature of the description or the actualization of the action in the present. Even here, however, there are sometimes also formal causes; in the given examples one cannot substitute *půjde*, *poběží* for *jde, běži, jdu* because the former express future time unambiguously; there is no perfective counterpart to *chtěl jsem* in Czech. In general one can say that the historical present occurs in the same aspect as would have been used in the past tense in a normal narrative (thus, the past tense forms *šel, běžel, chtěl* have no perfective counterparts).

3. In spoken Czech there also occur compound forms of the type *mám uvařeno*, *mám úlohu napsanou;* these forms express a special concept of past time, namely a result stemming from an action accomplished in the past. To a certain extent these forms are similar to the past tense of perfective verbs: *napsal jsem úlohu - mám ji napsanou*, *zatopil jsem - mám zatopeno*, but the latter forms obviously emphasize the situation resulting from the past action, whereas the active connection between the action and its subject is weakened: *mám zatopeno* can be the situation resulting not only from "*zatopil jsem*" but also from "*zatopil mně někdo jiný*".

This type is the so-called *perfect* in the proper sense of the term, but it is not sufficiently developed in the language to be considered a regular form and a regular tense category.

§133.1. In addition to the three basic tenses present, past and future, in which verbal actions are expressed according to objective reality, there are certain other temporal relations which are sometimes expressed.

Verbal actions are not only temporally related to objective reality determined by the time of the speech event, but also stand in a temporal relation, to each other: they can be simultaneous, or one can precede the other. *Sedí a čte.* *Odcházel a zpíval si.* -- *Nasnídal se a šel do práce.* *Až tam přijdete, uvidíte to.* These relations of simultaneity and anteriority are called *relative tense*.

2. In order to express simultaneous or anterior actions, Czech has special forms only among the indefinite forms: these are the *gerunds*; the present gerund of imperfective verbs expresses simultaneity, while both the present and past gerunds of perfective verbs express anteriority; cf. §137.

Among the definite forms there exists only one special compound form for the expression of a past anterior action, the so-called pluperfect (or anti-preterite), for ex. *Komorník povstal ode dveří, kde byl seděl*.

This is, however, an archaic form and is now used only rarely (the usual form today would be *kde seděl*, or explicitly *kde do té chvíle seděl*, etc.).

The pluperfect consists of the regular past tense (perfective and imperfective) plus *byl* (*byla*,...): *byl jsem seděl*, *byl jsi seděl*, ... *byl jsem přišel*, *byl jsi přišel*... .

3. Otherwise simultaneous and anterior actions are expressed (but only partially) by the aspects of the regular tense forms: simultaneous actions are expressed by imperfective verbs and anterior actions by perfective verbs, although, depending on the sense, they can also be expressed by imperfectives, cf. *kdy (byl seděl)* above. For ex.: *Když šel domů, upadl na ulici*. -- *Když přišel domů, upadl v pokoji*. *Odložil knihu, kterou (právě) četl*. *Odložil knihu, kterou přečetl, dočetl* (but also *kterou do té chvíle četl*). -- *Dívám se rád na obraz, který visí nad mým stolem*. *Dívám se rád na obraz, který jsem si pověsil nad svůj stůl*.

4. In contentual subordinate clauses a simultaneous action is generally expressed in a fixed manner by the present tense of an imperfective verb. E.g.: *Slyším, že někdo jde*. -- *Slyšel jsem (uslyšel jsem), že někdo jde*. -- *Až uslyším, že někdo jde, otevřu*. -- *Ráno bylo vidět, že je celé údolí pod vodou* (Němcová). -- *Děti se tomu*

divily, jak to babička hned ví (Němcová). -- *Tváří se, že spí. Tvářil se, že spí. Bude se tvářit, že spí. -- Jdu, co noha nohu mine. Šel jsem, co noha nohu mine.*

But here too there is a certain amount of vacillation: one can say either *Díval se, jak si děti na dvoře hrají* or *Díval se, jak si děti na dvoře hrály*.

In spite of this lack of specific forms for relative tenses, a good stylist can express fine distinctions in the temporal relations of actions. Cf. for example in Vl. Vančura: *Kníže odpověděl (Ojířovi), že mu již odpustil a že nemyslí na neblahou příhodu.* The first action of the subordinate clause, *odpustil* is anterior to the main action *odpověděl*, while the second, *nemyslí* is simultaneous to this main action; at the same time, the mutual relation of the two subordinate actions is also expressed.

> *Note*. An action occurring in the distant past can sometimes be expressed by co-called repetitive frequentative verbs. For ex.: *Na tom místě stával pevný hrád*. Cf. §122.

C. Mood

§134. The definite forms which have been introduced so far are in the indicative mood. However, the various forms of the verb can also express the imperative and the conditional moods. In other words, the verb has three moods.

> These moods, expressed by special forms, evaluate the action in relation to reality, either as coinciding with reality (a real and certain action), or as possible insofar as it is desired or expected or bound to occur, or as uncertain, subject to certain conditions or unrealizable. -- In subordinate clauses, however, the conditional is a linguistic device characterizing certain types of sentence.
>
> > The three modes intersect in various ways. They reflect only in a very distant and indirect way the logical distinctions assertive, probable and apodictic.

1. The indicative mood simply marks an action as real and certain (píšı),

> Some indicative forms can replace the forms of other modes, expecially the imperative (see 2. below), more rarely the conditional (see 3).

If the indicative expresses an action seen as uncertain, it is moved to the future (*to nebude správné*) or is modified by the adverbs *asi, snad* (*to snad není pravda*).

In other cases a real action can be expressed by non-indicative forms, esp. those of the conditional, with the meaning of a modest or an emotionally colored assertion which attenuates the validity of the action, for ex. *To bych nemyslil*. *Měl by to vědět*. *Že bys to nevěděl*?

2. The *imperative mood* expresses a command or warning to do or not to do something, or a wish, that is, an action which according to the will of the speaker should (or should not) be realized by someone else, usually a person addressed by the speaker.

a) The imperative occurs only in the second person singular (*piš*) or plural (*pište*) and in the first person plural (*pišme*). The imperative has its own special simple forms for these persons; on these forms, which are not entirely homogeneous, see §142.2.

Most verbs which have a simple imperfective future of the type *půjdu*, *pojedu* and have the meaning of motion, have two imperative forms: *pojd' - jdi* (*pojd'me - jděme*,

pojd'te - jděte), *pojed' - jed'*, *poběž - běž*, *polet' - let'*, *polez - lez* etc.; both imperatives occur in a few other, isolated cases, e.g. *poslyš - slyš* (but only *slyším, budu slyšet*).

> There is no aspectual difference between these two imperative forms, but there is a weak distinction in their meanings: the type *pojd'* etc. commands a motion toward the speaker (*pojd' sem* but *jdi tam*), but this meaning is not always present (it is absent, for example, in *poběž, polet'*, which in distinction to *běž, let'* designate the beginning of the action.

b) In other persons a command or wish is expressed by indicative forms introduced by *at', necht', kéž*, for ex. *at' přijde, at' mi nechodí na oči*, *necht' přijdou*, *kéž se objeví*, *at' se na místě propadnu*.

If this form is used for the 2nd person, it expresses an especially forceful or emotionally colored command, e.g. *at' mi nenachodíš na oči, at' se mi slušně chováte*.

Phrases with *kéž* sometimes express a wished-for action which could have been expressed by the conditional, for ex. *Kéž se objevil* (=*kéž by se objevil*)! *Kéž jsi se zalklo už*, *prokleté cikáně* (= *zalkni se* or *kéž by ses zalklo*), Neruda.

c. Sometimes, in addition to the above, quite usual forms of expression, commands can be expressed by forms of other moods:

A forceful command can also be expressed by indicative forms in the future or present, for ex. *Nikam nepůjdeš*! *Budeš mlčet*! *Budete mlčet*! *Mlčíš!*, or, rarely, in the past: *Vzal tě d'as*!

The infinitive can also have the force of an imperative, especially of a strict or incisive command or of a command accompanied by an emotional state of the speaker, e.g. *Nekouřit! Rychle zavřít! Tak začít*!

An attenuated command or wish can also be expressed by the present conditional, for ex. *Půjčil bys mi tu knihu? Měli bychom se vrátit. Kdybys mlčel*! *Abychom už šli?*

The imperative is also rarely used in a conditional meaning (cf. section 3c below).

3. *The conditional mood* expresses a possible action which is posed as a wish or a condition, or as a conditional action, i.e. one which would occur if some given other action were to occur.

a) There are two conditional forms, *present* and *past*. The present conditional expresses an action which is possible in the present or the future (i.e. is realizable); the past conditional expresses an action which was possible but not realized in the past, or which was not realizable.

> Examples (present conditional): *Rád bych už jedl*. *Chtěl bych dobře poznat svou vlast*. *Beze mne bys to neuhodl*. *Kdybyste rychleji veslovali, dospěli byste první k cíli*. -- (Past conditional): *Kdybyste byli rychleji veslovali, byli byste dospěli rychleji k cíli*. *Kéž by se to nebylo stalo!*
>
> In the main clause the past conditional can sometimes express an action unrealizable in the future, for ex. *Kdyby (byl) nebyl včera umřel, byl by se za týden dočkal 80 let*.

The present conditional is a form compounded from the past participle and from special forms of the verb *být*:

	singular	*plural*
1st pers.	řekl bych	řekli bychom
2nd pers.	řekl bys	řekli byste
3rd pers.	řekl by	řekli by

The forms *bych* etc. combine with the conjunctions *kdy*, *aby* into a single form (*abych, abys*, ...; *kdybychom, kdybyste*...).

The past conditional generally adds the forms *byl*, *byla*... or *býval, bývala*... and occasionally *byl býval*... (*byl bych přisel, býval bych chtěl vědět, byl bych býval chtěl vědět*).

The past conditional can be substituted by the present conditional, especially in the conversational languge, e.g. kéž by se to nestalo can also be said of a past event; Kdybych měl čas, byl bych šel s vámi.

In the second person sing. of verbs with the reflexive particle se, si, the -s of bys is detached from the verb and added to the particle, for ex. bránil by ses tomu, koupil by sis to, kdyby ses nevrátil, ... aby ses to nedozvěděl.

b) The conditional, as a rule the present, is often used in subordinate clauses, and not only in conditional clauses (kdybych etc.) but also in concessive clauses syntactically tied to them (třebas bych, byť bych); they are also characteristic of clauses of purpose (see § 205.4, 5).

?

In addition to conditions and concessions, such subordinate clauses can express:

aa) an action which is desired or assumed as a goal, purpose or intention;

bb) an action the realization of which is uncertain, dubious or denied.

For ex.: Udělám to třebas bych nemusel. Učinil to, aby měl pokoj. Chval tak, abys nepřechválil. Bála se, aby to nevyšlo najevo. -- Pověz mi, co bych měl učinit. Táži se tě, zda bys nepřišel. Dělal, jako by spal. -- Pochybuji, že by tu cestu za den vykonal. Povídal, že *bych se měl u něho zastavit*.

c) The meanings of the conditional (condition or concession) are occasionally expressed by the *imperative*, for ex.: *Mluvte mu, co chcete, všechno je marné*. *Volej ve dne v noci, nikoho se nedovoláš*. -- Such are the expressions *stůj co stůj, čiň co čiň*, *chtěj nechtěj*, which are turning into adverbial expressions.

Bibliography. On certain general problems of the meaning and expression of tense see *Nerad (Gerad)* 1940, *Kopečný* 1950, 1955 (and *Trávníček's* polemic 1958a), *Mathesius* 1947i, *Hausenblas* 1963a, *Horálek* 1955a, on the type *ponesu* *Kopečný* 1960. -- The category of tense is also discussed in the literature on aspect following § 123.

On the category of mood, and on modality generally, see *Dokulil* 1954 and further *Šmilauer* 1947; on the conditional, esp. *Haller* 1948. On the relation between the forms of the past tense and of the conditional in Common Czech, see *Havránek* 1953.

The indefinite forms and their meaning

§135. Among the indefinite forms the infinitive expresses neither number, nor person, nor tense, nor mood; it expresses only aspect and partially voice (volat, vyvolat - být volán, být ubit). It has verbal syntactic valence (vyvolat žáka).

1. As a rule the infinitive is formed by the suffix -t (rarely, by the bookish -ti) added to the past stem, such as nés-t (nés-ti) from nes-l, brá-t (brá-ti) from bra-l, krý-t (krý-ti) from kry-l, kupova-t (kupova-ti) from kupova-l, etc.

Verbs the past stem of which ends in -k or -h take the infinitive in -ci: péci (pekl), moci (moh-l) etc. (in conversational Czech the ending is -ct, říct, moct, péct etc.). -- Verbs the past stem of which ends in -d, -t, -st take the infinitive in -st (-sti): vést (vésti) from ved-l, plést (plésti) from plet-l, růst (růsti) from rost-l; cf. exceptionally zábst (zábsti) from záb-l.

> Verbs with past tense stem in -nu- have their infinitive in -nou: minout (minouti) from minul, etc. This same -nou- appears in the infinitive of verbs with the suffix -n(e)-in the present stem (verbs of class II), even though their past stem has no -nu-: tisknout (tisknouti) from tiskl, tiskne.

Of the two infinitive suffixes -*t* and -*ti*, the spoken variety of literary Czech regularly uses -*t*, which is now also more frequent in the written language than the bookish ending -*ti*; only in infinitives in -*st(i)* such as *nést(i)*, *plést(i)* is the -*ti* form still somewhat more frequent than among other infinitives.

When verbs are identified as words, such as in the dictionary, it is customary to give them in the -*ti* infinitive, but this usage is purely conventional and says nothing about the actual relation of the two forms, in -*t* and in -*ti*.

> Infinitives of the type *nésti, plésti* are apparently conserved longer than other -*ti* infinitives because their Central Bohemian dialect counterparts are *nýst, plýst* etc.; this greater difference (*é* vs. *ý*) helps to maintain the older literary forms in -*ti* (*nésti*, *plésti*...).
>
> Forms such as *říct* etc. (instead of *říci* come from Common Czech, but are spreading in Conversational Czech as well (*říct, pomoct*, *tlouct*), with the exception of purely literary words like *stříci*. Conversational usage

vacillates between the Common Czech *píct*, *(u)týct, vlíct* and the forms *péct (u)téct*, *vléct* etc.; the latter are used in the literary language wherever the forms like *utéci* would seem overly bookish, for ex. *tak tak že stačil utéct* (the -*ci* forms are unsupported by any dialectal forms).

2. Monosyllabic infinitives in -*t* and disyllabic infinitives in -*ti*, -*ci* have a *long vowel* in the stem even there, where the past tense stem vowel is short, e.g. *nést (nesl), krýt (kryl), bít (bil), psát (psal), třít (třel), vřít (vřel), chtít (chtěl), plout (plul), růst (rostl)*; *ou* appears in such infinitives instead of long *ú*, *ů* instead of long *ó*, and sometimes *í* instead of long *é* (or long *ě*).

Only the following one-or two-syllable infinitives have a short stem vowel: *moci*, *jet (jedu)*, *pěti (pěji)*, *spěti, smět.* -- Some infinitives can have either long or short stem vowels: *čnět, čpět, chvět se, lpět, hřmět, tmět se* or *čnít, čpít, chvít se, lpíti, hřmít, tmít se*.

Long infinitive stem vowels generally remain when the verbs are prefixed, for ex. *odnést, pokrýt, pobít, naklást, natřít, zavřít, otevřít, zatmít se* (and *zatmět se*), *vyplout, vyrůst*, etc. -- Only in certain verbs in -*át* is the stem vowel shortened when the verb is prefixed: *dát - vydat*, *brát - dobrat*, *psát - napsat*, *stát (stane) - přestat*, *dostat* etc., but one has *zahrát, uzrát, ohřát, dostát (dostojím slovu)*, where the simplex has *á* in the past (*hrál, zrál, hřál, dostál* etc.); there is no vacillation in either of these types.

3. *Aspect* is the only grammatical category which is always expressed by the infinitive, which must distinguish perfective and imperfective, frequentative and nonfrequentative and other nuances of verbal actions exactly as do other verbal forms, for ex. *říci - říkat*, *uvidět - vidět*, *mívat - mít*, *bodnout - bodat* etc. Further, the infinitive has the same syntactic valence as the other verbal forms, e.g. *dávat bratrovi knihu, bát se smrti, třást stromem*, *pracovat na plánech* etc.

The infinitive expresses voice only partially; the passive voice is expressed explicitly but only relatively rarely in periphrastic forms like *být trestán, být potrestán*.

The simple form of the infinitive itself, which in relation to the above periphrastic forms could be considered active, can also have a passive meaning, as for ex. in *Byla dobře vidět Sněžka* (common and colloquial), *Dítě bylo už tezké nést*.

However, the active meaning appears more frequently, especially when the infinitive takes an object (*slíbit někomu dárek*); in such cases the action is understood to be exerted upon the object and therefore one presupposes the existence of an agent (subject). But this concept of the infinitive as specifically active (not passive) is derived from its syntactic context and is not expressed by the infinitive form itself; the infinitive itself is neutral as far as voice is concerned.

The infinitive can also have a modal meaning, for example that of a command or wish (*Sednout! Platit!*), necessity or possibility, esp. together with modal auxiliary verbs (cf. below). However, the infinitive acquires such modal meanings only through usage; they are not part of the meaning of the infinitive itself, as they are in the case of the imperative and the conditional.

4. Because of its so restricted number of obligatory grammatical meanings, the infinitive can fulfil many different roles in the sentence. In mononuclear sentences it can be the basic sentence element, but this occurs more rarely in binary sentences -- aside from cases where the infinitive is joined to auxiliary verbs -- in which the infinitive is more frequently a secondary complement.

In mononuclear sentences the infinitive occurs without copula in the meaning of a command, desire, exclamation or deliberation (Platit! Tak začínat! Co dělat?), or with the copula in the meaning of possibility or necessity (je slyšet hudbu, z toho je vidět, etc.); cf. §134.2 and §180.2.

In binary sentences the infinitive can serve as subject (Vychovávat lidi je umění, see §188.1), as object or adverbial determiner (slíbil se vrátit včas, šel nakoupit, see §194.3 and §198.3b), and as attribute (touha vrátit se domů, see §195.3).

In the predicate the infinitive can occasionally stand alone, as in já tam být (tak se to nestane), but is more frequent when combined with auxiliary modal and phasal verbs (chci jít, začínám psát), see §117.1 and §189.

The role of the infinitive is more complicated in the case of the so-called secondary object, such as in slyšíme slavíka zpívat and in such combinations as je čas povečeřet, byli tu zvát etc.; cf. details in §194.6 and §198.3b.

The infinitive can also take modifiers of its own, in which case there arise semiphrasal infinitive constructions like mít čas, byl bych přišel, etc.; cf. §200.

Bibliography. On the infinitive in general see *Poldauf* 1954a 1955a, *Hrabě* 1955, *Trávníček* 1955; further, K.F. *Svoboda* 1959, *Poldauf* 1959 (with the polemic between *Poldauf* 1960 and K.F. *Svoboda* 1960a); *Skalička* 1958 is basic, cf. also K.F. *Svoboda* 1960b, *Dokulil* 1949 (and, polemically, *Trávníček* 1950, *Horálek's* comparative study 1953b. In general see the monographs K. *Svoboda* 1962, *Ružička* 1956a and *Porák* 1967.

§136. The gerunds express aspect and voice, and also relative tense (see §133), number, and partially gender. The active gerunds have simple forms (only passive gerunds can have compound forms; cf. §137.3).

1. Gerunds express an action which accompanies, or completes the basic action expressed by the verb of the sentence's predicate. It always refers to the subject of this main verb, and agrees with this subject in number, and in the singular also in gender.

2. According to their *forms* there are two kinds of gerund: the *present gerund* (*nesa, nesouc, nesouce*) and the *past gerund* (*přines, přinesši, přinesše*).

According to their *meaning* there are three kinds of gerund: the *present gerund* of imperfective verbs (*nesa*,...), the *future gerund*, that is, the present-form gerund of perfective verbs (*přinesa*), and the *past gerund* of perfective verbs (*přines*,...); the past gerund is not now usually formed from imperfective verbs.

3. The gerunds express either an action which is *simultaneous* with that of the main verb, or an action which is *anterior* to this main action.

An *action simultaneous* to that of the main verb (regardless of whether the latter is in the past, present, or future) is expressed by the present imperfective gerund.

E.g. *Házel proutky do vody, dívaje se za nimi*. *Házela proutky do vody; dívajíc se za nimi*. *Házeli proutky do vody, dívajíce se za nimi*. -- *Hází proutky do vody, dívaje se za nimi*. -- *Bude házet proutky do vody, dívaje se za nimi*.

Anterior action is expressed by the perfective-aspect gerund; if it is anterior to an action in the past, the past gerund is used; if it is anterior to an action in the future, the present perfective gerund is used (this form is now rare and archaic). E.g. *Přistoupiv k chodcům, zeptal se na cestu*. *Přistoupivši k oknu, dívala se do zahrad*. *Přistoupivše blíže, poznali jsme je.* -- *Vyslechna mou obranu, rozsud', otče*! *Vyslechnouc mou obranu, rozsud', matko! Vyslechnouce mou obranu, rozsud'te!*

4. The gerunds can take modifiers just as do the main predicate verbs; the combination of gerunds with such modifiers is called a gerundive clause (on gerundive clauses and on the sentence function of the gerund, see §199).

5. Gerunds are now used only in the written language (~~primarily~~ more frequently the present ~~and~~ than the past gerunds), especially in artistic or professional prose. They do not occur in the spoken variety of the literary language.

Fixed forms of gerunds occur more frequently; these do not agree with the subject of the main action nor even with the presumed subject of the action they themselves express. Their presumed subject need not be identical with that of the main verb, (as is the case with gerunds proper), but are used absolutely (independently). Such forms have become fixed in either masc. or fem. sing., for ex. *počínaje (počínajíc) zítřkem, vstupuje v platnost nový jízdní řád*; *podle toho soudě (soudíc)*,...; *nehledě (nehledíc) k tomu...* .

Such fixed gerunds have become prepositions (e.g. *vyjma*, arch. *vyjmouc*, with the accusative) or adverbs (e.g. *leže, sedě, chtě nechtě*); see §162.7c and §166.

The spoken literary language uses only these adverbialized forms (*leže*,...), which acquire the form of adverbial expressions: *vleže, vsedě*,... .

The term 'participle' is sometimes used for both the participles and the gerunds of Czech; the latter are also known as 'transgressives'.

§137. 1. The *present participle* is formed from the present stem (see §143 below).

a) In verbs with 3rd person plur. in -*ou* the gerund has the endings -*a* (masc.), -*ouc* (fem. and neut.) and -*ouce* (plur., all genders), for ex. *(nes-ou) nes-a, nes-ouc*, *nes-ouce*.

b) In verbs with 3rd person plur. in *-í*, *-ejí* (*ějí*), *-ají* the gerund ends in *-e* (or *-ě*), *-eje* (*-ěje*), *-aje* (masc.), *-íc*, *-ejíc* (*-ějíc*), *-ajíc* (fem. and neut.), *-íce*, *-ejíce* (*-ějíce*), *-ajíce* (plur.), for ex. (*pros-í*) *pros-e*, *pros-íc*, *pros-íce*.

Present gerund forms:

	singular		plural
(*3rd plur.*)	*masc.*	*fem. and neut.*	
(nesou)	nesa	nesouc	nesouce
(berou)	bera	berouc	berouce
(píší)	píše	píšíc	píšíce
(tisknou)	tiskna	tisknouc	tisknouce
(kryjí)	kryje	kryjíc	kryjíce
(prosí)	prose	prosíc	prosíce
(trpí)	trpě	trpíc	trpíce
(sázejí)	sázeje	sázejíc	sázejíce
(dělají)	dělaje	dělajíc	dělajíce

Remember the gerunds *vida, vidouc* (from *vidět, vidí*), *věda, vědouc (vědět, vědí), jeda, jedouc (jíst, jedí)*, *jsa, jsouc (být, jsou)*, but *daje, dajíc, dajíce* (from *dát, dají*).

2. The *past gerund* is as a rule formed only from the past stem of perfective verbs (see §143 below).

a) If the past stem ends in a consonant, the past gerund has a zero ending in the masc., -*ši* in the fem. and neut., and -*še* in the plur., for ex. (past tense *vynes-l*) *vynes, vynes-ši, vynes-še*.

b) If the past stem ends in a vowel, the past gerund ends in -*v* (masc.), -*vši* (fem. and neut.) and -*vše* (plur.), for ex. (past tense *vykona-l*) *vykonav, vykonavši, vykonavše*.

The forms in -*v*, -*vši*, -*vše* also occur in verbs of the type *tisknout* with past stem ending in a consonant; the gerund inserts -*nu*- before the endings -*v* etc., e.g. (past tense *přitisk-l*) *přitisknuv*, *přitisknuvši*, *přitisknuvše*.

Past gerund forms:

singular		plural
masc.	fem. and neut.	
vynes	vynesši	vynesše
vybrav	vybravši	vybravše
napsav	napsavši	napsavše
minuv	minuvši	minuvše
přitisknuv	přitisknuvši	přitisknuvše
pokryv	pokryvši	pokryvše
utrpěv	utrpěvši	utrpěvše
vyprosiv	vyprosivši	vyprosivše
vysázev	vysázevši	vysázevše
rozkázav	rozkázavši	rozkázavše

3. The *passive gerund* is formed from the *passive participle*, which in the case of the present passive gerund is combined with the present gerund of *být* (*jsa*, *jsouc*, *jsouce*) and in the case of the past passive gerund with the past gerund of the same verb (*byv, byvši, byvše*): *jsa nesen, jsa volán, jsa vyvolán, byv vyvolán etc.*, e.g. *Žák jsa tázán odpovídá hlasitě. Podvodník, byv otázán na tu věc, nevěděl, jak odpovědět*.

More often, however, this same function is fulfilled by the passive participle alone, without the gerund of the auxiliary *být*, e.g. *Nezván na hody nechod'. Běžel domů, volán úzkostlivým křikem. Procházeli ulicemi, pozdravováni tisícovými davy*. -- *Zastavil se udiven. Pán rozmrzen pravil. Seděli odvráceni od sebe. Osvěženi dlouhou procházkou, usedli jsme znovu k práci*.

Simultaneous action is rendered by the passive participle of the imperfective verb (*jsa trestán*) and anterior action by that of the perfective verb (*jsa, byv potrestán*) but sometimes also by that of the imperfective (*nezván, byv tázán*), which in such cases has a resultative meaning and can therefore express anteriority (Cf. §136).

> In the same way the participle of reflexive verbs can be used in an active meaning (*rozmrzen* from *rozmrzet se*); see §138.2.

§138. The *past participle* and the *passive participle* express aspect and only one voice (the past participle is of the active voice), as well as ~~and also~~ number and gender (masc. animate and inanimate, feminine, neuter); the past participle also expresses tense ~~as well~~. Both participles are as a rule used in the nominal forms.

The *past participle* forms part of certain past tense and conditional forms (*přišel jsem* etc.; *přišel bych, byl bych přišel* etc.; see §131.3 and §134.3).

> In the 3rd person (*přišel, přišli*) the participle resembles the simple definite forms; cf. §129.2.

The passive participle occurs in passive periphrastic constructions (*je volán*), both definite (*je volán, buď volán, byl bych volán; je dosaženo, bylo dosaženo*) and indefinite (the infinitive *být volán* and the gerunds *jsa volán, byv volán*).

> This participle also occurs, more rarely, in the periphrastic perfect of the type *mám uvařeno*, cf. §132.3.

The past and perfect participles agree with the subject not only in number but also, as adjectives, in gender and (in the plural masculine) in animation. Gender and animation are expressed in the participle by endings congruent with those of the nominal forms of adjectives (partially they are distinguished only in spelling: -i vs. -y). In this respect the participles are nominal forms, and are therefore sometimes called the nominal forms of the verb.

singular

masc.	fem.	neut.
-l (hoch pracoval)	-la (dívka pracovala)	-lo (děvče pracovalo)
-(e)n, -t (hoch je chválen, umyt)	-(e)na, -ta (dívka je chválena, umyta	-(e)no, -to (děvče je chváleno, umyto)

plural

masc. anim.	fem.	neut.
-li (hoši pracovali)	-ly (dívky pracovaly)	-la (děvčata pracovala
-(e)ni, -ti (hoši jsou chváleni, umyti)	-(e)ny, -ty (dívky jsou chváleny, umyty)	-(e)na, -ta (děvčata jsou chválena, umyta).

masc. inanim.
-ly (doly soutěžily)
-(e)ny, -ty (štětce jsou uloženy, vymyty)

1. The past participle is formed by adding the suffix -l (-la, -lo,...) to the past stem; cf. §143.

> In Common Czech the suffix -l (but not -la, -lo...) is omitted when the past stem ends in a consonant (nes,

moh, *ved*,...); such forms are penetrating the spoken variety of literary Czech, especially in Bohemia.

The passive participle is formed by the suffixes -*en*, -*n*, and -*t* (-*ena*, -*na*, -*ta*,...).

The suffix -*en* occurs with verbs whose past stem ends in a consonant or in the thematic vowel -*i*- (*nes-l - nesen*, *tisk-l - tištěn*, *pros-i-l - prošen*).

The suffixes -*n* and -*t* occur in words whose past stem ends in a vowel other than -*i*-, or in -*i*- if the latter is part of the root and not a thematic vowel (e.g. *bi-t*) (*brán, mazán, třen, kupován, trpěn, sázen, dělán; minut, kryt, bit, mlet*).

2. The past participle can be formed from all verbs. It occurs only in the compound past tense and the conditional mood forms (cf. above); in another usage it resembles a compound adjective and is -- rarely -- a verbal adjective, such as *přišlý* etc., or already a genuine adjective such as *bývalý, uznalý* (cf. §139 below).

The passive participle is formed primarily from objective verbs, just as is the periphrastic passive (see §124.1,2). It is not generally formed from objectless and purely reflexive verbs, such as *bát se někoho, dozvědět se něco* etc.; there are however exceptions to this rule, cf. (*je*) *tázán* from *tázati se, dotazován, obáván, posmíván, vysmíván*, etc.

If the passive participles are formed from other reflexive verbs, such as *uplakán, rozkročen, najeden, napit, vyspaný*, they do not have a passive meaning; the same holds true for a few isolated passive participles formed from objectless verbs, e.g. *napadaný (ovoce napadáno zůstalo ležet v sadu)*. Such participles are not used in the periphrastic passive; they tend to become simple adjectives (see §139).

Passive participles occur both in the periphrastic passive (and in the colloquial tense type *mám uvařeno*) and independently; they also have a gerundive function and form gerundive clauses (to the extent that they have the meaning of an action, cf. §137.3 and §199); otherwise, they can become verbal adjectives and, if the meaning of action is lost, simple adjectives (see §139).

Such usage and such transition to the category of adjectives is simplified by the fact that the compound form of the adjective is possible (and in everyday speech as it were the only possible form.)

For details about the formation of participles in individual verbal types see §149 ff.

§139.1. *Verbal adjectives* are formed from the present gerund and from the passive participle; they have the forms of compound adjectives, such as *souvisící, zápasící, připravený, vžitý*, etc.

Verbal adjectives formed from the present gerund preserve their verbal constructions, for ex. *připravující plán - připravovat plán, jednající o plánu - jednat o plánu* etc., and also preserve their aspect (they are however as a rule formed only from imperfective verbs). Such verbal adjectives sometimes become simple adjectives, e.g. *nehynoucí sláva, nevidoucí*, etc.

Verbal adjectives formed from passive participles, to the extent that they preserve the meaning of an action, also preserve their aspect (for ex. *připravený - připravovaný, snížený - snižovaný*, etc.), in contradistinction to those which have become genuine simple adjectives, like *nadutý (člověk)*; such verbal adjectives indicate, like other adjectives, a quality, but one seen as the result of an action: *malovaný, vařený, plněný, pečený, strouhaný* (specifically 'having been painted', not just 'painted', 'having been cooked, baked, filled, scraped' etc.).

2. Verbal adjectives can also be formed from the past gerund, but only rarely and bookishly as for ex. *vykonavší, dokázavší* etc. Such verbal adjectives preserve their verbal constructions, e.g. *pozbyvší všechno* -

pozbýt všechno, dosáhnuvší cíle - dosáhnout cíle, etc.

3. Verbal adjectives are only rarely formed from the past participle, e.g. *bratr právě přišlý, stromek vyrostlý ve špatné půdě*; in most cases these forms are already simple adjectives, which have lost the meaning of actions, such as *znalý, uznalý trvalý, spadlý, urostlý*, etc.

> Such verbal adjectives are as a rule formed from objectless verbs, e.g. *spadlý, zbylý* etc. They do not have completely verbal constructions (cf. *znalý pravidel - znát pravidla*) and can differ in voice from their verbal bases (cf. *podezřelý* 'he who is suspected', *posedlý*, etc.).
>
> Genuine simple adjectives formed from both participles do not express verbal voice at all; adjectives in -*lý* can have a "passive" meaning, for ex. *jedlý - nejedlý*; those in -*ný* (-*tý*) can have an "active" meaning, for ex. *ovoce napadané*; sometimes there is no difference between the forms in -*lý* and those in -*ný* (-*tý*), for ex. *rozechvělý - rozechvěný, proděravělý - proděravěný, ojínělý - ojíněný, ochranulý* - (more usually) *ochrnutý*, etc.; in folk speech cf. *minutá zima* beside *minulá zima*; cf. §93.5c above.

4. Verbal adjectives can take modifiers and thus form participial constructions (cf. §~~200.2~~199).

§140. *Verbal substantives* are formed by adding the suffix *-í* to the passive participle: *nesen - nesení*, *mazán - mazání, kryt - krytí*. They are also formed from verbs which do not have passive participles, e.g. *bolení*, *mizení, hovění, stání* (from *stát, stojím), bání, usmání, (u)sednutí, (u)lehnutí, vyschnutí* etc.; the forms of the verbal substantive are based on the (non-existent) participial forms.

The verbal substantive thus has the suffixes *-(e)ní*, *-tí* (either simple or compound; cf. above).

> Verbal substantives are not formed from all stative verbs; there are none, for ex., from *stát se, růst*, *náležet* etc. -- They do however usually exist from reflexive verbs, e.g. *najedení, napití, vyspání*, *rozmýšlení*, etc.; they are more frequently formed from reflexive verbs than are passive participles.
>
> > On certain formations with vocalic alternations (e.g. *napětí - napjatý*) or with a difference in form between the participle and the verbal substantive (e.g. *najmutí - najat*), see the appropriate conjugation models, especially §154.

Verbal substantives have the meaning of verbal actions. They differ from other names of actions (derived from verbs, such as *chůze, volba* etc.; see §51.3) in that they express aspect (*snížení cen - snižování cen, plnění plánu - splnění plánu*, etc.). Verbal substantives also usually retain their verbal constructions, except for constructions with the accusative, which are changed to genitive constructions, e.g. *dosáhnout cíle - dosažení cíle, odporovat zlu - odporování zlu, zápolit s překážkami - zápolení s překážkami*; but *uzavřít smlouvu - uzavření smlouvy, psát dopisy - psaní dopisů*, etc.

Verbal substantives from reflexive verbs do not generally have the particles *se*, *si*, for ex. *rozmýšlení* from *rozmýšlet se, loučení* from *loučit se, povšimnutí* from *povšimnout si*. The reflexive particles *se*, *si* are retained only if necessary to distinguish the given verbal substantive from a similar one formed from a non-reflexive verb: *učení se cizím jazykům* vs. *učení (=vyučování* 'teaching') *cizím jazykům*.

> The meanings of some verbal substantives have developed to the point where they no longer designate actions but rather objects (often the result of actions): *psaní = dopis* 'letter', *ležení = tábor* 'encampment', etc. Cf. the similar development of norms of action in general in §51.3b.

Verbal inflection (conjugation)

§141. *Verbal forms* are either simple (various forms of one and the same word, formed by inflection) or compound (formed by combining the main verb, bearing the lexical meaning, with an auxiliary verb, namely with a form of the verb *být* or, more rarely, *bývat*; see §43.3 and §129). In Czech it is only the verbs which have compound forms; we shall examine them further in §161 below.

> On a special type of compound verb form with the reflexive particles *se*, *si* see §129.2 and the discussion of the reflexive form of the verb and of reflexive verbs in §126 and §127.

A. Simple forms

§142. *Simple verb forms* are formed by adding suffixes and endings to the verb stem, which has two forms (see below).

1. In the *definite simple forms*, which express person and number, endings are added to the verb stem; these endings express person and number and are therefore known as *personal endings*.

> The formation of simple forms designating number and person by means of personal endings is called *conjugation*; this term is however often used (as in this grammar) to denote all verbal forms.

The personal endings are only partially the same among all verbs; there are three sets of endings:

singular

1st per.	-u or -i	-ím	-ám
2nd pers.	-eš	-íš	-áš
3rd pers.	-e	-í	-á

plural

1st pers.	-em(e)	-íme	-áme
2nd pers.	-ete	-íte	-áte
3rd pers.	-ou or -í	-í or -ejí (-ějí)	-ájí

Endings of the first type occur in verbs like *nesu, kryji, neseš, kryješ*,... *nesou,kryjí*. Endings of the second type occur with verbs like *prosím, trpím, sázím, prosíš*...; the third person plural can be not only *prosí, trpí*, but also *sázejí, umějí*. The third type of ending occurs in verbs like *dělám, děláš*... .

> The double 1st plur. ending -*eme*, -*em* occurs only in the first type of verb (*neseme, nesem*); in verbs of the second and third types the 1st pers. sing. endings -*ím*, -*ám* exclude the appearance of -*m* in the 1st pers. plur. In the first type (*neseme/nesem, mineme/minem, kryjeme/kryjem*) both endings occur equally in the written language, but the shorter

-*em* is more frequent in the spoken variety of the literary language.

Regular verbs are divided into classes according to their declension type; see §144 ff. below.

There are a few verbs with partially deviant endings, especially the verb *být* (*jsem, jsi*...). On such irregular verbs see §160.

Note. On the further division of the endings *-e-š*, *-í-š*, *-á-š*, *-e-me*, *-í-me*, *-á-me* etc., from the historical point of view, into a thematic vowel -*e*-, -*í*-, -*á*- serving as a stem formant, and the endings proper -*š*-, -*m(e)* etc., and also on the reasons for the irregular endings of *jsem* etc., see the note in §144.

These forms with personal endings express, in addition to person and number, indicative mood and present tense (in imperfective verbs; in perfective verbs the same forms express future tense); they are therefore called the present-tense forms.

2. The *imperative*, which does not have special forms for all persons of both numbers, but only for the 2nd pers. sing. and plur. and the 1st pers. plur., has somewhat different endings, although in the plural they end in the same -*me*, -*te*.

The imperative endings, which (with the restrictions just mentioned) express person, number, and the imperative mood, are not the same for all verbs, but are of three types:

	I	II	III
sing. 2nd pers.	(no ending)	-i	-ej
plur. 1st pers.	-me	-ěme (-eme)	-ejme
2nd pers.	-te	-ěte (-ete)	-ejte

Endings of the first type occur with verbs like *nes, nesme, neste, maž*..., *kryj*..., *kupuj*..., *pros*..., *trp*..., those of the second with verbs like *prostři, prostřeme, prostřete (jdi, jděme, jděte), tiskni, tiskněme, tiskněte*, and those of the third type with verbs like *sázej, sázejme, sázejte, dělej, dělejme, dělejte.*

The third type of imperative (*sázej* etc.)occurs with all verbs whose 3rd plur. endings are -*ejí* (-*ěji*) or -*ají*, for which *sázet* and *dělat* can serve as models. Among other verbs the first type (*nes*..., *kryj*...) is the most frequent -- with the exception of those cases where these endings would create difficulties in pronunciation, such as unusual consonant clusters or the reduction of a word to consonants alone; for this reason the second kind of ending occurs in the verb type *tisknout* (*tiskni, zalkni se*, etc.) and also verbs of various other types such as *jdi, hni se, neřvi, pozvi, bdi, mysli* etc. Such forms are discussed in more detail in §148 ff.

Note. The remaining forms are compound; see §161.

3. The indefinite simple forms are formed by suffixation: the infinitive takes -t or -ti (nés-t, nés-ti, kupova-t), the past participle has -l (nes-l, kupova-l), and the passive participle adds -n, -en, and -t etc.; in the participles, and partially in the gerunds, additional endings are added to denote number and gender (see §138). Since the indefinite form suffixes are by and large the same; they are discussed in the general section on indefinite forms in §135 above.

These suffixes (with their endings) are added to stems which differ in some cases from those to which the personal endings are added.

§143. The verb stems to which are added the personal endings of the definite forms and the suffixes of the indefinite forms are of two types: the present stem and the past stem.

1. The present stem is obtained by removing the personal endings (for ex. in the 3rd pers. sing. nes-e, tiskn-e, kryj-e, pros-í, děl-á).

The past stem is obtained by removing the past participle suffix (for ex. nes-l, bra-l, maza-l, tisk-l, kry-l, prosi-l, trpě-l, sáze-l, děla-l, kupova-l).

In some verbs the present and past stems are identical (cf. *nes-e, nes-l*), but they are more frequently different. Either the present stem has a stem-forming suffix -*n(e)*, -*j(e)*, -*uj(e)* which is absent in the past stem (cf. *tisk-n-e* and *tisk-l*, *kry-j-e* and *kry-l*, *kup-uj-e* and *kup-ova-l*), or the past stem has its own stem formant -*nu*-, -*e*- (-*ě*-), -*i*-, -*a*-, -*ova*- (cf. *mi-nu-l* and *mi-ne*, *sáz-e-l* and *sáz-í*, *trp-ě-l* and *trp-í*, *pros-i-l* and *pros-í*, *děl-a-l* and *děl-á*, *br-a-l* and *ber-e*, *maz-a-l* and *maž-e*, *kup-ova-l* and *kup-uj-e*).

> On the history of the present stem and on the thematic suffixes see the note in §144.

2. The *present stem* serves as the base for all definite simple forms, namely the present indicative and the imperative forms, and for one of the indefinite forms, the present gerund. For ex. *děl-ám, děl-áš*...; *děl-ej*..; *děl-aje*...

The remaining indefinite forms are based on the past stem, namely the past and passive participles, the past gerund, and the infinitive. For ex. *děla-l*..., *dělá-n*...; *rozděla-v*..; *děla-t(i)*.

§144. Verb conjugations are divided into five classes according to the 3rd pers. sing. endings -e, -ne, -je, -í, -á:

I.	-e	(nes-e)
II.	-ne	(tisk-ne)
III.	-je	(kupu-je)
IV.	-í	(pros-í)
V.	-á	(děl-á)

The conjugation is thus divided according to the vowel ending of the 3rd sing., -e, -í, -á and within the -e class, according to whether the -e stands alone or is preceded by the stem formant -n- or (u)j-.

Within these principal conjugation classes -- except V -- we distinguish several subtypes, according to the remaining present tense forms and according to the form of the past stem.

1. According to their present-tense forms, the I and IV classes are divided into the following types:

Ia) a hard type, which has an unchanged consonant preceding the ending: nes-e, ber-e -- nes-l, bra-l;

Ib) a soft type, which has a palatalized consonant before the ending of the present: maž-e- -- maza-l;

Ic) a mixed type, in which the stem consonant is palatalized only in some forms: peč-e but pek-u and peč-u, pek-a, pek-ouc -- pek-l, umř-e but umr-u and umř-u, umr-a, *umr-ouc* -- *umř-e-l*;

IV a) verbs with the 3rd person plur. in -*í*: *pros-í trp-í*, 3rd plur. *pros-í, trp-í;*

IV b) verbs with 3rd plur. in -*ejí*: *sáz-í*, 3rd plur. *sázejí*.

Types IVa and IVb are also distinguished by their imperative and present gerund forms: *pros, prosme, proste*, and *trp, trpme, trpte* but *sázej, sázejme, sázejte; prose, prosíc, prosíce* and *trpě, trpíc, trpíce* but *sázeje, sázejíc, sázejíce*.

2. According to their past stem, verbs of classes I, II and III are divided into those with a stem formant and those without one:

I-1) *nes-e -- nes-l*, *peč-e -- pek-l*, but

I-2) *ber-e - br-a-l*, *maž-e - maz-a-l*, *umř-e - umř-e-l*;

II-1) *tisk-ne - tisk-l* but (II-2) *min-e - mi-nu-l*;

III-1) *kry-je - kry-l* but (III-2) *kup-uje - kup-ova-l*.

Verbs of class IV have a past stem either with the formant -*i*- or with -*e*- (-*ě*-):(IV-1) *prosí - pros-i-l*, but (IV-2) *trpí - trp-ě-l* and (IV-3) *sází - sáz-e-l*.

Class II includes the irregular type *začne (zajme)* - *začal (zajal)*.

Only in Class V do all verbs have the same present tense forms and the same past stem, so that this class contains only the one type *děl-á, děl-a-l, dělat*.

Note. From the point of view of their origin the personal endings of the present tense can be further analyzed. The endings -*eš*, -*íš*, -*áš*, -*eme*, -*íme*, -*áme*, -*ete*, -*íte*, -*áte* obviously have common elements -*š*, -*me*, -*te* and differing elements -*e*-, -*í*-, -*á*-. These differing vowels -*e*-, -*í*-, -*á*- were originally thematic vowels identifying the present tense; the 3rd sing. forms (*nes-e*, etc.) were actually forms without any personal ending. Verbs can thus be divided into the five classes (in -*e*, -*ne*, -*je*, -*í*, -*á*) also from the historical point of view. The -*á*- of class V resulted from contraction of an original -*aje*-(cf. Russian делаешь and see §20.3 and §240.1); the type *dělá* originally belonged to class III, in -*je* (*děla-l*, present *děla-je-š* etc.). The suffix -*í*- of class IV arose partially from an older -*ié* (from long *ě*) resulting from contraction of -*ěje* (*uměje* cf. Russian умеешь), partly from the vowel shift (Cz. *přehláska*) of *á* to *ie*: *sázíš* from older *sázieš* from earlier ~~and al~~so *sázáš* -- but here too the long -*á*- comes from a contraction of -*aje*-; here too the original stem was in -*je*- (*uměje-, sázaje-*).

In the 1st sing. and 3rd plur. endings the old stem vowel has combined with the personal endings into a single ending which is no longer divisible (the endings -*ím*, -*ám* are secondary; see §241.5), but the 3rd plur., imperative and present gerund forms still show clear traces of their former -*aje*, -*eje*- (-*ěje*) stems: cf. *dělají, sázejí* (from older *sáźajú*), *umějí; dělej*..., *sázej* (from older *dělaj*, *sáźaj*), *uměj*; *dělaje...sázeje, (ne)uměje*.

One small group of verbs had no stem formant at all in the present tense (cf. *js-me, js-te* and *nes-e-me*, *nes-e-te*); these were the so-called athematic verbs *být*, *vědět*, *jíst* and *dát*, which have however for the most part acquired new, secondary forms; see §160.

§145. If verbs are grouped according to the past stem, they fall into six classes.

Verbs of the *first class* have no stem formant. The past stem can end (a) in a consonant, e.g. *nést* (*nesl*), *péci (pekl)* or (b) in a vowel, e.g. *krýt (kryl)*, *umřít (umřel), začít (začal)*.

The other classes contain verbs which add a stem formant in the past; this formant distinguishes the past from the present stem. The following types occur:

The *second class* has the stem formant -*nou*- -*nu*-; the suffix -*nou*- is added in the infinitive to stems ending (a) in a consonant (type *tisknout, tiskl*) or (b) in a vowel (type *minout, minul*); these types are also distinguished by the fact that in the type *tisknout* the past stem occurs in some forms without the -*nou*- (*tiskl, tištěn*). This class is identical with the second class of verbs classified according to the present-tense forms.

The *third class* has the stem formant -*e*- (-*ě*-): *trpět (trpěl), sázet (sázel)*.

The *fourth class* has the formant -*i*-: *prosit (prosil)*.

The *fifth class* has the formant -*a*-: *dělat (dělal), mazat (mazal), brát (bral)*.

The *sixth class* has the formant -*ova*-: *kupovat (kupoval)*.

The first and fifth groups are further divided according to their present-tense forms. Within the first group there are the types *nést - nese*, *péci - peče, krýt - kryje, umřít - umru/umře, začít - začne*. The fifth class contains the types *dělat - dělá, mazat - maže, brát - bere*. The third class can be subdivided according to the 3rd pers. plur. forms into the types *trpět - trpí, sázet - sázejí (umět - umějí)*.

§146. Outline of verb classes based on the past stem:

1st class: no past-stem formant

a) consonantal stem

nést(i)	nesl	nese
péci	pekl	peče

b) vocalic stem

krýt(i)	kryl	kryje
umřít(i)	umřel	umře
začít(i)	začal	začne

2nd class: stem formant -nou- (-nu-)

a) consonantal stem

tisknout(i)	tiskl	tiskne

b) vocalic stem

minout(i)	minul	mine

3rd class: stem formant -e-, -ě-

trpět(i)	trpěl	trpí (3rd plur. trpí
sázet(i)	sázel	sází (3rd plur. sázejí)

4th class: stem formant -i-

prosit(i)	prosil	prosí

5th class: stem formant -a-

dělat(i)	dělal	dělá
mazat(i)	mazal	maže
brát(i)	bral	bere

6th class: stem formant -ova

kupovat(i)	kupoval	kupuje

Since the classification of verbs based on the present stem has subdivisions based on the past stem, while that based on the past stem has subdivisions based on the present stem, the individual verb types are the same in both classificatory schemes.

§147. Outline of regular verb classes (based on the 3rd pers. sing. present-tense forms with subdivisions based on the past-tense stem and the remaining present forms).

Class I: 3rd pers. sing. -e

a) hard type

1.	nese	nesl	nést(i)
2.	bere	bral	brát(i)

b) soft type

3.	maže, (mažu and maži	mazal	mazat(i)

c) mixed type

4.	peče (peču and peku)	pekl	péci
5.	umře (umřu and umru)	umřel	umřít(i)

Class II: 3rd sing. -ne

a) regular types

1.	tiskne	tiskl	tisknout(i)
2.	mine	minul	minout(i)

b) irregular type

3.	začne, {zajme}	začal, {zajal}	začít(i), {zajmout(i)}

Class III: 3rd sing. -je

1.	kryje	kryl	krýt(i)
2.	kupuje	kupoval	kupovat(i)

Class IV: 3rd sing. -í-

1.	prosí (3rd plur. prosí)	prosil	prosit(i)
2.	trpí (3rd plur. trpí)	trpěl	trpět(i)
3.	sází (3rd plur. sázejí)	sázel	sázet(i)

Class V: 3rd sing. -á-

dělá	dělal	dělat(i)

Verbs which have present-tense forms fitting one of the above types but which have deviant past-tense forms, are classed according to their present tense:

jde, jede (šel, jít; jel, jet): Class I, type nese;

spí, stojí, bojí se (spal, stál, bál se): Class IV, type trpí;

má (měl): Class V

There remain four irregular verbs: je - byt(i), chce - chtít(i), jí - jíst(i), ví - vědět(i).

Class I verbs - type nese, bere; maže, peče, umře

§148. Class I contains verbs with 3rd sing. pres. ending -e and no stem formant in the present.

The ending -e is preceded sometimes by a hard consonant (hard types: nese, bere), sometimes by a soft consonant (*soft* type: *maže*), sometimes by either hard or soft consonants (*mixed* types: *peče, peču* and *peku, peka*; *umře, umřu* and *umru, umra*).

Some verbs of Class I have the past stem without a stem formant, i.e. identical with the present stem: *nes-l - nes-e, pek-l - peč-e (pek-u)*, while in others the past tense contains a stem formant -*a*- or -*e*-: *br-a-l - ber-e, maz-a-l - maž-e, umř-e-l - umř-e.*

In the hard and mixed types all verbs with identical present and past stems belong to one variety (type 1, *nese - nesl* and type 4, *peče - pekl*), and all verbs with past stem formants -*a*- (-*á*-) and -*e*- (-*í*-)belong to another variety (type 2, *bere - bral, brát* and type 5, *umře - umřel, umřít*). The soft type, however, is always the same, with past-stem formant -*a*- (type *maže - mazal*).

§149. Hard types: *1. nese* (*nes-l, nést/nésti*)
2. bere (*bral, brát/bráti*)

Present indicative

	singular		plural	
1.	nesu	beru	nesem(e)	berem(e)
2.	neseš	bereš	nesete	berete
3.	nese	bere	nesou	berou

Imperative

	singular	plural
1.	---	nesme (čtěme) berme (rveme and rvěme)
2.	nes (čti) ber (rvi)	neste (čtěte) berte (rvete and rvěte)

Present gerund nesa, nesouc, nesouce

bera, berouc, berouce

Past participle (past tense) nesl, bral

Passive participle nesen, brán

Past gerund dones, donesši, donesše

sebrav, sebrávši, sebravše

Infinitive nést(i) brát(i)

The imperative in -i, -eme, -ete (-ěme, -ěte) occurs only in verbs whose stem ends in a consonant cluster, such as čti, čtěme, čtěte, jdi, jděme, jděte, neřvi..., pozvi... neštvi, ..., cpi,... . If such a consonant cluster ends in a labial (v, p), as in řvi, pozvi, nacpi se,... the plural imperative can have either -eme, -ete or -ěme, -ěte, but the latter is already bookish (or dialectal) and is going out of use; neřveme, neřvete, pozvete, nacpeme se, nacpete se are more usual than neřvěme, neřvěte, pozvěte, nacpěme se, nacpěte se.

In the imperative of the type *nes, neste, ber, berte* stems ending in a dental consonant (*d, t, n*) soften this consonant (to *d', t', ň*), e.g. *ved', ved'me, ved'te, plet', jed', žeň*,... .

Notes on the type *nese* (nesl, nést/nésti):

Verbs whose stems end in *-d*, *-t* (*-st*) have the infinitive in -*st(i)*, for ex. *vede - vést(i), plete - plést(i)*, *roste - růst(i)*

Individual verbs:

kvete - kvetl has the infinitives *kvést* and *kvíst*.

hněte - hnětl has the infinitive *hníst*.

přede - předl has the infinitive *příst* and, in the contemporary language, present-tense forms in -*e*, *předu, předeš*,...; forms in -*a* are archaic (*přadu, přadeš*,...).

břede (zabřede) - bředl (zabředl) has the infinitive *břísti (zabřísti)*; *břísti* is archaic and *zabřísti*, *vybřísti* are bookish; these verbs are being replaced by the Class II verbs *vybředne, zabředne* - *vybřednout, zabřednout*.

hryze - hryzl has the infinitive *hrýzti*, but its present forms are archaic and being replaced by forms of *hryzat*.

čte - četl has the infinitive číst and the past participle četl, čtla, čtlo... or četla, četlo...; the passive participle is only čten,... .

roste - rostl has the infinitive růst.

třese has the past stem třás-: třásl, infinitive třást, but passive participle třesen.

zebe has the past stem záb-; záblo, infinitive zábst

The verbs jde, jede are conjugated according to the type nese only in the present tense; their past tense forms are irregular: šel, šla, ... přišed,... jít; jel, ..., dojev, ..., zajet, ... jet.

Remember the passive participles nesen, vezen etc. but čten.

Notes on the type bere (brál, brát/bráti)

Some verbs have an -e- in their present stem which is absent from the past stem, for ex. bere - bral, dere - dral, pere - pral, žere - žral, stele - stlal, žene - hnal. Others have no such difference between the two stems, e.g. rve - rval, řve - řval, štve - štval, cpe - cpal, zve - zval, tepe - tepal, etc.

Some verbs of the type dělá (dělal, dělat) ending in a labial (b, p, m, v) have present-tense forms of both types (dělá and bere), e.g. dřímá, hýbá, koupá se, loupá, skřípá, zobá and dříme, hýbe, koupe se, loupe, skřípe, zobe; such verbs, however, always have the imperative and the present gerund of the type dělaje: skřípej, skřípaje; zobej, zobaje etc.; cf. §159.

Individual verbs:

mele - mlel, mlít has the formant -e- in the past stem; passive participle mlet.

zve - zval, zvát in the present tense the regular forms zvu, zveš,... zvou and the rare bookish forms zovu, zoveš, ..., zovou.

bere - bral and dere - dral now have only the present-tense forms in hard -r- (bereš, dereš,... bereme, dereme,...; ber, der); the forms béřeš, béře,..., beř... are archaic and děřeš,..., deř are obsolete.

§150. The soft type: 3. maže (maza-l, mazat/mazati).

Present indicative

	singular	plural
1.	mažu or maži	mažem(e)
2.	mažeš	mažete
3.	maže	mažou or maží

Imperative

	singular	plural
1.	--	mažme (pošleme)
2.	maž (pošli)	mažte (pošlete)

Present gerund   maže, mažíc, mažíce

Past participle (past tense)   mazal

Passive participle   mazán

Past gerund   pomazav, pomazavši, pomazavše

Infinitive   mazat(i)

In the soft type maže (mazat) the following consonantal alternations occur: s~š, z~ž, ch~š, k~č, h~ž, r~ř, n~ň, e.g. psát - píše, mazat - maže, páchat - páše, plakat - pláče, lhat - lže, orat - oře, stonat - stůně.

In the imperative the stem vowel is shortened, cf. váže, vázat - važ, kázat - kaž, píše psát - piš etc.

1. The endings 1st sing. -i and 3rd plur. -í, instead of -u and -ou, occur in the literary language only in verbs in -š, -ž, -č such as píši, káži, dokáži, táži se, 3rd plur. píší... (alongside píšu, kážu, dokážu, tážu se, píšou...); more rarely češi, maži, váži, pláči, skáči; češí... beside the more usual češu, mažu, vážu, pláču, skáču, češou.

Words with stems in all sounds other than š, ž, č can take only the endings -u, -ou, for ex. ořu, pářu, stůňu, pošlu; kašlu, ořou,... Some verbs in -š and -ž also take only the *křeš* or *křesej*), while the remaining forms occur in both types I and V (*kouše* and *kousá*).

The verbs *píše, káže, táže se, maže, váže, lže, pošle* do not have any forms of the *dělá* type; *pláče* has a present gerund *plakaje* in addition to *pláče*, *plačíc* and an imperative *plakej* in addition to *plač*; *kašle* has only the gerund *kašlaje* but has both imperatives *(ne)kašlej* and *(ne)kašli*.

> In a few isolated cases Class V verbs also occur with Class I forms, e.g. *dýchá* and *dýše* from *dýchat*, *týká se* and *týče se* from *týkat se*.

In the present gerund, however, all verbs of the type *maže* have the endings -*e*,-*íc*,-*íce* (like verbs with 3rd plur. in -*í*), cf. *maže, mažíc*,..., *píše, píšíc*,..., *pláče, plačíc*,... etc. -- Only *lže* has the present gerund *lha, lhouc*,... .

> Many verbs of this type thus have 1st sing. and 3rd plur. forms with either -*u*, -*ou* or -*i*, -*í*, for ex. *píšu, píšou* beside *píši, píší*, or with either -*u*, -*ou* or the Class V (*dělá*) forms, e.g. *češu se, kloužu se, češou se, kloužou se* and *česám se, klouzám se, česají se, klouzají se*; in the latter case the entire present conjugation differs, cf. *češe se, klouže se* and *česá se, klouzá se.*

§151. Mixed types: 4. peče (pekl, péci)
5. umře (umřel, umřít/umříti)

Present indicative

	singular		plural	
1.	peču and peku	umřu and umru	pečem(e)	umřem(e)
2.	pečeš	umřeš	pečete	umřete
3.	peče	umře	pečou and pekou	umřou and umrou

Imperative

	singular		plural	
1.	--	--	pečme and pecme	umřeme
2.	peč and pec	umři	pečte and pecte	umřete

Present gerund peka, pekouc, pekouce

umra, umrouc, umrouce

Past participle (past tense) pekl, umřel

Passive participle pečen, třen (from třít)

Past gerund upek, upekši, upekše

umřev, umřevši, umřevše

Infinitive péci (colloquial péct), umřít(i)

Notes on the type *peče (pekl, péci)*

This type contains verbs whose present stem ends in *-k (-č)* or *-h(ž)*, such as *péci (peču/peku - peče), téci (teču/teku - teče), tlouci (tluču/tluku - tluče), vléci (vleču/vleku - vleče), obléci (obleču/obleku - obleče), síci (seču/seku - seče), moci (mohu - může), pomoci (pomohu - pomůže), stříci (střehu - střeže).*

Verbs with present stems in *-k(-č)* have in the 1st sing. and 3rd plur. both the original but now bookish forms in -*k* and the new analogical forms in -*č*, e.g. *peku, pekou* and *peču,pečou, tekou* and *tekou, tlukou* and *tlučou, vleku, vlekou* and *vleču, vlečou, seku, sekou* and *seču, sečou* etc. Similarly, these verbs have both the bookish imperative in -*c* and the newer analogical imperative in -*č*: *pec, pecte* and *peč, pečte, tluc* and *tluč, oblec* and *obleč, sec* and *seč*, etc.

Verbs with present stem in -*h(-ž)* have 1st sing. and 3rd plur. forms in -*h*, e.g. *mohu, mohou, pomohu, pomohou, střehu, střehou* and have only the one imperative type in -*z*, e.g. *pomoz, střez* etc.

On the bookish character of the infinitive in -*ci* and on colloquial forms in -*ct* see §135.1 above.

Individual verbs:

říci has only the forms *řka, řkouc, řkouce, řekl* (*řekla*...) *řečen* (*bylo řečeno*, adjectivized *řečený*) and the bookish imperative *rci, rcete* formed on the type *peče*; péci all other forms of *říci* are patterned after *tiskne* (*řekne,..., řekni,...*). Its prefixed derivatives have all forms patterned on *tiskne* but have additional infinitives on the *péci* model: *odříci* and *odřeknout* but only *odřekne, odřekna, odřeknouc..., odřekní...,* odřeknut..., *odřeknuv*... etc.

moci (*pomoci, přemoci*, etc.) has present tense forms *mohu* (*pomohu, přemohu*), *můžeš* (*pomůžeš, přemůžeš*)... *můžeme* (*pomůžeme, přemůžeme*)... *mohou* (*pomohou, přemohou*) with the vocalic alternation *o~ů*. In Common Czech *moci* and its derivatives have a palatalized consonant in all forms of the present tense: *můžu, pomůžu, přemůžu*... *můžou, pomůžou, přemůžou*; these softened forms also appear in the spoken variety of the literary language.

In addition to the derivatives of *vléci* like *obléci, svléci, dovléci, navléci, vyvléci* etc., which have regular Class I forms (*obleku* and *oblečů*..., *oblec* and *obleč*..., *oblekl*.., *oblečen*...) there exist Class II (*tisknout*-type) derivatives like *obléknout* (colloquially also *oblíknout*), *obléknu*..., *oblékna*..., *oblékni*..., *oblékl*... (but *oblečen*...).

Notes on the type *umře* (umřel, umřít/umříti)

This type includes verbs with present stem in -*r*(-*ř*) such as *umřít (umře - umřu/umru), třít (tře - třu/tru), dřít (dře - dřu), prostřít (prostře - prostřu/prostru), zastřít* etc., *přít se (pře se - přu/pru se), zapřít (zapře - zapřu/zapru), podepřít (podepře - podepřu/podepru), pozřít (pozře - pozřou) vřít (voda vře, vody vřou/vrou), zavřít (zavře - zavřu/zavru), otevřít*, etc. All of these verbs, except *dřít* and its derivatives and *pozřít*, have in the 1st sing. and 3rd plur. not only forms in -*ř*- (*umřu, umřou, třu, třou*...) but also bookish forms in -*r*- (*umru, umrou, tru, trou*...), but have the present gerund only in -*r*- (*umra, umrouc..., tra, trouc*...). The verbs *dřít* and *pozřít* have in the 1st sing. and 3rd plur. only the -*ř*- forms (*dřu, pozřu, dřou, pozřou*) but have -*r*- in the present gerund (*dra, drouc*...).

Note. From the historical point of view the past tense stem of the type *umře - umřel, umřít* did not contain any suffix; the past stem originally ended in -*mer*-, similar to *nes*-, *řek*-, and the forms -*merti*,-*merl* (cf. Russian *мереть* ...) changed into -*mřieti*, -*mřel* and further into -*mříti, -mřel*; cf. §240.

Class II: types *tiskne, mine, začne*

§152. Class II contains verbs with 3rd sing. present -*e*, whose present stem has the formant -*n(e)*.

The type *tiskne* contains those verbs whose past stem at least in part (in the past participle) is missing the suffix -*nu*- (*tiskl*) and ends in a *consonant*. -- The type *mine* contains verbs whose past stem has the suffix -*nu*- in the past participle, added to a *vocalic* base (*mi-nu-l*). In the infinitive the suffix -*nu*- becomes -*nou*- and occurs in verbs of both types. The third type, *začne*, is irregular and is included in this class because of its similar present stem ending -*n(e)* and partially because of similarities in its infinitive (*pnout, zajmout*).

§153. Types: 1. *tiskne (tisk-l, tisknout/tisknouti)*

2. *mine (minu-l, minout/minouti)*

Present indicative

	singular		plural	
1.	tisknu	minu	tisknem(e)	minem(e)
2.	tiskneš	mineš	tisknete	minete
3.	tiskne	mine	tisknou	minou

Imperative

	singular		plural	
1.	--	--	tiskněme	miňme (hněme)
2.	tiskni	miň (hni)	tiskněte	miňte (hněte)

Present gerund tiskna, tisknouc, tisknouce
mina, minouc, minouce

Past participle (past tense) tiskl, minul

Passive participle tištěn (tisknut), minut

Past gerund přitisknuv, přitisknuvši, přitisknuvše
(zdvih, zdvihši, zdvihše)
minuv, minuvši, minuvše

Infinitive tisknout(i), minout(i)

Notes on the type tiskne (tiskl, tisknout/tisknouti)

This type contains those verbs in which the suffix -n(e) is preceded by a consonant.

The type tiskne, tisknout(i) usually keeps the formant -nu- in the past gerund (zdvihnuv, dosáhnuv, povšimnuv si, přitisknuv etc.); only in rare isolated cases (archaically and in artistic prose) does one encounter forms without this suffix such as zdvih, zdvihši..., upad, upadši... etc.

The formant -nu- occurs regularly in the passive participle, e.g. zamítnut, shlédnut, říznut etc.; the passive participle without this formant, in -en- (tištěn, tažen) occurs with verbs in h alternating with ž (tažen, dostižen, obsažen, odstřižen etc.), and more rarely with stems in k, sk and ch alternating with č, št' and š (dotčen, zatčen, tištěn, nadšen etc.).

Some verbs of the given stem type have both participial forms, with and without the suffix -nu, for ex. zamčen and zamknut, odemčen and odemknut, nařčen and nařknut, vytčen and vytknut, vyvržen and vyvrhnut; however, there is sometimes a difference in meaning between these forms, e.g. tištěn 'printed' (e.g. a book) but tisknut 'squeezed, shaken' (e.g. a hand), zatčen 'imprisoned' but zatknut 'stabbed', obsažen 'contained, involved (in something)' but obsáhnut 'encompassed (by one's vision)', etc. Some verbs of other stem types also have both kinds of passive participle, e.g. naboden and nabodnut, proboden and prodobnut, napaden and napadnut (with no semantic differences).

In some cases different derivatives of one and the same verb form their passive participles differently, for ex. nařčen or nařknut but only uřknut, odemčen and odemknut but only vymknut, nadšen but prodchnut, obležen but zalehnut (in contradistinction to zaležen from zaležet).

> The stem vowel of some verbs is shortened in the passive participle with -en, cf. *obsáhnout - obsažen, vytáhnout - vytažen, vypláznout - vyplazen*, etc.

Verbal substantives have the suffix -*nu* more frequently especially if they are formed from verbs which usually have no passive participle, for ex. *tvrdnutí, zblednutí, chřadnutí, spadnutí, trhnutí* (alongside *tržení*).

In the past participle (past tense), the masc. sing. forms sometimes add -*nu*- for ease of pronunciation (also in the literary language); the masc. forms without -*nu*- also exist; the fem., neut. and plur. forms are usually without -*nu*-. Cf. *blbnul, čmárnul (načmárnul* etc.), *krknul, schnul* (but only *vyschl, uschl* etc.), *smlsnul, stárnul (zestárnul* etc.), *tknul se (netknul se), vrh~~l~~nul* when meaning 'vomited', *podvrtnul (vyvrtnul* etc.), *zlátnul* alongside *blbl, čmárl, krkl, smlsl, stárl, netkl se, vrhl, podvrtl, zlátl*, etc., but only *blbla, čmárla, krkla, schla, smlsla, stárla, netkla se, vrhlo, podvrtla, zlátlo*, etc.

> The forms with -nu- are much more frequent in Common Czech and sometimes penetrate into the spoken variety of the literary language, particularly in verbs derived from interjections and expressive verbs; cf. *bácnout - bácnul* (in addition to *bácl*), *brnkout - brnknul* (beside *brnkl*), *cloumnout - cloumnul*

(beside *clouml*), *hajnout si* (in child language - *hajnul si*) etc.

The verb *žhne (žhnout)* has in the past participle (past tense) not only the forms *žhnul* (with -*nu*- in the masc.) *žhla, žhlo...* but also *žehl, žehla, žehlo...* (originally these were forms of a Class I verb *žhu, žehl* which has since disappeared, cf. *čtu, četl*). -- The verb *rozžehne (rozžehnout)* has, in addition to the regular past and passive participle forms of the type *tiskne, tisknout, (rozžehl, rozžehnut)*, the forms *rozžal, rozžat.*

Notes on the type *mine (minul, minout/minouti)*

This type includes verbs in which the suffix -*n(e)* (*-nu-, -nou-*) is preceded by a vowel or a syllabic *r* or *l*, such as *vanout, tonout, hrnout, trnout, klnout*, and also the verbs *hnout (pohnout...)*, *lnout (přilnout...)*, *mnout (promnout) usnout (zesnout)*.

The imperative of verbs ending in a single consonant *-n* has this consonant softened to *ň*, cf. *hrň, neklň, promiň* ; etc. -- Verbs whose stem ends in a consonant cluster take the endings -*i*, -*ěme*, -*ěte* in the imperative, for ex. *hni, hněme, hněte, (ne)usni, (ne)usněme, (ne)usněte, přilni...* etc.

Several verbs of this class do not have the suffix -*nou*- in the infinitive, cf. *nalezne - nalézt, ukradne - ukrást, řekne - říci* (but also *dořeknout, ukradnout* etc.).

The verb *stane se - stát se* and its derivatives like *dostane, nastane, přestane* etc. omit the suffix -*nou*- (-*nu*-) from all past forms (*stalo se, dostal, přestal*). --The verb *přistane - přistal, přistát* shows vacillation in stem-vowel length in its past forms: past participle (past tense) *přistal* and *přistál* (*lod' přistala* and *přistála*), past gerund *přistav* and *přistáv*.

The verbs *zapomene (zapomenout), vzpomene (vzpomenout), připomene (připomenout), rozpomene (rozpomenout)* etc. have the past participle (past tense) *zapomněl, vzpomněl*... in addition to *zapomenul, vzpomenul*..., two past gerund forms *zapomenuv, vzpomenuv*... and *zapomněv, vzpomněv*...; further, they have passive participles like *zapomenut* and (more rarely) *zapomněn* and verbal substantives like *zapomenutí* and (more rarely) *zapomnění*).

The verb *odpočinout si* in Common Czech has the form *odpočnout si* and is conjugated according to the type *začít*, cf. *odpočnu, odpočni, odpočal* alongside *odpočnul*, etc. The forms *odpočal, odpočat* (cf. also the adjective *odpočatý*) have penetrated into the literary language as doublets for the participles of *odpočinout* alongside the regular forms *odpočinul, odpočinut* (cf. the adjective *odpočinutý*).

§154. *The irregular type: 3. začne, zajme (zača-l, začít/začíti; zaja-l, zajmout/zajmouti).*

Present indicative

	singular		plural	
1.	začnu	zajmu	začnem(e)	zajmem(e)
2.	začneš	zajmeš	začnete	zajmete
3.	začne	zajme	začnou	zajmou

Imperative

	singular		plural	
1.	--	--	začněme	zajměme
2.	začni	zajmi	začněte	zajměte

Present gerund začna, začnouc, začnouce
zajma, zajmouc, zajmouce

Past participle (past tense) začal, zajal

Passive participle začat, zajat

Past gerund začav, začavši, začavše
zajav, zajavši, zajavše

Infinitive začít(i), zajmout(i)

The given type also occurs with the above verbs začne, začít and zajme, zajmout (or with the same roots and different prefixes, such as počít, načít, odejmout, najmout, obejmout, pojmout, přijmout etc.) and with the verbs tne, tít (přetít and přetnout, roztít and rozetnout, zatít and zatnout, etc.), pne, pnout (dopnout, napnout, odepnout, sepnout, vypnout, zapnout etc.), žne, žít and žnout (nažít and nažnout, požít and požnout, sežít and sežnout, vyžít and vyžnout etc.), vezme, vzít (vzal).

The verbs dme, dmout, nadme, nadmout, vzedme, vzedmout (dmul, dmut, nadmuv) can also be classed in this type.

Infinitives similar to those of Class II verbs (-nout) occur in jmout(i) (zajmout etc.), pnout (napnout etc.) and dmout instead of their original zajíti, píti, douti in order to distinguish them from homophonous infinitives (zajít, zajde 'go down', píti 'drink', etc.). The remaining verbs of this type have infinitives of the type začít(i): žít, tít, vzít, but sometimes have additional forms in -nout(i) as well: žnout, užnout, vyžnout, přetnout, rozetnout, setnout, utnout etc.

The verbs tít and žít and their derivatives have the past gerund and past participle (past tense) without -nu- (t'al, t'at, přet'av, přet'al, přet'at, žal, žat, nažav, nažal, nažat etc.); the verbs jmout (and most of its derivatives) and vzít (and its derivatives) have these forms without -*mu* (*najav, najal, najat, vzav, vzal, vzat* etc.).

The verb *pnout* and its derivatives have double forms, with and without -*nu*- (*napjav* and *napnuv, napjal* and *napnul*, *napjat* and *napnut, rozepjav* and *rozepnuv, rozepjal* and *rozepnul, rozepjat* and *rozepnut, zapjav* and *zapnuv, zapjal* and *zapnul, zapjat* and *zapnut* etc.). The forms without -*nu*- are bookish in nature. -- Some derivatives of *jmout* have double forms, e.g. the past participles *sňal* and *sejmul* (from *sejmout* in its handcraft meaning), *ujal* and *ujmul* (from *ujmout* in women's handiwork), the passive participles *sňat* and *sejmut, ujat* and *ujmut* and, further, *projat* and *projmut* (from *projmout*), and the past gerund *sňav* and *sejmuv, ujav* and *ujmuv.*

> Verbs derived with prefixes that also occur in vocalized forms with -*e*, such as *setnout, vetnout, obejmout*, *odejmout, rozepnout* etc., have the vocalized prefix in those forms which are similar to Class II forms (i.e. those in -*ne*, -*me*, -*nou*, -*mou*, -*nu*, -*mu*) and the nonvocalized prefix in all other forms. Cf. *setnout, setnutí, setnu* but *stít, stětí, st'al, st'at*, *vetnout* but *vtít* etc., *obejmout, obejmutí, obejmu* but *objal, objat, objetí, rozepnout, rozepnu* but *rozpjal* (as well as *rozepjal*) *rozpjat* (as well as *rozepjat* and *rozpětí*), *odejmout, odejmu* but *odňal, odňat, odnětí*.

In Common Czech the Class II forms (-nout, -nul, -nut) are even more frequent; they appear not only in the infinitives of verbs like zajmout, žnout (užnout etc.), rozetnout (přetnout etc.), but also in their participles, such as zajmul, rozetnul, užnul, vyžnul, zajmut, rozetnut, vyžnut etc.

Verbal substantives are formed from the passive participle, but with the vowel alternation a~e(ě), for ex. zajetí (pass. part. zajat), objetí (objat), dojetí, odnětí, stětí, napětí, nažetí etc.

Verbs which also have passive participle forms in -nu- have two kinds of verbal substantive: napětí and napnutí, přepětí, and přepnutí, spětí, sepětí and sepnutí, snětí and sejmutí, etc. -- Verbal substantives in -nu-(-mu-) also appear in certain other verbs in which the -nu- (-mu) does not occur in the passive participle, for ex. najetí and najmutí (but only najat), objetí and obejmutí (but only objat), vynětí and vyjmutí (but only vyňat), roztětí and rozetnutí (but only rozt'at), stětí and setnutí (but only st'at), zatětí and zatnutí (but only zat'at), užetí and užnutí, vyžetí and vyžnutí (but only užat, vyžat), etc. The forms in -nutí (-mutí), unlike those in -ětí, have a material meaning: vypnutí (proudu) - vypětí (sil), sepnutí - sepětí, přepnutí (světla elektrického) - přepětí, rozetnutí - roztětí, vyjmutí - vynětí, etc.

The only verbs which retain the original forms without -*nu*-, -*mu*- (-*nou*-, -*mou*-) throughout all past forms are *začne - začít* and other prefixal derivatives of the same root (*začal, začat, začav, načal, načat, načav, počal... početí*) and *vezme - vzít* and its prefixal derivatives (*vzal, vzat, vzetí, předevzal*, etc.).

The verb *dmout* and its derivatives (*nadmout*, *vzedmout*, etc.) have only the forms in -*mu*- (-*mou*-); forms without -*mu*- (-*mou*-) are from the verb *dout* (*dul, duje...*). Because of mutual adaptation of the past (without -*mu*-) and present (with -*mu*-) stems, the original verb *dout, dmu* split into two: the contemporary language has both *dmout, dme* and *dout, duje* (the latter patterned after *krýt, kryje;* cf. §156 below).

Because the present forms of *začít*-type verbs are the same as those of the type *tisknout* (*začne, zapne - tiskne, začni, zapni - tiskni* etc.), *začít*-type verbs sometimes acquire analogical past-tense forms from the type *tisknout;* cf. for example the dialectal past participle (past tense) forms *zapl, zapla, zaplo*... (like *tisk, tiskla, tisklo*) and the provincial *začla, začlo,*... (instead of the literary *začala, začalo*...).

Remember the imperatives *vezmi, vezměte*!

> *Note*. From the historical point of view the -*n*-, -*m*- of these verbs' present tense was not a suffix, but part of the root of the words (-*čn*-, -*jm*-). From this point of view one has to do with Class I verbs with an irregular past stem (-*ča*, -*ja*); however, this past stem too is in its origin of the same type as the suffixless stems (*nes*-), since the original roots -*čen*- (-*ten*-), -*jem*- and -*en*-, -*em*- changed into a nasal vowel *ę*, which further developed into *a*, *á*, which in turn often developed further to *ě*, *ie* and then to *e*, *í* (*začíti, títi*), cf. §240. -- However, the present endings in -*ne*, -*me* made these verbs resemble Class II verbs with the suffix -*ne*, for which reason secondary analogical past forms like those of Class II arise in the *zajít* type as well, e.g. *zajmout, pnout* and the participles *napnul, napnut* etc.

Class III: types *kryje, kupuje*

§155. The third class consists of verbs which have the ending -*e* in the 3rd pers. sing., preceded by the present stem formant -*j(e)*- or -*uj(e)*-.

The first type *kryje (kryl, krýt/krýti)* includes verbs whose past stem has no suffix, while the second type *kupuje (kupoval, kupovat/kupovati)* contains verbs whose past stem is formed with the suffix -*ova*-.

§156. Types 1. *kryje (kry-l, krýt/krýti)*
2. *kupuje (kupova-l, kupovat/kupovati)*

Present indicative

	singular		plural	
1.	kryji	kupuji	kryjem(e)	kupujem(e)
2.	kryješ	kupuješ	kryjete	kupujete
3.	kryje	kupuje	kryjí	kupují

Imperative

	singular		plural	
1.	--	--	kryjme	kupujme
2.	kryj	kupuj	kryjte	kupujte

Present gerund kryje, kryjíc, kryjíce
kupuje, kupujíc, kupujíce

Past participle (past tense) kryl, kupoval

Passive participle kryt, kupován

Past gerund zakryv, zakryvši, zakryvše
nakupovav, nakupovavši, nakupovavše

Infinitive krýt(i), kupovat(i)

In the 1st sing. and 3rd plur. present the usual endings in the literary language are -*i*, -*í* (*kryji, kupuji, kryjí, kupují*), as distinct from verbs of the soft Class I type, which have e.g. either *mažu, mažou* or *maži, maží*.

> In Common Czech these forms have only the -*u*, -*ou* endings, which therefore tend to penetrate into the spoken literary language in verbs denoting everyday actions or which are common in everyday speech, such as *zuju se, obujou se, plejou, vylejou, děkuju, kupuju*, etc.

The *passive participle* of the type *kupuje (kupoval, kupovat)* always has the ending -*n* (*kupován, milován*...), while the type *kryje (kryl, krýt)* has predominantly -*t* (*kryt, bit, zaset, vysát*), only a few verbs in -*ě*- and -*a*- showing the ending -*n* (e.g. *oděn, vyhrán* etc.).

The verbal substantive of *sát* and its derivatives has two forms: *sání* and *sátí, vysání* and *vysátí* etc.; similarly, with *okřát* one has both *okřání* and *okřátí*, with *klít klení*, with *zaklít zaklení* but in the meaning 'conjuring' *zakletí*, like *proklít, prokletí*.

Notes on the type *kryje (kryl, krýt/krýti)*

Infinitives of this type always have a long vowel or a diphthong (*zout*), with the exception of *pěti, spěti, pověti se, chvěti se* (alongside the bookish *chvíti se*) and the bookish *zeti* (cf. also §135).

The *past participle* (past tense) always has a short vowel before the *-l* except in the case of *-á-*, which is always long: *kryl, ryl, byl, šil, sel, pěl, oděl, dul, plul* etc., but *hrál, smál se, přál, tál, zrál, lál* etc.

The present tense and the imperative have the vocalism *-y-* in *myji, ryji, kryji, myj, ryj, kryj*, like the past *myl, ryl, kryl,* and *plít* has *pleji* like *plel*; only the verb *lít, lil* (and its derivatives like *nalít, zalít* etc.) has both *liji* and *leji, lij* and *lej*, while *sít* (and its prefixal derivatives like *zasít, přesít)* has only *seji, sej* in the present and the imperative but both *sil* and *sel* in the past tense.

Some verbs with a long *-á-* in their past forms have *-e-* (*-ě-*) in the present, for ex. *přát, přál, přeje; hrát, hrál, hřeje; okřát, okřál, okřeje; smát se, smál se, směje se; vát, vál, věje*. -- The verb *díti se, děje se* (in the meaning 'become') has past forms in both *-á-* and *-ě-*: *dělo se* and *dálo se, co se dělo* and *dálo*.

The verbs hrát (vyhrát,...) and zrát (uzrát,...) also have imperatives like Class V verbs (type dělá, imper. dělej): hraj and hrej, zraj and zrej. Class V forms rarely occur with these verbs in the present tense; hrám, zrá... alongside the usual hraji, zraje... . Only plát has both forms plám, pláš... and plaji, plaješ... .

Notes on the type kupuje (kupoval, kupovat/kupovati)

Verbs of this type derived from verbs with a past stem in -i- often show the consonantal alternations t'∼c, d'∼z, st'∼št', zd'∼žd', s∼š, z∼ž, as in zarmoutit - zarmucovat, ohradit - ohrazovat, zprost'it - zprošt'ovat, opozdit - opožd'ovat, vyhlásit - vyhlašovat, ohrozit - ohrožovat. Such alternations are not consistent, however; consonants remain unsoftened in derivatives of verbs whose passive participle also shows no softening, e.g. pocítit, pocítěn - pocit'ovat, zušlechtit, zušlechtěn - zušlecht'ovat, soustředit, soustředěn - soustřed'ovat, přemístit, přemístěn - přemíst'ovat, zabrzdit, zabrzděn - zabrzd'ovat, zatarasit, zatarasen - zatarasovat, omezit, omezen - omezovat, etc. -- Some verbs show vacillation in this respect, for ex. očišt'ovat and očist'ovat (cf. the two passive participles to očistit: očištěn and očistěn), zařazovat and zařad'ovat (cf. zařazen and zařaděn from zařadit), rozpolcovat and *rozpolt'ovat* (cf. *rozpolcen* and *rozpoltěn* from *rozpoltit*), etc.

Many verbs of this type which are derived from verbs with past stem in -*i*- shorten their root vowel, cf. *shromáždit - shromažd'ovat, ustálit - ustalovat, snížit - snižovat, vymýtit - vymycovat, prohloubit - prohlubovat*; some verbs, especially recent formations, retain the long root vowel of the verb from which they are derived (sometimes alongside the form with shortened vowel), cf. *vyústit - vyúst'ovat, zmírnit - zmírňovat* and *zmirňovat, umístit - umíst'ovat* and *umist'ovat*, etc.

Verbs of foreign origin whose stem ends in a vowel have present forms containing clusters of vowels (even of identical vowels), cf. *distribuovat, konstruovat, instruovat, repatriovat, rekreovat*, present tense *distribuuji, konstruuji, instruuji, repatriuji, rekreuji,* imperatives *distribuuj, konstruuj, instruuj, repatriuj, rekreuj* etc.

Class IV: the types *prosí, trpí, sází*

§157. Class IV consists of verbs with the ending -*í* in the 3rd sing. pres.

1. The type *prosí (prosil, prosit)* includes verbs whose past stem has the suffix -*i*-, while the types *trpí (trpěl, trpět)* and *sází (sázel, sázet)* contain verbs with past stems in -*e*- (-*ě*-).

The type *trpí (trpěl, trpět)* contains verbs whose present-stem forms are the same as those of the type *prosí* (3rd plur. *trpí - prosí*, imperative *trp - pros*, present gerund *trpě, trpíc... - prose, prosíc*...).

The type *sází (sázel, sázet)* contains verbs the 3rd plur. of which differs from those of the other two types (*sázejí* vs. *prosí, trpí*) as do the imperative (*sázej, sázejte* vs. *pros, proste* and *trp, trpte*) and present gerund (*sázeje, sázejíc...* vs. *prose, prosíc...* and *trpě, trpíc*...).

2. Verbs of the type *sází (sázel, sázet)* are almost all derived either from other verbs (and for that reason are of imperfective aspect, cf. *sázet* from *sadit, vrácet* from *vrátit*) or from substantives (*vonět, večeřet*) or adjectives (*temnět, šedivět* etc. with the meaning 'to become --'). -- Verbs of the *prosí* type can also be derived from verbs (*nosit, vozit* from *nést, vést*), from substantives (*hřešit* from *hřích*) and from adjectives (the resulting verbs being factitives with the meaning 'make something --', e.g. *bílit, zatemnit*, etc.). Verbs of the type *trpí* are non-derived; many of them have the meaning 'to make some noise', e.g. *hučet, hlučet, drnčet, bručet*, etc.

§158. Types 1. prosí (prosi-l, prosit/prositi)
2. trpí (trpě-l, trpět/trpěti)
3. sází (sáze-l, sázet/sázeti)

Present indicative

	singular			plural		
1.	prosím	trpím	sázím	prosíme	trpíme	sázíme
2.	prosíš	trpíš	sázíš	prosíte	trpíte	sázíte
3.	prosí	trpí	sází	prosí	trpí	sázejí

Imperative

	singular			plural		
1.	--	--	--	prosme	trpme	sázejme
				(mysleme)	(bděme)	
2.	pros	trp	sázej	proste	trpte	sázejte
	(mysli)	(bdi)		(myslete)	(bděte)	

Present gerund prose, prosíc, prosíce
trpě, trpíc, trpíce
sázeje, sázejíc, sázejíce

Past participle (past tense) prosil, trpěl (bděl), sázel(tmělo se)

Passive participle: prošen, trpěn, sázen

Past gerund: poprosiv, poprosivši, poprosivše
strpěv, strpěvši, strpěvše
zasázev, zasázevši, zasázevše

Infinitive: prosit(i), trpět(i), bdít(i), sázet(i), tmít(i) se

In the imperative, verbs of the types *prosí* and *trpí* which end in a consonant cluster take the endings *-i, -eme (-ěme), -ete (-ěte)*, as in *mysli, mysleme, myslete, bdi, bděme, bděte, zři*... etc.; cf. however *odpusť*, *odpusťme, odpusťte* etc.

Some verbs (especially those whose stems end in a consonant cluster) have double imperative forms, with and without -*i*: *zamasti (zamastěme, zamastěte) - zamasť (zamasťme, zamasťte), očisti - očisť, zahusti - zahusť, pojisti - pojisť, pohosti - pohosť, ušetři - ušetř, zamhouři - zamhuř, (ne)bloudi - (ne)bluď, uloupi* - rarely *ulup,* etc.; the verb *uvědomit si* has double forms only in the plural; *uvědomme* and *uvědoměme, uvědomte* and *uvědoměte*, but only *uvědom* si in the singular.

> Verbs of the type *prosí* with imperatives without -*i* shorten their stem vowels, cf. *chválí - chval, chvalte, vrátí - vrať, vyřídí - vyřiď, prodlouží - prodluž*, but *uprázdni, uprázdněte, mírni se* etc. In verbs which have imperatives both with and without -*i* that with -*i* has a long and that without -*i* a short stem vowel, cf. *shromáždi - shromažď, zamhouři - zamhuř* etc.

Verbs with a long -*í*- in the root such as svítit, mířit, *smít*, uspíšit etc., usually have short -*i*- in the imperative; the older -*ě*- now appears only in isolated cases, sometimes alongside -*i*-, cf. *navštiv, svit' (posvit', rozsvit'...)*, *miř (namiř...), uspiš; pospěš si* is frequent, however, and one encounters, more rarely *rozsvět'* and the bookish *vštěp* alongside *vštip*, from *vštípit* etc.

Verbs of the type *prosí* with stem consonant *s* or *z* retain this consonant unpalatalized in the imperative: *pověs, přihlas, pohroz, nekaz*, etc.

Monosyllabic infinitives in -*t* and disyllabic infinitives in -*ti* have long stem vowels, e.g. *křtít, mstít se - křtil, mstil se; bdít, zřít, rdít se - bděl, zřel, rděl se* (lengthened *e* and *ě* both become *í*).

Some verbs show vacillation in vowel length, for ex. *čnět, čpět, hřmět, lpět, tmět se* and the derived *omdlet, pomněti* alongside *čnít, čpít, hřmít, lpíti* (arch.), *tmít se, omdlít, pomníti* (see §135.2). The verb *smět* now occurs only with a short vowel, *smít* being archaic.

There are sometimes regional differences in the use of long- and short-vowel forms of the same verbs. Thus, for example, in the Bohemian area the forms *hřmít, čnít, omdlít* are considered normal and the forms *hřmět, čnět, omdlet* bookish, while in Moravia the situation is reversed.

Notes on the type prosí (prosil, prosit/prositi)

In the passive participle and the verbal substantive the consonants t', d', st', zd', s, z, sl alternate with c (ztracen), z (ohrazen), št' (pohoštěn), žd' (opožděn), š (broušen), ž (zakažen), šl (zamyšlen). --The final stem consonant remains unpalatalized in some cases, especially in recently-formed verbs such as zušlechtěn, nahromaděn, raděn, pokosen, zobrazen, zmrazen (but mražená káva is a fixed phrase), ukořistěn, rozbrázděn, uprázdněn, nakreslen etc.; there are a good many doublets, e.g. řaděn and řazen (zařaděn and zařazen), kleštěn and klestěn, očištěn and očistěn (vyčištěn and vyčistěn etc.), rozpolcen and rozpoltěn, nakrabacen and nakrabatěn, zhacen and zhatěn, uvoděn and uvozen, začouzen and začouděn, zohyžděn and zohyzděn, zostuděn and zostuzen, hrožení and hrození, ježdění and jezdění, lakocení and lakotění, míšení and mísení (about dough), etc.

The verb uvědomit has uvědoměn and uvědomen (uvědomění and uvědomení).

Remember the passive participles and verbal substantives hradit - hrazen, hrazení, nahradit - nahrazen, nahrazení, vyhradit - vyhrazen, vyhrazení, etc.

Notes on the type *trpí* (*trpěl, trpět/trpěti*)

The stem consonant remains unchanged in the passive participle and verbal noun: *viděn, vidění, svědění* etc., but one has both, *vyseděn* and *vysezen, sedění* and *sezení*.

The verb *vidět (vidí...)* has the imperative *viz, vizme, vizte* and the present gerund *vida, vidouc, vidouce,* similar to the verb *vědět* (see §160), but *závidět, nenávidět* have the regular imperatives *(ne)závid', nenávid'* and gerunds *závidě, nenávidě, závidíc, nenávidíc,* etc.

The verbs *stát, bát se, spát* have only their present-stem forms on the pattern *trpí: stojím, bojím se, spím...*, 3rd plur. *stojí, bojí se, spí,* imperative *stůj, neboj se, spi...*, present gerund *stoje, boje se, spě...*; their past-stem forms are patterned on the type *dělá: stál, bál se, spal, prospav se*, etc.

The verb *myslit* has regular forms of the type *prosit* (*myslil* etc.), but also exists in the variant *myslet* which has forms of the *trpět* type (cf. the past participle *myslel*).

The type *sází* (*sázel, sázet/sázeti*) contains verbs derived from verbs like *sázet* (from *sadit*), *přibíjet* (from *přibít*), *pobízet* (from *pobídnout*), etc., and, in the meaning 'become --', from substantives and adjectives, e.g. *šedivět, oněmět, osamět* etc., as discussed in §157.2 above.

This type also contains the verbs *díti (dím, dějí)*, *chybět, klanět se* (which however has the imperative *klaněj se* in addition to *klaň se*), *kácet, krvácet, kymácet, míjet, otálet, potácet, rozumět, smět, stavět* (with imperatives *stavěj* and *stav*), *trmácet, umět, zahálet.*

> Some verbs oscillate between the types *trpí* and *sází,* taking both -*í* and -*ejí* in the 3rd plur.: *bolí* and *bolejí, mizí* and *mizejí, náleží* and *náležejí, pomní* and *pomnějí, rdí se* and *rdějí se, skví se* and *skvějí se, šumí* and *šumějí, zní* and *znějí*; the present-gerund, to the extent it is used, also has both forms (*mize, mizíc* and *mizeje, mizejíc* etc.), but the imperative as a rule has only the *trpět*-type forms such as *bol, pomni, rdi se, sni* etc. (with the exception of the verbs *hovět, skvít se, tlít*, which have both imperatives, *skvi se* and *skvěj se*, etc.). This oscillation occurs with the verbs *bolet, bubřet, bujet, zcepenět, civět, čnít, čumět, dlít, dubřet, hovět, koprnět, krnět, mizet, náležet, omdlít, pomnít, puchřet, rdít se, skvít se, slušet, slzet, souviset, šumět,*

tkvít, tlít, večeřet, úpět, voněť, záležet, záviset, znít, želet.

Forms of the two types prosit and sázet occur in the verb pairs bydlit - bydlet, hanit - haněť, kvílit - kvílet, musit - muset, šílit - šílet.

Verbs of the type sází derived from verbs with a past stem in -i- (type prosí) show the alternations t'~c, d'~z, st'~šť', zd'~žd', s~š, z~ž, sl~šl, for ex. navrátit - navracet, hodit - házet, pustit - pouštět, jezdit - přijíždět, odnosit - odnášet, překazit - překážet, vymyslit - vymýšlet, as occurs with deverbatives of the type kupovat (zarmucovat) and in the passive participle of the type prosí (ztracen, prošen); the alternations occur consistently in the sází-type verbs.

Class V: type dělá

The fifth class contains verbs with the ending -á in the 3rd pers. sing.

~~159.~~ Type dělá (dělá-l, dělat/dělati)

Present indicative

	singular	plural
1.	dělám	děláme
2.	děláš	děláte
3.	dělá	dělají

Imperative

	singular	plural
1.	--	dělejme
2.	dělej	dělejte

Present gerund dělaje, dělajíc, dělajíce

Past participle (past tense) dělal

Passive participle dělán

Past gerund udělav, udělavši, udělavše

Infinitive dělat(i)

Some verbs have present-tense forms according to both types *dělá, dělat* and *maže, mazat; skáká* and *skáče, kousá* and *kouše, párá* and *páře, orá* and *oře, česá* and *češe* etc.; some of these verbs have only the *dělá*-type forms in the imperative and the present gerund (*skákej, skákaje*...) and others have both types here as well as in the present (*učeš se - učesej se, češe - česaje*...); cf. §150.2.

Verbs in which the ending *-á* is preceded by a labial consonant (*b, p, m, v*) can also have present forms according to the type *brát, bere*, for ex. *hýbá* and *hýbe* (but among prefixed derivatives only *nahýbám, přehýbám, vyhýbám se*), *klepá* and *klepe, kopá* and *kope, koupá* and *koupe, dřímá* and *dříme, kývá* and (more rarely) *kýve*. The imperatives and present gerunds of such verbs are generally patterned after the type *dělá* and only rarely have forms of the *bere* type, e.g. *syp, šlap* alongside *sypej, šlapej*.

> On verbs of the type *bere, brát* with a labial preceding the -*e*, such as *hrabe, láme*, which have their imperative and present gerund forms patterned after *dělá, dělat (hrabej, lámej..., hrabaje, lámaje...)*, see §149.

The verb *mít* forms only its present-stem forms according to the type *delá: mám..., mají; měj.; maje...* The past-stem forms are of the type *trpět (bdít): měl, měv, mít*.

The verb *dát* now has all forms regularly patterned after *dělat, cf. dá, daje, dej, dal* etc.

> Individual forms differing from those of the type *dělá, dělat*: 3rd sing. *týká se* and *týče se* from *týkat se, dýchá* and rarely *dýše* from *dýchat* (see §150.2); archaic *tresce* from *trestat, skřehoce* from *skřehotat, šepce* from *šeptat, káře* from *kárat*.
>
> *Nechat* has the imperatives *nech, nechte* and *nechej, nechejte*.

Irregular verbs:
být(i), jíst(i), vědět(i), chtít(i)

§160.1. The verb být(i)

Present indicative

	singular	plural
1.	jsem	jsme
2.	jsi	jste
3.	je, jest (není)	jsou

Present gerund jsa, jsouc, jsouce

Imperative

	singular	plural
1.	--	bud'me
2.	bud'	bud'te

Future

	singular	plural
1.	budu	budeme
2.	budeš	budete
3.	bude	budou

Conditional

	singular		plural	
1.	byl (byla, bylo)	bych	byli (byly, byla)	bychom
2.	...	bys	...	byste
3.	...	by	...	by

Past participle (past tense)   byl

Passive participle   (poz)byt

Past gerund   byv, byvši, byvše

Infinitive   být(i)

The verb *být(i)* has forms from three different stems: *js*- (*jes*-), *bud*-, *by*-.

All forms of *být(i)* except *jest* are also used in compound forms (see §129.2 and §161); the conditional forms *bych, bys*... occur only in compound forms (*byl bych rád*, *přišel bych, byl bych přišel*); on the appending of the conditional forms *bych*... to certain conjunctions (*abych*, *kdybych* etc.) and on the forms *by ses, by sis*, see §134.3. --In the 2nd sing. instead of *jsi* a simple -*s* occurs in some compound forms (e.g. *tys přišla*); cf. §131.3 and §161 below.

> The form *jest* (3rd sing.) is rare; it occurs as a rule only in the forms *to jest* (spelled *tj.*), *tak jest* and in the most solemn style.
>
> In the negated verb forms (*nejsem*,...) the 3rd sing. is *není*.

2. The verbs jíst(i), vědět(i)

Present indicative

	singular		plural	
1.	jím	vím	jíme	víme
2.	jíš	víš	jíte	víte
3.	jí	ví	jedí	vědí

Imperative

	singular		plural	
1.	--	--	jezme	vězme
2.	jez	věz	jezte	vězte

Present gerund jeda, jedouc, jedouce (rare)
věda, vědouc, vědouce

Past participle (past tense) jedl, věděl

Passive participle vyjeden, pověděn

Past gerund vyjed, vyjedši, vyjedše
vyzvěděv, vyzvěděvši, vyzvěděvše

Infinitive jíst(i), vědět(i)

The verb *jíst* has the same type of past stem as in Class I verbs of the type *nést*; cf. *jedl, vyjeden, vyjed, jíst* and *vedl, ved, odveden, vést*.

The verb sníst = jíst with the prefix s-(sn-).

The verb vědět has the same type of past stem as Class IV verbs of the type trpět; cf. věděl, věděn, vyzvěděv, vědět ~~and~~ like trpěl, trpěn, utrpěv, trpět.

Derivatives of vědět such as povědět, dovědět se, vyzvědět, zvědět etc. have the same forms as vědět (povím, povědí..., dověděl jsem se), but have the present gerunds prověde, povědíc..., dověde se..., and except for povědět (pověz) have different imperatives: dozvěd' se, vyzvěd', zvěd'.

The verb vidět has the same type of imperative and present gerund as vědět: viz, vizme, vizte (like věz, vězme, vězte), vida, vidouc, vidouce (like věda...); otherwise, vidět is conjugated like a Class IV verb of the type trpí (see §158).

Remember the passive participle: sněden (like veden), but zapověděn, vypověděn, zodpověděn (like viděn) and zapovězen, vypovězen, zodpovězen.

3. The verb chtít(i)

Present indicative

	singular	plural
1.	chci	chceme
2.	chceš	chcete
3.	chce	chtějí, chtí

Imperative

	singular	plural
1.	--	chtějme
2.	chtěj	chtějte

Present gerund chtěje, chtějíc, chtějíce
(or) chtě, chtíc, chtíce

Past participle (past tense) chtěl

Passive participle chtěn

Past gerund chtěv, chtěvši, chtěvše

Infinitive chtít(i)

Chtít has the same type of past stem as Class IV verbs of the type trpí, trpět (bdít), and like some verbs of this class it has two forms for the 3rd plur. (chtějí and chtí) and the present gerund (chtěje and chtě)

B. Compound forms

§161. The compound forms are: the future tense (budu psát/psáti), the past tense (nesl jsem), the conditional present (nesl bych) and past (byl bych nesl) and the periphrastic passive (je nesen...).

On the special kind of compound form *mýt se*, *bát se*, i.e. on the reflexive form of the verb and the reflexive verb, see §129.2, §126 and §127.

All compound forms are comprised of indefinite forms of a main (lexical) verb and definite forms of the auxiliary verb *být*: the future tense of the infinitive and the future forms *budu*...; the past tense of the past participle and the present forms *jsem*... (the 3rd sing. and 3rd plur. *je, jsou* are omitted); the conditional of the past participle and special forms of *být* (see §160) *bych, bys*... (in the present conditional) and *byl bych, byl bys* (in the past conditional); the periphrastic passive of the passive participle (*nesen*) and the appropriate forms of *být* or *bývat* (*jsem nesen*). The periphrastic passive can also occur with the indefinite forms of *být* (*být nesen, jsa nesen, byv unesen*, etc.).

1. Future tense

	singular	plural
1.	budu psát(i)	budem(e) psát(i)
2.	budeš psát(i)	budete psát(i)
3.	bude psát(i)	budou psát(i)

2. Past tense

1.	nesl jsem	nesli jsme
2.	nesl jsi (bál ses)	nesli jste
3.	nesl	nesli

3.a. Present conditional

1.	nesl bych	nesli bychom
2.	nesl bys (bál by ses)	nesli byste
3.	nesl by	nesli by

3.b. Past conditional

1.	byl bych nesl	byli bychom nesli
2.	byl bys nesl	byli byste nesli
3.	byl by nesl	byli by nesli

and 1. býval bych nesl..., byl bych býval nesl. ... .

> On the question of the seemingly non-compound nature of the forms nesl, nesla..., nesli... see §129.2 above.

The passive participle is masc., fem. or neut. in the sing.; in the plur., the masc. forms are additionally either animate or inanimate (sing. nesl, nesl by, byl by nesl; nesla, nesla by, byla by nesla; neslo, neslo by...; plural nesli, nesli by, byli by nesli; nesly, nesly by, byly by nesly, nesla, nesla by, byla by nesla); cf. §138.

4. Periphrastic passive forms

present tense	jsem chválen, jsi chválen, je chválen...; jsou chváleni...
imperative	bud' chválen...

present gerund	jsa chválen, jsouc chválena, jsouc chváleno, jsouce chváleni...
future tense	budu chválen ...
past tense	byl jsem chválen, byl jsi chválen, byl chválen...
conditional present	byl bych chválen...
past	byl bych býval chválen...
past gerund	byv pochválen, byvši pochválena, byvši pochváleno, byvše pochváleni...
infinitive	být(i) chválen.

The passive participle in the sing. is in the masc., fem. or neut. ~~in the sing~~.; in the plur., the masc. forms are additionally either animate or inanimate (je chválen, chválena, chváleno; jsou chváleni, chváleny, chválena etc.); cf. §138.

In the 2nd sing. of the past tense and passive voice the form *jsi* can be replaced by a mere -*s*, which is attached to the pronoun or to a conjunction (*že* etc.), for ex. *tys nesl, vrátil ses, žes byl chválen*; cf. §131.3 and §160.

Rarely and bookishly, -*s* replaces *jsi* used as copula (*tys zdráv*) or as an auxiliary verb in the present passive (*tys chválen*).

If a single individual is addressed as *vy*, the auxiliary verb appears in the plural, but the past and passive participles remain in the singular, for ex. *nesl jste, byl byste přišel, jste poslán* etc.; cf. §130.2a.

Bibliography. The codification of verbal forms is discussed in certain basic and general articles listed among the literature on flexional codification of nouns ~~on p.~~ following §91 (esp. the works by B. Havránek, A. Jedlička, and V. Šmilauer, and also those of M. Dokulil.

THE ADVERB

§162.1. Adverbs are uninflected words which express various circumstances of actions and objects, such as place (je zde , time (přijde)brzy, zítra , manner (pracuje) rychle, dobře, pilně and cause or origin proto(přišel); or, adverbs can designate the degree of a quality or the quantity of an object velmi(dobrý) tak(dobře), neobyčejně dobře, dost(peněz).

In the sentence, adverbs combine as subordinate member with verbs, adjectives and other adverbs and fulfil the role of adverbial determiners (žijeme)radostně, velmi (obratný), směle(vpřed); or, they combine with substantives and are then non-agreeing attributes (cesta)pěšky,(návrat) domů. -- Further, the adverb can serve as the base of mononuclear sentences, particularly with the copula být (bylo)tma,(je mi)smutno,(je mi)líto,(je mi)dobře,(je) třeba(se už vrátit domů), or without the copula, as in lze(říci jen tolik)and the bookish nutno(přihlížet ke všemu), (bylo) dlužno(říct)etc.

> Note. Those adverbs which usually function only as sentence bases are considered by some linguists to form an independent part of speech, the so-called predicatives (in Russian, "category

of state"). Such a word class would however be characterized exclusively by syntactic criteria, although the division of words into parts of speech is usually based on morphological, syntactic and lexical criteria (see §48, esp. §45.3); for this reason, such words are better considered adverbs with a special syntactic function.

Some adverbs with quantifying meaning (including the indefinite numerals, see §112) can themselves govern substantives in the gen. case dost (peněz), hodně (práce), mnoho (úspěchů), etc. .

Such government of substantives by numerals is purely grammatical; from the semantic point of view the adverb serves as an attribute defining the substantive; see §112.3.

2.a) Most adverbs have their base and their meaning similar to adjectives (dobrý - dobře, vysoký - vysoko, český - česky etc.).

b) Adverbs with form and meaning similar to pronouns, e.g. tam, tehdy, tudy, tak (with the same base as the demonstrative pronoun ten), kam, kudy, kdy, kde (with the same base as the interrogative pronoun *kdo*), etc., are called *pronominal adverbs*. These adverbs acquire a precise meaning only in a specific sentence context or in a particular extralinguistic situation (as is the case with pronouns in general; see §100.2)

> Pronominal adverbs have a demonstrative (*tam*...) or an interrogative (*kam*...) meaning.
>
> The interrogative pronominal adverbs *kde*, *kam, kdy*, in addition to their basic interrogative meaning, occasionally have an indefinite meaning as well (similarly to the interrogative pronouns *kdo, co, jaký* etc.); cf. *nenašli jsme ho tam ani kde jinde*; *kdo chce kam, pomozme mu tam*; *nenadál jsem se, že tam kdy pojedu*.
>
> Adverbs with indefinite meaning (indicating an indefinite place or time, etc.) have generally the same prefixes and suffixes, attached to the adverbs *kde, kam, kdy, kudy*, as occur with the indefinite pronouns, for ex. *kdesi, kamsi, kdekoli, kdykoli, někde, někam, někudy, leckde, leckdy* etc.; see §103.

c) Adverbs which have forms and meanings in common with numerals, e.g. *dvojmo, kolik*, can be termed *numeral adverbs*.

As a rule such adverbs are classed among the numerals, since their primary characteristic is their numeral meaning; see §48.

d) The adverbs *ne, ni, nikoli* are *negative adverbs* or *negative particles*. They are independent words, whether they express negation independently (e.g. *Byls tam? Ne. Nikoli*) or negate some member of a sentence (*Stalo se to ne mou vinou*).

Otherwise the negative particle *ne-* functions as a prefix and is graphically joined into a single unit with the word it modifies (e.g. *zítra nepřijedu, nepěkný*); cf. §174 below. -- Similarly, the negative particle *ni-* functions as a prefix in combination with pronouns and pronominal adverbs (e.g. *nikdo, nijaký, nikde, nikam* etc.); see §103.2 and §174.

e) There also exist assentive and hortative adverbs such as *ano, ba, dobrá, tak (dělej)*; these are ordinarily not considered part of the sentence, but rather stand alone; see §181.

Finally, there are the modal adverbs, such as *asi, snad, prý*, which are expressive only of an evaluation of the relation between the utterance and reality.

Assentive, hortative and modal adverbs are sometimes classed among the particles; see §170.

3. Most adverbs are formed from adjective stems by adding the suffix -e(-ě) or, more rarely, -o or -y, e.g. dobře, tiše, zdravě, cize, široce, srdečně, letně, ocelově, stupňovitě, hravě, nesnesitelně, reálně, existenčně; blízko, vysoko, draho; dětsky, česky, socialisticky, vědecky, brigádnicky, etc.

> Before the suffix -e the consonants d, t, n change to d', t', ň (hrdě, napjatě, srdečně) and k, h, ch, r are palatalized to c, z, š, ř (krátce, draze, stroze, tiše, dobře). -- The suffix -ě occurs only after labial consonants, as in zdravě, slabě, skoupě, strmě (ě is also written after t, d, n, but indicates in such cases that the preceding consonants are palatals (t', d', ň), e.g. hrdě, napjatě, jasně.

The suffix -y generally forms adverbs from adjectives in -ský, -cký (česky, rusky, německy; cf. however also hezky); the suffix -ky occurs occasionally ~~with~~ when derived from other adjectives, e.g. bosky, pěšky.

Some adjectives can form ad~~jectives~~verbs in both -o and -e, e.g. draho and draze, těžko and těžce, snadno and snadně, etc. There is sometimes a subtle difference in meaning between the two forms: cf. vyletěl vysoko - vysoce ideový, hluboko v horách - být hluboce dojat, bude *to dlouho trvat - vypravoval dlouze (a široce)*, etc. (the -*e* forms frequently have a figurative meaning).

Another difference between the -*o* and the -*e* forms is that the former most often function as the base of mononuclear sentences, with or without a copula (the so-called predicatives, cf. §162.1); the -*e* forms serve as adverbial modifiers of adjectives and verbs. For ex.: *je mi horko - horce dýchat*, *bylo tam hlučno - hlučně se bavili, je mi smutno* - *smutně proslulý* (cf. the note above).

Remember the spellings *skromně, temně, tajemně*, *rozumně* etc. with the consonant cluster -*mn*-, since the adjectives also have -*mn*- (*skromný, temný, tajemný*, *rozumný*), but *strmě* etc., because of *strmý* etc.

4. On the formation of adverbs from pronominal and numeral bases, cf. above.

5. Adverbs are also formed from verbal bases by means of the suffixes -*mo*, -*ky*, for ex. *letmo, ležmo*, *kradmo, mlčky, plačky* etc.

Some adverbs are formed from verbal bases by adding both the prefix *po*- and the suffix -*mu* (more rarely, -*mo*), e.g. *pokradmu, pošeptmu, potajmu* (more rarely pokradmo, pošeptmo, arch potajmo).

6. In individual cases expressions of foreign origin may be used as adverbs, usually however only in everyday colloquial speech, for ex. ex (vypít ex) prima (hraje prima), or in professional terminology, such as brutto, netto etc. -- However, these expressions of foreign origin have the syntactic function of adjectives (nondeclined) if used as attributes, for ex. je to prima člověk, barva ekry, váha netto činí..., etc.; see §95.1.

7. Other adverbs arise from the petrification of grammatical forms, when such forms have lost their original morphological and syntactic meaning.

a) The most frequent type arises from the petrification of substantival case forms (such as tma, hrůza, blízko, daleko, kolem, úhrnem, mnohem, valem) or of prepositional case forms, i.e. of a combination of preposition with a substantive, adjective, pronoun, numeral, or another adverb (such as pohromadě, pomalu, zatím, poprvé, provždy).

Adverbs which arose from a combination of a preposition and a noun or adverb, i.e. adverbial combinations, are written as a single word, e.g. nahoře, nahlas, nakvap, dokonce, doslova, zejména, zpaměti, zticha, nablízku, pozvolna, beztoho, potom, proto, přitom, dokdy, najednou, zčásti, dodnes, doopravdy etc.

There is frequently a completely obvious difference between the prepositional construction and the adverbial combination (*na hoře, na horu - nahoře, nahoru* etc.); in some cases, however, especially in the case of prepositions combined with the nominal forms of adjectives, the difference between the two constructions is not adequately clear (see §34.1).

> Particularly frequent are adjectives arising from combinations of the prepositions *do, na, po, v, z, za* and the original nominal forms of adjectives. Today such forms are felt as prefixal derivatives (with the prefixes *do-*, *na-* etc.) of adjectival bases modified by the suffixes -*o*, -*a*, -*u*; cf. *doprava, dojista, napravo, najisto, narychlo, postaru, poskrovnu, polehku, vpravo, vlevo, zhruba, ztuha, zlehka, znova, zastara, zamlada* (also written separately: *za stara, za mlada*), etc.

For example: *Nahoře na náměstí se objevil první zástup* -- *Na hoře Řípu se konala slavnost; Málo, ba dokonce nic nerozuměl!* -- *Zůstali jsme do konce; Bud'te zticha* -- *Z ticha se ozval jeho hlas; Napřed váhal, potom se rychle rozhodl* -- *Po tom, co se stalo, musíš být opatrný*.

Remember the spellings doleva, nalevo, vlevo, zleva, naplno, najednou, navždy, občas, odevšad, odjinud, potichu, potom, přesto, přitom, sbohem, vcelku, vtom, vzápětí, zato, zčásti, zhruba, zpravidla, ztěžka, zdéli, zhloubi, zšíři, zvýši, but za prvé, za druhé...; po prvé, po druhé, po třetí..., po každé and also poprvé, podruhé, potřetí..., pokaždé.

> For details on the spelling of adverbial combinations, esp. of those which are now written in two ways, see §34.1.

In addition to adverbial combinations with prepositions, there are a few combinations of other types, such as mermomocí, horempádem, milerád, bohudík, tentam (and ten tam), víceméně (and více méně) etc.

b) Some adverbs which look like simple case forms arose when original nominal mononuclear sentences, in which these forms served as bases, lost their sentence function, for ex. div (div nespadne do vody), hanba (nepořádný je až hanba), radost, strach (bylo radost, strach se na něj podívat), škoda (mluvit) etc.; tma, zima (bylo tma, bylo zima), etc. Such adverbs are often strongly expressive, cf. bylo tam hrůza lidí, mám práce až hrůza.

c) Some adverbs arose from the petrification of verbal forms, esp. gerunds, for ex. *leže, stoje, kleče, takřka* etc.

> The adverbs *leže, stoje, kleče* also acquire the forms *vleže, vstoje, vkleče* in the everyday conversational language.
>
> *Note*. Such adverbs rarely arose from forms other than gerunds (*prý* comes from the 3rd pers. plur. *praví); praví* became *praj,* which then gave *prej* (like *dělej* from *dělaj*); *prej* was then changed to a presumedly literary *prý* (see §240.2a,c).

d) Adverbs also arise when whole sentence expressions lost their sentence function and become petrified, for ex. *jaksepatří*, Common Czech *jakbysmet*, etc.

e) Fixed adverbial word-combinations have the character of simple adverbs, for ex. *cesta necesta, volky nevolky, křížem krážem, chtě nechtě, stůj co stůj* etc.

§163. Some adverbs, like adjectives (see §94), have three degrees of comparison: positive (*zdravě*), comparative (*zdravěji*) and superlative (*nejzdravěji*); the comparative expresses a greater and the superlative a maximally high degree of the given quality.

The comparative is usually formed by the suffix -*eji*, -*ěji* (e.g. *směleji, tišeji, řidčeji, zdravěji, krásněji*), more rarely by -*e* (*snáze, výše*).

The superlative is formed from the comparative by adding the prefix *nej*-.

In comparative formation the suffixes -*ko*, *ce*, -*oko*, -*oce*, -*eko* and sometimes -*ně*, -*no* are truncated; cf. *blíz-ko - blíže*, *úz-ko* and *úz-ce - úže* and *úžeji*, *šir-oko* and *šir-oce - šíře* and *šířeji, výše, hlouběji*, *dal-eko - dále, snad-no* and *snad-ně - snáze* but also *snadněji*, etc. - similarly to the comparative of adjectives, cf. §94.

Before the suffixes -*eji* and -*e* there occur the consonantal alternations *k* and *c ~ č* (*kratčeji*, *řidčeji*) *h ~ ž (dráže)*, *ch ~ š (tišeji)* *r ~ ř (šíře* and *šířeji*), *s* and *z ~ š* and *ž (výše, blíže, úže* and *úžeji*) and *d ~ z (snáze)*.

The suffix -*e* generally occurs only in certain rather "irregular" comparatives formed from a different stem (*málo - méně*, see below) or formed by truncation of the suffixes -*ko*, -*oko* (occasionally -*no*). Elsewhere this -*e* is indistinct, for ex. *tiše* is the positive degree, so the comparative is *tišeji*, with the suffix -*eji*. -- However, forms in -*e* tend to be supplanted by new formations in -*eji*, which are unambiguously comparative, for ex. *hlouběji, snadněji, úžeji* etc.

The suffix -*e* is sometimes omitted, cf. *dál, dráž, snáz, blíž, výš, níž, tíž, líp, víc* etc., such shortened forms are colloquial in character. -- In the shortened forms without -*e* the stem vowel *é* sometimes alternates with *í*, cf. *lépe - líp* (the forms *míň, dýl* are not completely literary, although *míň* is penetrating into the spoken literary language).

Note. The shortened forms have sometimes become petrified in fixed expressions, for ex. *houšť* (from *hustě - hustěji*): *jen houšť*!

The comparative is sometimes formed on a stem different from that of the positive, cf. *málo - méně, mnoho - více, víc, dobře - lépe, líp, zle - hůře, hůř*, or from a significantly altered form of the stem, cf. *dlouho - déle.*

Bibliography. On the problem of the so-called *predicatives* see *Komárek* 1954, and, polemically, *Trávníček* 1956 and *Komárek's* 1956 response 1956 .

PREPOSITIONS

§164.1 Prepositions are uninflected words which express circumstances similar to those expressed by adverbs, namely place, time, manner, cause or origin, etc. They have their own meanings, but these meanings become clear only in combination with nouns (substantives, more rarely substantivized adjectives, pronouns, and numerals). Together with its noun, the preposition forms a *prepositional construction*, for ex. *v (bytě), do (města), do (roka), s (jezdci), ka (známým), pro (tebe), po (čtyřech)*.

The combination of preposition and noun, i.e. the prepositional construction, serves as a single member of the sentence, most frequently as an adverbial determiner (*jedeme na hory*), but occasionally also as object (*vzpomínal jsem na domov*), non-agreeing attribute (*horníci z Kladna*), or complement (*byl zvolen za předsedu*).

> Prepositional constructions sometomes lose their original meanings and become adverbs (adverbial constructions), such as *nahoru, dokonce* etc.; see §162.7.

2. Prepositions are *original* (primary) or *secondary*.

Primary prepositions are those which appear only in the meaning of prepositions, with the noun cases governed by prepositions, e.g. *v, do, s, pro* etc.).

> Most primary prepositions also function as (verbal) prefixes, cf. *vnést, donést, snést, pronést* etc. (see §118.2). The preposition *k* never functions as a prefix, and *bez* and *proti* are not used as verbal prefixes.

Secondary prepositions are those which, depending on circumstances, also function as some other part of speech, e.g. as adverbs or substantival case forms, e.g. *kolem, místo, pomocí, prostřednictvím* etc. For example: *Kolem domu - šel kolem, blízko nádraží - je to blízko, prostřednictvím místního národního výboru - slovo se k nám dostalo prostřednictvím německým, vedle školy - stojí vedle, kromě nás - nemluvil jsem s nikým, kromě s tebou,* etc.

> The secondary prepositions arose from other parts of speech, cf. *místo, blízko, kolem, kraj (světa), vzhledem k,* etc. In some cases, however, the original noun has disappeared, in which case the preposition's connection with another part of speech is no longer felt, e.g. *kromě, dle, podle vedle, skrze* etc.; some features (especially stress) still connect this

latter group with the secondary prepositions (see §22.2).

Their nominal origin explains the fact that most secondary prepositions take the genitive case, more rarely the accusative or dative; see §166 below.

§165. The non-syllabic prepositions *s, z, v, k* also have syllabic forms *se, ze, ve, ke, ku*. The latter occur whenever the following word begins with an identical or similar consonant, or with a cluster of three consonants (*ze země, ve vlaku, se školou, ve středo ke stromu* etc.). Before clusters of two consonants the preposition appears sometimes in its nonsyllabic and sometimes in its syllabic form (*k studentům, ke stolu* etc.).

The preposition *k* also has the form *ku* in the following fixed expressions (always before a word beginning with the labial *p*): *ku podivu* (also spelled as an adverbial construction: *kupodivu*), *ku pomoci*, *ku prospěchu, ku Praze, ku příkladu*, (also spelled *kupříkladu*). The form *ku* is also used when reading mathematical expressions such as *a:b = c:d* [á ku bé] - [cé ku dé].

Syllabic prepositions ending in a consonant (od, nad, pod, bez, přes etc.) also have -- but more rarely than the nonsyllabic prepositions -- the forms ode, nade, pode, beze, přese etc., e.g. ode mne, pode mlýnem, beze všeho, přese (pronounced [přeze]) všechno, etc.

> The prepositional forms in -e are sometimes known as vocalized.
>
> On the combination of prepositions with the interrogative or personal pronouns -č, -ň, e.g. naň, proň, zač, več etc., see §108 and §107. -- The combination proč has become an adverb, cf. §162.7.

On the stress of prepositions see 22.

§166. Every preposition combines with one or more specific noun cases.

The secondary prepositions combine with the genitive, cf. kolem lesa, vedle školy, místo očí, kromě soboty, pomocí přátel, následkem křivd, the bookish kraj světa, etc. Only the prepositions mimo, skrz, vyjma take the acc. (mimo to, skrz les, vyjma matku), kvůli, vůči, díky the dative (kvůli tobě, vůči němu), and mezi the acc. and instr. (the acc. in the meaning 'where to' and the instr. in the meaning 'where', without motion, cf. mezi nás - mezi námi etc.).

Such prepositional constructions as *za účelem, v rámci, vzhledem k, v souladu (v souhlasu) s čím, na rozdíl od*, etc., are also secondary prepositions (on limitations on the use of some of them see §167 below).

Following are the cases taken by the *primary prepositions*:

genitive: bez, do, od, u, z
dative: k, proti
accusative: ob, pro, přes
locative: při
instrumental: s

accusative and locative: *na, po, v* (in adverbal determiners; the acc. occurs with the meaning 'where to' and the locative in the meaning 'where', answering the questions *Kam*? and *Kde*? respectively, cf. *na stůl - na stole*, etc.; as objects they depend on the rection of the verb, e.g. acc. *pamatovat na někoho, doufat v koho*, loc. *toužit po někom* etc.), *o* (case distinguished only by verbal rection: *usilovat o něco, mluvit o něčem*);

accusative and instrumental: *nad, pod, před, za* (acc. 'where to', instr. 'where', cf. *nad město - nad městem* etc., or by rection *volit za předsedu* etc.).

Bookishly and archaically, esp. in certain fixed expressions, the preposition *v* (with the locative) appears in the form *u*, when combined with a noun beginning with a labial consonant, cf. *být u vytržení, jako u vidění, u vědomí své krásy; les brání u volném rozhledu* (Jirásek), etc.

The preposition *za* also combines (in addition to the acc. and instr.) with the gen. in time expressions answering the question 'when?', e.g. *za dne, za noci*, etc.

The preposition *s* combines not only with the instr. but also still to a limited extent, with the gen. in the spatial meaning 'whence', answering the question *odkud?* (from the surface of something or along the surface, downwards -- *s věže*) and rarely with the acc. (*je s to*).

On the difference in meaning between the prepositions *z*, *s* with the gen. and on their spelling see §30.IV in the Orthography section.

§167. In using prepositions it is important to observe their precise meanings and stylistic suitability. The following prepositions require special comment:

dle is bookish (*dle nařízení, dle předpisu* etc.); as a rule the preposition *podle* is used in the same meaning;

kolem and *okolo* are also correct in the meaning 'past', 'down along', e.g. *přešel kolem nás bez pozdravu*;

kromě, mimo and *vyjma* have the same general meaning 'except (for)'; *kromě* takes the gen. and *mimo, vyjma* (arch. *vyjmouc*) the acc.;

kvůli can be used with both persons and objects: *kvůli nám, kvůli práci*;

ohledně (toho) is replaced in the literary language by *v té věci* or the bookish *stran (toho)*, etc.

oproti is archaic and bookish;

proti in the meaning of condition or exchange is archaic and usually replaced by some other expression such as the preposition *na* (*na potvrzení* instead of *proti potvrzení*);

skrz is properly used in the meaning of penetration through some substance (*skrz obálku, skrz brýle, skrz ohradu*) and also figuratively, where it denotes mediation or a mediator (*skrz ředitelství školy, skrz tlumočníka*). Only in the meaning of cause or origin is it considered non-literary: *skrz tebe (jsem přišel k úrazu), skrz úlohu*.

The secondary prepositions *následkem, vlivem, dík(y)* and the prepositional constructions *v rámci, za účelem, v důsledku* are not incorrect, but are restricted to bookish and professional language and must be used in their precise meanings; *za příčinou* is considered archaic.

§168. *In multiple expressions* in which several case forms are governed by the same preposition, this preposition is sometimes repeated with each substantive, sometimes not.

a) The preposition is always repeated if the second (or further) member is joined to the first by some means other than a conjunction. If it is joined by a conjunction (often by a double conjunction), or joined without any conjunction, the preposition is usually repeated only if the conjoined members stand in some relation other than that of simple compounding. The preposition is also always repeated if the members of a multiple expression are separated by some (parenthetical) insertion. For example: *díval se hned na jednu, hned na druhou stranu; osvědčil se jak v průmyslu, tak v zemědělství; mluvil nejen za sebe, ale za zdrcující většinu svých spoluobčanů; jeho umění se setkává s pochopením, ale i s nedůvěrou; nepochybujeme o snaze (malíře) vyjádřit charakter krajiny, kterou maluje, o jeho nadání*.

b) If the second (or further) member is joined in a relation of compounding, either by a conjunction or without one, the preposition is sometimes repeated, sometimes not.

The preposition is usually not repeated if the individual members are semantically parallel, coordinate (or synonymous), and if the meaning of the whole rather than that of the individual members is emphasized. Repetition of the preposition emphasizes the semantic independence of the individual members, while the meaning of the entire expression is thus fragmented.

Further, the preposition is not repeated in certain fixed expressions, and also not, if the members are modified by a common attribute or if they depend, as a common attribute, on a single substantival headword.

For example: *rozložila věci po stolech, židlích, poličkách a postelích (= po nábytku); odpovědnost za osudy a budoucnost všeho lidstva; bez ladu a skladu; přes hory a doly; seznámili se s nejnovějšími formami a metodami organizace práce; boj za sociální a národní osvobození*. -- But: *mírové využití atomové energie v národním hospodářství, v lékařství a ve vědě; pokoj se zvláštním vchodem a s koupelnou.*

2. In expanded sentence members whose base is a prepositional construction, the preposition is as a rule not repeated. Exceptions are found only in the artistic, poetic style: *tam pod horami, pod vysokými* (Bezruč).

In an older stage of the language, the preposition was as a rule repeated in such expressions as *to všechno, ti všichni*, cf. *z toho ze všeho (vyplývá), při tom při všem (nedosáhl úspěchu), s námi se všemi,* etc.; more recently, however, the second preposition-is omitted from these expressions as well, cf. *z toho všeho (vyplývá), promluvil k nám všem.*

Bibliography. On the meaning and evaluation of certain secondary prepositions cf. recently M. *Jelínek* 1959a, 1959b, *Hausenblas and Daneš* 1958, *Kroupová* 1965, 1966, 1968 and on the entire problem M. *Jelínek* 1964.

On the repetition of prepositions see *Oravec* 1961 and *Hrbáček* 1963.

CONJUNCTIONS AND PARTICLES

§169.1. Conjunctions are uninflected words which join individual sentence members or entire clauses ~~sentences~~, expressing the grammatical and semantic relations among these members or sentences.

> The role of connecting sentence members or clauses ~~sentences~~ is also played by some relative and interrogative pronouns such as kdo, co, který... and some pronominal adverbs such as proto, kdy, kde, kudy (cf. §201, 202).

2. Conjunctions which express the contentual or ~~grammatical and~~ semantic relations between coordinate ~~conjoined~~ sentence members or clauses ~~sentences~~ are called coordinating, for ex. a, i, nebo, anebo, ale, avšak, nebot', ani...ani, at'...at', bud'...nebo etc. (cf. §206, 207 below).

Conjunctions which express the grammatical and semantic relations of a subordinate clause to its main clause are called subordinating, for ex. když, jakmile, protože, že, aby, -li, kdyby, ač, třebaže, etc. (see §204, 205).

3. No comma is written before a, i, ani, nebo in coordinate constructions (see also §36.3), but the comma is obligatory before all other coordinating conjunctions.

The subordinating conjunctions are placed at the beginning of the subordinate clause, preceded by a comma (if preceded by the main clause); only the conjunction *-li* occurs after the first word of the subordinate clause, to which it is joined by a hyphen.

If a subordinating conjunction is preceded by the conjunction *a, ale, i, aby, že, než* or the adverb *teprve, právě, zejména, zvláště*, the comma is written only before such conjunction or adverb, not before the subordinating conjunction. For example: *Diváci byli netrpěliví, a jakmile byl ohlášen výsledek závodu, propukli v jásot.* -- *Není pochyby, že když každý koná své povinnosti, prospívá celku.* -- *Vlak se rozjel, právě když jsme přicházeli na nádraží.*

§170. Particles are uninflected words which introduce independent sentences and mark their type ~~(orders~~ commands, questions, exhortations) or their modal or emotive coloring, for ex. *at', necht', kéž, což, copak*. Particles can also combine with sentence members to express various nuances of meaning. They are not themselves considered sentence members. -- Since they do not connect ~~sentences~~ clauses (or sentence members) with each other, they must be distinguished from conjunctions proper.

Particles generally stand before the sentence or sentence member which they introduce. For ex.: *At' o tobě brzo uslyšíme! At' žije mír! Necht' se přihlásí. Zda máš pravdu? Jelipak to pravda nebo ne? Což o to! Copak je to pravda?*

Conjunctions can serve the function of particles, if they do not join clauses but only express the specific character (usually modal) of a sentence or an expression; this occurs with *kdyby, když, že, a, i, ale* etc., for ex.: *Kdyby už přišel! Když on je tak divný! Že už jdeš! Že se ti chce! Ale kde! A co ted'? I jen si tam zůstaň! I ty darebo!*

Some words which ordinarily function as interjections can also play the role of particles, with the meaning of emphasis, reproach, warning, etc.; for ex.: *Jak je to jen možné*! *Jen s chutí do toho*! *Jen bratr přišel*. -- *Ach otče! To prší. Ono hřmí* (*to*, *ono* originally had the force of interjections).

Assentive, hortative and modal adverbs could also be considered particles; see §162.2e.

Bibliography. On conjunctions cf. *Bauer*, 1964, 1962 and *Žaža* 1958. On the delimitation and classification of particles as an independent part of speech see *Mistrík* 1959 (with further literature); particles are also discussed in *Komárek* 1958b.

INTERJECTIONS

§171. Interjections are uninflected words which express the moods, feelings or will of the speaker (e.g. *ach*, *ó*, *br*), which call attention to something(*hej, hle* etc.), or which designate sounds and noises accompanying an action (*checheche, bác, cink, prásk, frnk*).

Interjections, especially when they express moods or feelings, are frequently repeated, for ex. *achach, ajajaj, jéjé, nono*, etc., or accumulated, e.g. *ach jé* etc.

1. Interjections which designate sounds and noises are *onomatopoetic interjections*, for ex. *checheche, břink, bác*, etc. Other words, especially verbs, can be derived from them, e.g. *bacat, břinknout, bouchnout, chechtat se, mňoukat* etc. (and substantives can then be derived from these verbs in turn: *břinkot, chechtot*, etc.).

Hortative interjections (e.g. *na, nate*) are closely related to the onomatopoetic interjections; in most cases they indicate that the speaker so addressing animals: *pr, hot, vijé, kší, huš, put'*, etc.

2. Petrified forms of other parts of speech can turn into interjections, for ex.: *panečku, holenku, hrome, lidičky* (vocative of substantives); *běda, hrůza* (nom); *čerta, d'asa* (gen.); *hybaj, vid', vid'te* (imperative of verbs); *jářku* (1st pers. sing.); *vida* (pres. gerund), etc.

Forms of some other verbs can lose their own meaning and acquire the force of simple interjections (with a hortative or warning meaning), for ex. *počkat (počkat, něco vám řeknu), počkej, počkejte, podívej, podívej se, podívejme, podívejme se*, etc. (*podívej, už jsou tady*).

Sometimes the verbal origin of such interjections is no longer felt, e.g. *hle*, from *hled'* etc.; the fact that these verbal forms become fixed as interjections a long time ago is shown by obsolete forms such as *hybaj* (cf. the modern imperative *hýbej*).

3. There are also interjections of foreign origin *hergot, krucifix (kruci, krucinál* etc.), *sakra*, *sakraholte* (or changed to *safra, kakraholte*), etc.

4. Interjections are as a rule not syntactically connected with any other word in the sentence, but stand independently, replacing an exclamatory sentence. For this reason, if they are felt as independent words, they are usually separated from other words in speech by pause and in writing by a comma or an exclamation point, e.g. *Nu, copak to znamená? -- Hoho! To zlato proklaté má hrany ostře špičaté* (Erben).

Sometimes, however, the interjection is only one component of an exclamation, especially if it is followed by a more emphatic exclamatory expression (a vocative, imperative, exclamatory particle, etc.); in such cases there is no pause after the interjection and the latter is not graphically separated by a comma, e.g. *Ach táto, tatíčku. Nu pojd'. Nô tak dobrá. Ó kéž je to pravda!* etc.

Only a few interjections, especially those which denote sounds (accompanying an action or constituting the action itself), can sometimes replace sentence members, especially the verbal predicate, in which case the interjection becomes a syntactic part of the sentence. For ex.: *Chlapec se dlouho nerozmýšlel a hop do vozu. Straka chňap po prstenu*.

On the syntactic role of the interjection, independent (in interjectional sentences) and dependent or as a sentence member, see §180, §181.2 and §189.3.

Interjections of warning and hortative and exclamatory interjections can acquire some of the qualities of verbs: they form plurals like *heled'me, heled'te, hečte, nate* etc., or they acquire verbal governance properties, e.g. *ejhle panáčka, hr na ně, vida ho,* etc.

IV. SYNTAX

Clauses and sentences

§172.1. To express thoughts in language we use sentences. The sentence is thus the expression of a thought by means of words. The words in a sentence are grammatically and semantically joined into the sentence unit which has an established grammatical shape. Sometimes one word alone (prší) can form a sentence.

> Every sentence or every sentence unit is connected in its thought content with some definite situation, refers to it. By the sentence a speaker expresses his attitude to reality -- actual or imagined --, summed up in a thought (often in a judgment), less frequently his emotional or volitive standpoint. The sentence is thus a unit of communication (this can be an assertion, an appeal or an emotion).
>
> A sentence or a sentence unit is composed of words which are grammatically and semantically arranged and encompassed in a whole expressing an independent communicative thought. The grammatical arrangement of words forms the grammatical structure of the sentence and their semantic, or content arrangement

its meaning (semantic) structure. The grammatical arrangement is as a rule determined by the grammatical shape of the sentence ~~which is~~ usual or stabilized in a given language.

Sometimes only the unit with a stabilized grammatical shape is called a sentence (věta), the meaning unit of communication is then called a statement (výpověd'); at other times only the syntactic shape of the sentence as a unit of a system is considered a sentence while the concretely realized unit of the communication in a discourse is considered the statement. Such differentiation of terms is not necessary. Concerning the content or meaning structure see the discussion of the so-called functual sentence perspective or contextual analysis of the sentence (aktualní členění), §184.1.

2. The complete independent thought being expressed is either semantically a simple unit and is therefore linguistically also expressed by a simple sentence unit, or it is semantically a complicated unit (divided into single thoughts or uniting single thoughts) and may then also linguistically be expressed by a complex sentence unit.

A simple sentence whole, expressing one thought as a unit of communication, is a simple sentence.

A complex sentence whole, expressing a complicated thought, unites several sentences (clauses) into a gramatically and semantically joined unit called a complex sentence.

For ex.: Simple sentences: *Slunce začalo hřát*. *Sníh tál*. *Severní svah, porostlý lískovím a olšinami nevěděl o jaru ještě nic*. -- Complex sentences: *Ledy roztály, přichází znovu jaro.* *Fičely mrazivé větry, dula vichřice, kraj zapadl sněhem.* *Když měl poprvé promluvit na schůzi, hlas se mu chvěl*.

In speech, the end of a sentence is signaled by pause and by the falling of the voice (change in pitch). -- In writing the beginning of a sentence is marked by capitalization and the end by a period (or question mark or exclamation point).

Between the clauses of a sentence In speech we make a slight pause but do not lower the pitch. -- In writing the clauses of a sentence are separated from each other by a comma whenever they are not joined by the conjunctions *a*, *i*, *ani*, *nebo* with a connecting function.

Changes in pitch during the course of speech are called intonation; this term sometimes also includes stress (about sentence stress see §185.1).

Kinds of sentences

§173. According to the relationship of the speaker to the content of a sentence, the following kinds of sentences are distinguished: declarative, interrogative, imperative and exclamatory. Every one of these types has its own sequence of tones (intonation) in speech.

Declarative sentences simply make a statement or an announcement, interrogative ask a question, imperatives state a command, prohibition or request. In all of these types we deal with different subjective relationships of the speaker to the reality being expressed and which he understands: 1. as known and certain or at least as possible or contingent, 2. as reality which he wants to get to know in part or at least to confirm, 3. as reality which he wants or wishes to come true, or the realization of which he wants to prevent.

In contrast exclamatory sentences express the emotional relationship of the speaker to the reality being expressed; they are therefore a matter of the emotional attitude of the speaker.

A.1. The *declarative sentence* simply makes a statement or announcement. The verb in the predicate is most frequently in the indicative mood (especially when reality is expressed as certain); more rarely it is in the conditional (whenever the reality is evaluated as only possible or contingent).

In calm declarative sentences the differences in pitch are slight; toward the end of the sentence the voice falls and the last word usually has the so-called sentence stress (see §185.1). In writing, the end of declarative sentences is marked by a period.

E.g.: *Učíme mládež lásce k vlasti*. *Lékaři zachraňují naše životy*. *Uplynulo deset let*. *Je klid*. -- *Byl bych vám napsal, ale neměl jsem adresu*.

2. The *interrogatory sentence* expresses a question. According to the nature of the question we distinguish ascertaining and completing questions.

In an ascertaining question we seek to discover whether what we have in mind is correct or not; we seek a confirmation or denial (*ano - ne*). Ascertaining questions differ from declarative sentences either in their question intonation, or by being introduced by the question particles *což, copak*, *zdali* and (in colloquial style) *jestlipak*.

A special type of ascertaining questions, consisting of at least two parts, are the excluding questions; we ascertain in them which of two (or more) possibilities expressed in the question is correct (see §207.4).

Completing questions seek to fill an incomplete knowledge of something; these questions are introduced by an interrogative pronoun or adverb (*kdo, co, od koho*,...; *který, jaký; kde, kdy, odkud, kolik* etc.).

Questions in speech have question intonation: the pitch does not fall at their very end and in ascertaining questions it rises. -- In writing the end of interrogative sentences is marked with a question mark.

For ex.: ascertaining questions: *Bolí tě hlava*? *Mám si to vzít*? *Dostal jsi včas zprávu*? *Přijdeš*? *Což už nepřijde*? *Jestlipak se nebojíš?* -- *Přijmeš pozvání nebo odmítneš?* -- Completing questions: *Kdo je doma*? *Co mi chceš*? *Jak se jmenuješ?* *O čem jste spolu mluvili*? *Kam mám jít*? *Kolik je hodin*?

We find the form of interrogative sentences also in the so-called rhetorical questions; they do not express a question, but a statement like the declarative sentences (of course in meaning opposite to the question itself) with a certain evaluation, as a rule emotional, and with emphasis.

They are used especially in journalistic style (see §232 ff).

> For ex.: *Může o tom dnes ještě někdo pochybovat?* (= *Nemůže.*) -- *Já že jsem to povídal?* (= *Nepovídal jsem to*.)

3. The *imperative sentence* expresses a command or prohibition, exhortation, request or wish for something to happen. Its verb is often in the imperative or conditional mood. In speech it is accompanied by imperative intonation: the voice is louder at the beginning and at the same time the pitch rises significantly at the beginning or in some other place in the sentence.

In writing, imperative sentences may be signaled with a final exclamation point: the exclamation point is mandatory whenever a verb in other than the imperative mood is used; if the verb in the sentence is in the imperative the exclamation point may be omitted, whenever the sentence does not express a direct, emphatic command, prohibition or exhortation.

Imperative sentences are sometimes divided into commands (expressing a command or prohibition) and wishes. The latter are usually introduced by the particles *at'*, or the bookish *necht'*, *kéž*, this is true sometimes even when they express a command or prohibition, see §134.2.

For ex.: commands: Dostavte se na místní národní výbor! Přijd'te mezi nás. Braňme mír! Nevstupovat! At' to zkusí! -- Wishes: At' se vám to podaří! Kéž bychom dosáhli úspěchu! Mějte se dobře! Jen aby tě to nezklamalo!

B. Exclamatory sentences express an emotional relationship to what is stated in them, for example a joy over something, a sadness because of something, surprise, scorn, horror, loathing, etc. They are often preceded by interjections or exclamatory particles (ach, vida etc.).

Exclamatory sentences do not have a special grammatical form of their own. They are in form declarative, interrogative or imperative, pronounced with excited intonation. They are marked by stronger stress and by more abrupt rise or fall in the pitch. -- In writing they are marked by a final exclamation point.

E.g.: Jak ten chlapec za rok vyrostl! Ach, to je zde krásně! Vida, sestra je už doma! Těch květů všude! Cos to udělal!

§174. Sentences are divided also into affirmative and negative according to the attitude of the speaker toward the content of the sentence; whether he confirms or denies the content.

1. A negative sentence denies the content of the whole sentence; the content is proclaimed to be invalid or impossible or non-existent. This is a matter of the so-called sentence negation.

a) A negative sentence contains a negative predicate verb with the negative prefix ne- (Nemám tu knihu. Nejezdi! Lež daleko, neujde etc.).

The negative prefix ne- is in some compound verbal constructions, i.e. in the past tense and in the present conditional, attached to the form (participle) of the verb carrying the meaning (e.g. neřekl jsem, neřekl bys). -- In other compound constructions (in the future tense and in forms of the passive) the negative prefix ne- is attached to forms of the auxiliary verb být (nebudu zahálet, nejsem zván, nebyl jsem pozván etc.). Also in the past conditional is the negative prefix attached to the participle of the auxiliary verb (nebyl bych myslil), but also sometimes with the participle of the meaning-carrying verb, especially when it is a matter of emphatic negation (to bych byl nikdy nemyslil, or Vašek by nebyl mohl říci, but to by byl Vašek nemohl o mně říci). -- Also in the predicate with the copula (být) is the negative prefix ne- attached to the copula (nebyl zdráv).

Instead of the indefinite pronouns and pronominal adverbs, such as *kdo, někdo, co, něco, někde, někdy*, and instead of general and generalizing expressions, such as *každý, všechen, všude, vždy*, negative sentences have negative pronouns and pronominal adverbs with the negative prefix *ni-*, such as *nikdo* or *žádný, nic, nikde, nikdy*, etc., whenever all possible contingencies are negated (the so-called general negation).

Negative sentences may, however, contain these expressions also in their affirmative shape; such sentences then express the so-called partial negation, i.e. not all cases are denied, only some of them. The sentence stress then falls on the negated verbal form.

For ex.: *Nikdo mu nerozuměl*. *Nic mi neřekl*. *Nikdy se mu nic nepodaří*. *Nikde jsem ho neviděl*. *Nikdy nikomu nic neslibuj*. *Dům neměl žádná okna*.

Všichni mu nerozuměli (i.e. some of the people did understand him, some did not). *Všechno mi neřekl* (i.e. he told me some things but not everything). *Vždy se mu to nepodaří* (i.e. sometimes he is successful in doing it, sometimes not).

Note. Whenever the sentence stress falls on the affirmative expression of general or generalizing value, such a sentence also expresses general negation, it denies all possible cases but as a whole, generally (*Všichni mu nerozuměli*, i.e. every single one = noone; *Vždy se mu to nepodaří*, i.e. whenever he does it, he is never successful). -- Such negation is expressed clearly only in speech, because only with the voice is it possible to differentiate otherwise identical sentences by means of stress.

b) With the negative conjunction *ani* (or the archaic *ni*) preceding a word which carries emphasis, the negation in a negative sentence is strengthened. E.g. *Ani kuře darmo nehrabe*. *Ani nám se to nelíbí*. *Ni kantor by to nedoved*.

Instead of the coordinating conjunctions *a*, *i*, *i - i*, *také, rovněž* especially with emphatic meaning, the negative sentence has *ani*, rarely *ni*. E.g. *Neměla bratra ani sestru*. *Nemohl se ani sehnout ani pohnout*. *Nevěřte radě, ni chvále, ni haně*. (Sv. Čech) -- *Ani větříček se nepohnul, ani hlásek se neozval*.

c) After verbs with the meaning 'inhibit' (*bránit*, *zabránit, zakázat, zapírat* etc.) following the conjunction *aby* we usually find an objective subordinate clause -- in disagreement with the actual meaning of this subordinate clause -- with a negative form. -- After expressions with the meaning 'be afraid' (*bát* *se, obávat se, mít strach)* following the conjunction *aby*, there occurs negative subordinate clause agreeing in meaning with the affirmative subordinate clause which is placed after the conjunction *že*; the negative clause following the conjunction *že* has a negative meaning.

For ex.: *Bránili mu, aby se nevydával v nebezpečí* (= *Bránili mu vydávat se v nebezpečí*). -- *Bojím se, abych nepřišel pozdě* (= *Bojím se, že přijdu pozdě*), but: *Bojím se že nepřijdu včas*.

d) Sometimes negation is accomplished with a negative word alone (*ne, nikoli*); the negative word has the value of a sentence. E.g. *Byls tam? Ne*. -- *Půjdeš domů?* *Nikoli*.

2. Sometimes the content of the whole sentence is not negated but only a part, only a certain sentence member is. This kind of negation is also expressed as a rule with the negative *ne*, but by itself, or by the negative *nikoli*, placed before such a sentence part. -- This is the so-called partial negation (to be distinguished from sentence negation).

For ex.: *Stalo se to ne mou vinou*. *Ne zcela jsem s tím souhlasil*. *Ne každý se o to pokusil*. *Sotva ten jazyk jsme si zachovali, a to ještě ne všichni a ne čistě*. (K. Havlíček) *Přivítal ho srdečně nikoli bez pohnutí*.

Note. Besides these cases of the so-called grammatical negation, in which a whole sentence or a sentence part is negated, we also speak of lexical or word negation. The negative meaning is here a part of the lexical meaning of the word and is expressed by the prefix ne- , which is a part of the word. E.g. nekuřák, nepravý, nepřítel, nejeden etc. -- Sometimes the unprefixed word no longer exists and the prefixed word has an independent lexical meaning, e.g. nenávidět, nesmírný, nemluva.

Bibliography. On sentence types according to the so-called attitude of the speaker cf. Grepl, 1967 and 1965.

Besides the fundamental study of Gebauer 1883, negation is also discussed especially by ← Trávníček 1935c, Mathesius 1947c and in monograph form by Vachek 1947 (and in article form in 1940). A comparative point of departure is taken by Ilek 1954. Cf. also a compact but detailed discussion by Daneš on pp. 20 ff. of Bečka et al. 1952b. A popularized article with a view to language correctness is Haller 1948.

The grammatical structure of a sentence

A. Sentence relations and sentence parts.

§175.1. Words in a sentence which belong together because of meaning, are as a rule joined together grammatically in a sentence relationship.

¶ Individual words or groups of words which enter these grammatical relationships are the parts of a sentence. Sentence parts joined by one grammatical sentence relationship or syntactic tie form correlates of sentence parts or syntactic correlates. Such a syntactic correlate, i.e. the realization of the syntactic relationship in a concrete sentence is called a syntagm.

Parts of syntactic correlates, i.e. sentence ~~parts~~ members are fully meaningful words (lexico-grammatical and lexical words, cf. §39).

~~Parts~~ Members of sentence correlates are not purely grammatical words. Therefore prepositions (do, proti), modal and phasal auxiliaries (mít, muset, chtít, začínat etc.), the verbs být, bývat, stát se, stávat se in the role of a copula nor the verb být in compound verbal constructions (přišel jsem, budu přicházet etc.), ~~nor~~ nor the reflexive pronoun attached to a reflexive form of a verb (*se*, *si*) are not sentence parts. -- A sentence part is only the combination of a preposition with a noun in a given case (the prepositional phrase -- *pro lid* etc.), the auxiliary verb with the infinitive of a meaning-bearing verb (*musím odejít*), the copula with the ~~adjective or~~ noun in the predicate (*jsem spokojen, stal se učitelem*), the whole compound verbal construction and the whole reflexive verb (*dotýkali jsme se, dotýkáme se*). -- Likewise conjunctions (*ale, že, když e*tc.) and introductory particles (*at', zda* etc.) are not sentence parts because they only indicate the joining of sentence parts into a compound ~~part~~ member or a joining of sentences (clauses) into a compound or complex sentence (see §201), or they signal the kind of s~~entenc~~e clause they introduce. -- Nor are the following considered sentence parts: expressions (adverbs) which emphasize, strengthen, especially when used with nouns e.g. *už, hned, ještě, jen, právě, zejména, zvláště* etc.; in their value they approach the particles (cf. §170). For example: *Už první stránky knihy nás zaujmou, hned začátek zápasu se vyvýjel jinak, přijde ještě Karel, právě jemu se to nelíbilo* etc.

An interjection is a member of a syntactic correlate and thus a sentence part, only when it is used in a verbal meaning with the value of a predicate (as in: chlapec hop do vozu), or occasionally in the value of another sentence part, e.g. nominalized in the value of a subject (as in: tvé ach mne dojímá), see §189.3.

2. Every sentence correlate or syntagm has a head member and a member grammatically dependent on it.

For ex. in the sentence Mladý člověk mluví nadšeně o plánech do budoucna the mluví depends on the word člověk (člověk → mluví), furthermore the word mladý depends on the word člověk (člověk → mladý), the prepositional phrase o plánech on the verb mluví (mluví → o plánech), the prepositional phrase do budoucna on the word plánech (o plánech → do budoucna) and finally the adverb nadšeně on the verb mluví (mluví → nadšeně).

We therefore here find the following syntagms: člověk (the head member) - mluví (a dependent member), člověk - mladý, mluví - o plánech, o plánech - do budoucna, mluví - nadšeně.

The head of a syntagm can be a verb, substantive, adjective or adverb.

Substantives and adjectives are here understood not from a complex part-of-speech point of view, but from the syntactic value of a part of speech, (substantives in this sense are also substantivized adjectives, pronouns and numerals of substantive character, such as *já*, *pět*, *sto*, etc.; as adjectives are considered pronouns and numerals of an adjectival nature, such as *ten, náš, třetí*), cf. §48.3.

With the verb as a head are joined into syntagms substantives (or other words of substantive value), adjectives, adverbs and verbs in the infinitive: *podal příteli(mu) ruku, odpovídá na dotazy, byl zvolen předsedou; vrátil se zdráv, seděl mlčky; odmítl vypovídat*.

With a substantive as a head are joined into syntagms substantives (or other words of substantive value), adjectives (or other words of the same value), adverbs, verbs in the infinitive: *způsob života, rozhovory s občanstvem, sto dní; jarní den, naši známí, čtyři lidé; cesta domů; vůle zvítězit*.

With a substantive is joined in this way also a finite verb (or an auxiliary verb with the infinitive or the copula with a noun): *pilot řídil, pilot chtěl přistát, pilot byl unaven*.

With an adjective as a head are joined into syntagms substantives, adverbs, and the verb in the infinitive: *plný* *vody, přístupný po pěšinách; neobyčejně namáhavý, příliš dlouhý; schopný naučit se.*

With an adverb as a headword are joined into syntagms adverbs and ~~in~~ with adverbs ~~with the~~ meaning ~~of~~ quantity or measure also nouns: *neobyčejně přesně, příliš dobře; dost času, víc klidu, hodně peněz, trochu vody.*

Some constructions enter a sentence as a whole, as fixed phrases designating a certain meaning unit; from the syntactic point of view, however, these constructions can as a rule be analysed similarly to other syntagms into headword and dependent member (cf. *vlčí mák* with an attributive adjective *vlčí, postavení mimo hru* with an attributive prepositional phrase *mimo hru*). Some fixed constructions, especially those of an adverbial nature cannot however be analysed further (e.g. *křížem krážem*).

3. The dependence of a dependent member on the headword is expressed either by agreement, or by government ~~control~~ or is not expressed by a special form (determined by the headword).

Agreement is evident from the fact that the dependent member agrees with the headword in number and person or in number, case and in a given instance ~~case~~ also in gender. Government ~~Control~~ is evident from the fact that a dependent noun in a certain case or a prepositional phrase is governed ~~controlled~~ or directed by the headword.

a) In the syntagm *člověk mluví* the dependence is expressed by agreement, the dependent member (*mluví*) agrees with the headword (*člověk*) in person and number; in the syntagm *mladý člověk* the dependence is also expressed by agreement, the dependent member (*mladý*) agrees with the headword (*člověk*) in number, case and gender.

b) In the syntagm *mluví o plánech* the dependence is expressed by ~~control~~ government; the prepositional phrase (*o plánech*) is ~~controlled~~ governed by the headword (*mluví*).

Cf. also the dependence expressed by the ~~controlled~~ governed noun in a given case or by a ~~controlled~~ governed prepositional phrase in the following syntagms: *kupuji knihy, vážím si knih, rozumím knihám, mluvil jsem o knihách, jsem spokojen s knihami; stavba domu, služba veřejnosti*.

c) In the syntagm *mluví~~me~~ nadšeně, o plánech do budoucna* the dependence of the members *nadšeně, do budoucna* on the headwords (*mluví, plánech*) is not expressed by a ~~controlled~~ governed form determined by the headword.

> The dependent member whose dependence on the head is expressed by agreement is called congruent.

Thus the same word may in one syntagm be a headword and in another a dependent member: *mluví → o plánech, o plánech → do budoucna* etc. -- One head may have several members separately dependent on it: *mluví → o plánech, mluví → nadšeně*.

In scientific terminology agreement is also called congruence and hence the term congruent for the member which is in agreement with the head, government is also called rection. Wherever dependence is not expressed by a special form (determined by the headword), we sometimes speak about so-called přimykání (from the Rus. term примыкание"). -- Whenever it is a matter of such přimykání, there of course exists a syntactic relationship (determining) between the headword and the dependent member and the shape of the dependent member also expresses this grammatical dependence, but not as a form special for its expression, but as a form expressing above all a contentual coherence.

4. Besides syntagms (in which there is one headword and another ~~the other~~ member is grammatically dependent on it) there are in a sentence also constructions, the members of which are grammatically equivalent. The relationship between members of such constructions is one of coordination. By coordination or compounding arise compound sentence parts. A compound member consists of two or more parts, see §178 below.

The relationship between individual coordinate members of a compound construction is expressed by coordinating conjunctions (see §206.2), or is expressed simply by melodic devices in speech (intonation, pause), in writing by graphic devices (punctuation marks).

For ex.: otec a syn (se vrátili); (ovládá) ruštinu, francouzštinu a němčinu; (píše) čistě, úhledně a pozorně.

§176. In a sentence it is possible as a rule to distinguish two parts: one part, which expresses the originator or carrier of the action, state or quality, -- this is the subject part or subject; the second part, which expresses action, state or quality of the subject, simply something which is adjudged or predicated to the subject, -- is the predicate part or predicate.

The subject and predicate form the syntagm which is the basis of a sentence; the two form the basic sentence parts joined by one sentence relationship.

The predicate thus predicates some action, state or quality to the subject as originator or carrier of this action, state or quality, or at least introduces this action, state or quality into a relationship with the subject. Between subject and predicate exists a predicative relationship: the subject and predicate are members of a predicative syntagm.

The predicative relationship is as a rule expressed formally, gramatically by agreement; the predicate thus agrees with the subject in person, number, and sometimes in gender (cf. in detail in §190).

Sentences which can be divided into a subject and predicate i.e. which have two basic members, are binary sentences.

For ex.: Hlasatel ‖ čte.

Hlasatel ‖ čte zprávy.

Zkušený pilot ‖ řídil za mlhy dopravní letadlo.

Horníci z Kladna ‖ splnili plán těžby.

Poctivá práce ‖ činí člověka spokojeným.

The sentence member, both in the subject and in the predicate portion, which is the grammatical and semantic basis of that portion and on which the other parts (even whole syntagms) depend is called the bare subject and bare predicate.

§177. Parts which depend on the bare subject or bare predicate and form with them syntagms, i.e. expand the subject or predicate, are called expanding sentence parts. They are the object, the attribute, apposition, predicate complement, adverbial determiner.

The dependent member in the above syntagms further determines or somehow supplements the meaning of the head: čte zprávy, zkušený pilot, řídil za mlhy, činí člověka spokojeným. The relationship between parts of these syntagms is called determination; thus we have the formation of determining syntagms.

The determining relationship is expressed grammatically formally by grammatical agreement (zkušený pilot), ~~control~~ government (čte zprávy) or is not expressed by a special determining form, ~~controlled~~ governed by a headword (řídil za mlhy). (Cf.

in detail under the discussion of the individual expanding sentence parts.)

1. The subject or predicate portion in which expanding parts are dependent on the bare subject or predicate and form with them a syntagm is an expanded subject or predicate.

For ex. in the above sentences the bare subjects are *hlasatel, pilot, horníci, práce* and the bare predicates are *čte, řídil, splnili, činí*.

Then expanded subjects are

zkušený pilot (with the expanding part *zkušený*),
horníci z Kladna (with the expanding part *z Kladna*),
poctivá práce (with the expanding part *poctivá*);

their expanded predicates are

čte zprávy (with the expanding part *zprávy*),
řídil za mlhy dopravní letadlo (two syntagms with the same head and with the expanding parts *za mlhy* and *dopravní letadlo*),
splnili plán těžby (with the expanding part *plán těžby*),
činí člověka spokojeným (two syntagms with the same head and with two expanding parts *člověka*, *spokojeným*).

2. Not only may the basic member ~~part~~ (subject or predicate) be expanded, but so may the expanding part itself (object, attribute, apposition, predicat~~ive~~e complement and adverbial determiner). Such an expanded expanding part is then itself a syntagm composed again of a headword and a dependent expanding part.

> Cf. in the above sentences the following expanded parts of expanding parts (and thus syntagms): (řídil) dopravní letadlo, (splnili) plán těžby, (mluv~~konaj~~í) o plánech ~~práci~~ do budoucna ~~pro lid~~.

3. The tie binding a dependent expanding member to a headword may be tight or loose. The tightness or looseness of the bond ~~tie~~ is evident both from its semantic and formal make up. A loose sentence part can be left out without changing the basic sense of the sentence; in speech it is separated by pause, in writing by a comma. A tightly joined sentence part cannot be taken out without changing the meaning of the sentence; it is not set apart in speech by pause nor in writing by a comma. Sometimes the union of sentence parts is so tight, that it is not possible to insert another sentence member ~~part~~ between the headword and the expanding part (e.g. the union of the non-agreeing genitive attribute with its substantive headword, see §184.2).

Any sentence part with the exception of the subject can be loosely joined; most frequently we find a loose attribute (see §195.7), especially a loose agreeing substantival expanded attribute (i.e. apposition, see §196). Loose parts are as a rule expanded.

4. Sometimes the sentence part is attached only additionally as a supplementary explanation, limitation, emphasis etc. Formally such a member is attached sometimes with a conjunctive expression, in speech by pause, in writing by a comma.

> For ex.: Přijdu, třeba hned. -- Lidé se často smějí, a neoprávněně. -- Dědeček stonal, na záduchu.

A loose and supplementarily attached sentence part sometimes becomes expressively independent, i.e. becomes separated from the part with which it belongs both semantically and gramatically by a final intonation and pause in speech and by a period in writing (to be followed with a capital letter). Such a sentence part can be understood as an incomplete (eliptic) sentence with the head word being left out in order not to repeat it (it is in the basic sentence).

> For ex.: Řekla mu o tom sama. Ve snu. (Fr. Hrubín) -- Takové ženy viděl na pláži. Prosáklé sluncem. (J. Blažková). -- Ráda kreslila. Kytičky, lípy, panáky a

slunce. (B. Březovský) -- Jdou. K svítícím vodám. K černým habrům. Bahnem a vodou. (Fr. Kubka) -- Jsem ve třídě nejstarší. A nejhloupější.. (Fr. Šrámek).

A separated sentence part is a favorite stylistic device of modern prose. Recently it is also coming into use in some types of journalistic style.

§178.1. Every sentence part, basic or expanded, may be not ~~just~~ only bare or expanded, but also compound (see also §175.4).

A compound subject is one ~~where~~ in which two or more subjects have the same predicate, and a compound predicate is one ~~where~~ in which two or more predicates belong to one subject in the same sentence.

For ex.: Ptačí švehol, štebot, a hvizot zněl kolem. -- Zahradník ryl, kopal a kypřil půdu. Vina tvá je velká, těžká, bez příkladu.

> Note. Sentences with compound predicates are very close to compound sentences having the same subject; the boundary between them is very fluid.

A compound expanding part is composed of two or more parts, which in the same way both grammatically and semantically depend on the same headword and form with it two or more syntagms.

Parts of a compound expression may be bare or expanded.

For ex.: Sdělovali si své radosti i bolesti. Byl pln zmatků a nejistot (object). -- Pšeničná, kukuřičná a slunečnicová pole se táhla k obzoru. -- Nebudou je lákat chalupy zalezlé vysoko do strání a přístupné jen po strmých pěšinách. -- Listí javorů, bříz a jabloní se snášelo pomalu k zemi (attribute). -- Na pahorcích i v nížinách se rozkládaly hornické osady. Vrátím se zítra nebo pozítří. -- Lidé přicházeli z rovin a středozemních pahorkatin (adverbial determiner). -- Vrátili jsme se z výletu osvěženi a spokojeni (predicate complement).

2. A compound part, whether basic or expanding, is composed of coordinate parts.

Coordinate sentence parts within compound sentence parts may be in various mutual semantic relationships, in a relationship of compounding, of intensifying, of conflict, of exclusion or of consequentiality (only rarely of cause). The same semantic relationships exist for clauses in a compound sentence (cf. in more detail § 207).

For ex.: a compounding relationship: V listopadovém ránu byla na náměstí mlha, bláto a sníh. Nechala děti běžet hned napřed, hned vzadu. Prišli jak mladí, tak staří. Přecházela po bytě s hadrem nebo s prachovkou;

intensifying: Řeka Sázava vyštve lidi ze stavení, vezme jim plot, ba i kus chlívku. Býval podrážděný, i hrubý. Cítil podivnou, dokonce nesmyslnou radost;

conflicting: Škola byla kamenná, ale zato studená až hrůza. Domek je sice malý, ale čistý;

excluding: Pokladní si chodil pro peníze bud' sám, bud' se spolehlivým průvodcem. Přijedu bud' zítra, nebo pozítří;

consequential: Krajina byla rovinatá, bez lesů, a proto jednotvárná;

casual (rare): Je nám milý, nebot' náš.

Concerning the repetition of the same preposition in compound sentence parts see §168.

3. Expanded sentence parts dependent on the same headword need not be always coordinate and need not form [illegible]ly compound parts. Cf. velké kamenné stavení, malé kamenné stavení, where the expanding part velké or malé depends on the whole syntagm kamenné stavení and expands it. Therefore the attributes velké kamenné and malé kamenné are not coordinate expanding parts (a compound attribute) --, they do not depend on the headword equally from the semantic or grammatical point of view. Note coordinate parts of a compound part are separated one from the other with a comma, whenever they

are not joined by the coordinate conjunctions *a*, *i* (*ani*, *nebo*).

In contrast to a syntagm such as *malá, velká, nízká i vysoká stavení*, where we find a compound attribute, the abovementioned type *velké kamenné stavení* is of course written without a comma, because the latter is not a matter of a compound attribute (cf. also §195.5b).

§179. A syntagm is not just a combination of two bare parts, but also a combination of two parts, one of which or both are expanded, or compound. This too is a union of parts by one sentence relationship. It is a syntagm of a higher order. Such a syntagm of a higher order, is also the union of the whole subject part with the whole predicate or also the union of clauses in a compound or complex sentence.

Cf. *Hlasatel - čte zprávy.*
Zkušený pilot - řídil za mlhy dopravní letadlo.
Řídil - dopravní letadlo.
Ovládá - ruštinu, francouzštinu, němčinu.
Kdo stál nahoře nad lomy, - viděl celou ves jako na dlani.
Řekni mi, co čteš, - a já ti povím, jaký jsi.

Bibliography. Concerning basic syntactic concepts and for differentiation of the grammatical and the semantic structure of the sentence cf. recently especially *Havránek* 1958, also the contributions of *Kopečný*, 1958, of *Dokulil* and *Daneš* 1958, and of *Hausenblas* 1958a, and also papers and comments read at the conference about Slovak syntax (esp. by *Ružička*, *Daneš*, *Kopečný*, *Hausenblas*, *Mrázek*, *Bauer* etc.) and published in *Jazykovedné štúdie* 4, 1959; cf. also *Mrázek* 1962, also *Darovec* 1964, *Daneš* 1963b, and 1965b. On more general questions cf. also *Horálek* 1965 and *K. Svoboda* 1966a.

Basic syntactic questions are discussed also in papers read at the Brno conference on comparative study of Slavic syntax and published in the volume *Otázky slovanské syntaxe*, 1962; the second volume of this collection dated 1968 contains contributions to a 1966 Brno syntax symposium on the structural typology of the Slavic sentence.

A discussion of the related syntactic concepts and terms, *slovní spojení, větná dvojice*, and *syntagma* is found in *Bauer* 1952.

For numerous fragmentary contributions and discussions on this subject (esp. with a view toward methodological use) cf. also ČJ 4, 1954 and following issues.

Of older words cf. the general study by Mathesius 1947d.

Cf. also the collective works on Czech syntax in §251.

B. Analyzability of a sentence and deviations from regular sentence analysis

§180.1. Not every sentence can be divided into two basic parts, into a subject part and a predicate part. Sentences which cannot be thus divided, the sentence content of which is expressed by only one basic member, are mononuclear sentences, ~~sentences consisting not of two parts but of one part.~~

For ex.: Pozor! Hoří! Prší. Po ránu drobounce mžilo.

The basic ~~part~~ member of a one part sentence may be either bare (Pozor! Setmělo se. Prší.), or expanded (Rázem se setmělo. Na dnešek celou noc vytrvale pršelo), it may consist of a syntagm.

2. In some ~~one part~~ mononuclear sentences the sentence base is a finite verb which renders these sentences verbal.

Other ~~one part~~ mononuclear sentences do not express the sentence content with a finite verb (i.e. are non-verbal). They can be interjective, when their base is an interjection or nominal when their base is a substantive or adjective, but their base can also be an infinitive or an adverb. With the substantive, adjective, infinitive or adverb may co-occur the verb být, bývat (je, bylo, bude...) in the role of a copula, similar to a nominal predicate with the copula (see §189.2).

For ex.: Prší. Zablesklo se. Bolí ho na prsou. Zasesklo se mi. Bylo dosaženo uspokojivých výsledků. Spí se mi dobře. Nechce se mi spát (Verbal sentences).

Ach ouvej! Brr! Bác! (Interjective sentences).

Pozor! Letadlo! Toho nadšení! Dobrou noc! Soudruzi! Zajímavé. Vchod. Národní škola. (Nominal sentences).

Platit! Je slyšet hudbu.

Potichu! Dále! Ne. Ano. Je zima. Bylo tma. Je pěkně. Je mi líto.

Nominal sentences may be nominative accusative or genitive.

a) Mononuclear ~~One member~~ verbal sentences often have verbs which designate natural phenomena (prší, zahřmělo, svítá, otepluje se etc.), or verbs, which express bodily or spiritual states (hučí mi v uších, bolí mě na prsou, stýská se mi etc.). The verb in these sentences usually has the form of 3rd sg., but does not by this form express that its subject is a third person; it is impersonal (and has no subject).

Mononuclear ~~One part~~ sentences may contain also other verbs, e.g. uhodilo, přibylo vody etc. Such words may in other sentences be forms for various ~~other~~ persons, i.e. be personal (uhodil jsem tě nerad, přibyl jsi na váze etc.), but in one member sentences they are used impersonally.

Such mononuclear ~~one part~~ verbal sentences are also sentences with an impersonal passive, e.g. bylo užito všech prostředků, šlo se domů etc. (cf. §124.2).

> One member sentences with an impersonal verb were formerly called subjectless.

b) In interjectory sentences, the interjections like the impersonal verbs express bodily or mental states or indicate sounds and noises (brr! hej! ach! ouvej! vrků! břink!)

One member nominal sentences are signs, headlines, announcements (Východ. Ústav pro jazyk český Československé akademie věd. Nová metoda řezání kovů. Pozor na vlak!) as well as ways of addressing people, greetings or exclamations (Soudruzi! Dobrý den! Ta radost! Těch květů!).

> As a rule, the noun, usually a substantive, ~~is~~ in these sentences is in the nominative, more rarely in the accusative or genitive (esp. in greetings and exclamations).
>
> Mononuclear ~~One member~~ sentences, the base of which is the vocative of a noun (vocative sentences), as a rule express a command, exhortation, exclamation; they are close to interjectory sentences. Original vocative sentences become interjectory whenever the original vocative now has the value of an interjection, cf. panečku, holenku, hrome etc.

> *Note.* Entries in a dictionary, index, etc., are not one member sentences; they are merely words or phrases with a designating function.

~~One member~~ Mononuclear sentences using an infinitive without the copula usually have the meaning of an emphatic command, sometimes an exclamation, e.g. *Stát! Mlčet! Mně nadat sobců!*, or they connote deliberation with a shade of possibility or necessity of the action, e.g. *Být, či nebýt?* *Co dělat?* *Dát se do práce*, etc.

One member interjectory and nominal sentences without the copula (also vocative) either stand alone, or are simply attached to other sentences, but are not joined with them as clauses of compound or complex sentences. In writing they are separated with a comma or a dash.

> For ex.: *Ah, pěkně vítám.* -- *Praha, zněl pokřik podél vlaku, nosič!* (Pujmanová).

We find one member nominal, interjectory and other sentences most frequently in speech; but Czech writers like to use them also in literary works. They usually serve as a means of artistic description or of lively excited narration.

For ex.: Ticho, naprosté, neskutečné ticho. (Řezáč) -- Byl prosincový večer. Kaštany, metly, jmelí, likéry, pletené zboží a tlačenice na hory. (Pujmanová).

In official decrees and decisions one member sentences with an infinitive without the copula have a meaning of urgency (thus a meaning similar to obsolete sentences using infinitives with the copula). They express a mission and have a similar function in slogans, in titles of articles etc. For ex.: Rozvíjet zájmovou tělovýchovu na vesnicích. Vybrat a připravit cvičitele a trenéry pro mládež. Spojit zkušenost s elánem mládeže.

3. One member sentences with the copula also express natural phenomena and bodily or mental states, ~~such as~~ like the ~~one member~~ mononuclear verbal sentences (je zima, bylo tma, je pěkně; bylo mi smutno). The copula být, bývat expresses the grammatical meanings of tense and mood in a way similar to that in ~~two member~~ binary sentences with a predicate noun with the copula.

~~One member~~ Mononuclear sentences with an infinitive and copula express possibility or necessity.

The meaning of possibility occurs in sentences with an infinitive of verbs of perception governing an object in the accusative. Only rarely do we now find in these sentences in the present tense an infinitive without the copula. Of late, especially in speech, we often find the nominative instead of the dependent accusative and the sentences then become grammatically ~~two-member~~ binary sentences.

For ex.: possibility: *Je vidět Sněžku, je vidět hory; bylo slyšet hudbu; v dálce zřít záři*; -- *je vidět Sněžka, jsou vidět hory; byla slyšet hudba* -- necessity: *jest vypracovati plán výzkumných úkolů* (an obsolete and bookish expression).

In the one member sentences *bylo zima, bylo tma* the expressions *zima*, *tma* have the value of adverbs (cf. their expansion: *bylo velmi zima, bylo úplně tma*), and therefore the verb *bylo* has the neuter form. They can, however also have the value of ~~nouns~~ substantives (cf. the expansion: *byla veliká zima, byla úplná tma*) and the verb *byla* then agrees in (feminine) gender.

§181. There are some deviations from regular sentence analysis; one of them is the exclusion of certain expressions from the grammatical structure of the sentence. Grammatically excluded from a sentence are forms of direct address ~~of a person~~ expressed by the vocative (or nominative) and interjections.

1. *Direct address* is a word or group of words which indicates the person who is being addressed. It is usually expressed by the vocative case, replaced in part by the nominative of a substantive or pronoun in the role of the vocative, and may be expanded by an attribute.

The direct address is connected semantically with the clause to which it is attached, but the clause is not grammatically dependent on it, nor is the direct address an expanding sentence member of the clause; it can also stand completely alone, ~~it is~~ being then a one member sentence.

Direct address is pronounced in a raised intonation and set apart by pause. In writing it is separated by a comma or commas. Whenever it stands alone, however, it is not followed by a period, but by an exclamation point; the exclamation point is also used whenever the direct address is found at the end of the sentence to which it is attached, and whenever the sentence is exclamatory.

> For ex.: *Rád bych tě, milý příteli, navštívil.* -- *Přátelé, soudruzi a soudružky*! *Chci vám říci několik upřímných slov kritiky*. -- *Odpovídejte přesně, soudruhu!* -- But: *Děkuji ti za ochotu, milý příteli*.

2. An *interjection* likewise is not as a rule a sentence part; it is not connected with another word into a syntagm and stands alone as a ~~one member~~ sentence. Therefore, such an interjection, whenever it is felt to be independent, is

set apart with a comma or an exclamation point, and in speech with a pause.

For ex.: Ach, je to bída! -- Brr! To jsem se lekl!

Neither ~~the~~ pause nor ~~a~~ comma occur whenever another exclamatory expression follows (vocative, imperative etc.); the interjection then no longer has independent meaning and acquires the meaning of a particle emotionally coloring the exclamatory expression itself or calling attention to it. (see §171.4).

For ex.: Ach táto, tatíčku! -- Nu pojd'te!

Sometimes an interjection, especially the kind which symbolizes sounds or movement accompanied by sound, is replaced in a ~~two-member~~ binary sentence by a verbal complement; only rarely can an interjection have the value of a noun and be a subject or an object. In such a case it becomes a part of the sentence and is not separated in writing by a comma.

For ex.: Kluk hop do vozu. -- A najednou bác na zem. -- Tvé ach mi nepomůže. -- To ach, ach už nemohu ani slyšet.

§182. In sentence analysis we encounter also some other peculiarities; they consist of incomplete sentences, parenthetical expressions and independent sentence members.

1. An elliptic ~~incomplet~~e sentence is a sentence unit, in which a basic sentence part is omitted. This part as a rule is the bare predicate which is obvious because of the situation or context. Incomplete sentences occur frequently in speech, especially in the answer to a completing question; they also are frequent in stage notation in newspaper headlines, titles etc.

For ex.: Ptal jsem se ho, ale on nic. -- Nikde nikdo. -- Co ted'? (Kam běžíš?) Domů. -- (Koho čekáš?) Bratra. -- (Kdo se přihlásil?) Já. -- Anežka levou, Hynek pravou stranou (i.e. come in). -- Hospodárně stále a všude (i.e. let us conduct ourselves).

> Note. Sentences in which the subject is not expressed but is obvious from the person of the predicate verb or from context are not considered incomplete (píší, vrátil se domů).
>
> In Czech the sentences with an unexpressed subject are a basic grammatical device and regularly occurring, while sentences with a pronominal subject are peculiar and specially marked for meaning or style, see §188.2 below.

Incomplete or elliptic sentences are sometimes hard to distinguish from one member sentences. As an aid we note that in a one member sentence (expanded) all the parts are syntactically connected; in an incomplete sentence with a basic member (predicate) omitted, this is not the case, because some parts are dependent on this omitted member (predicate). Cf. *na horách celý týden vytrvale prší* with the syntagms *prší na horách, prší týden, celý týden, prší vytrvale;* but in the sentence *na stole papíry a knihy* the part *na stole* cannot be related to any member of this sentence, only to the omitted predicate, *na stole (leží)*.

With ~~incomplete~~ elliptic sentences can be classed also unfinished sentences, expressions stopping short. Unfinished sentences are above all noted formally for lacking the typical end-of-sentence intonation (the pitch does not fall) and the interruption is marked by pause. In writing such an interruption is indicated by a dash or by suspension points.

For ex.: *"Pust'te ho," křičí, "Pust'te ho, nebo--"* (K. Čapek) -- *Kdybys raději s tím uklízením*...

An unfinished sentence is also called *aposiopesis*.

2. *Parenthetical expressions* are one or two member sentences or ~~phrases~~ expressions, often with an adverbial meaning ~~which~~ and ~~are~~ as a rule being loosely inserted into a sentence; only rarely do they precede or follow a sentence. A parenthetical expression is not grammatically a part of the sentence; it does not depend grammatically on any sentence part, but semantically it fits into the content of the sentence in

some way. It usually complements the sentence in some way and gives an explanatory comment, detail, supplement.

Parenthetical expressions generally form independent sentence stretches and are separated from the rest of the sentence with pauses; they are as a rule pronounced with a lower pitch and often also with a more rapid tempo so that in pitch they are distinguished quite noticeably from the rest of the sentence.

In writing they are usually set off by commas, dashes, or are enclosed in parentheses.

Only one-word set parenthetical expressions, indicating the attitude of the speaker, are often not separated either by pause or comma and coalesce melodically with the rest of the sentence (možná, myslím, tuším, pravda etc.). They become modal adverbs (like snad, prý), see §162.2.

For ex.: Já jsem to, musím přiznat, docela zapomněl. -- Bylo to, zdá se mi, loni před vánocemi. -- Bylo to, tuším, před pěti lety. -- To víte, člověk někdy neví, co se může stát. -- Umělecké ztvárnění -- na to nezapomínejme -- je při vší jedinečnosti vždycky generalizace. -- Objevil se opět (po kolikáté už!) začarovaný kruh.

Bylo to tuším před pěti lety. -- Za hodinu se možná vrátím.

Parenthetical expressions must be distinguished from parenthetical clauses, most frequently relative, which are grammatically a part of the (complex) sentence and function as dependent clauses.

3. An *independent sentence member* is an expression which stands outside the sentence, and is not grammatically a part of it; it is either placed before it or added after it. Such a member most frequently corresponds to the subject, but sometimes also to the object or adverbial complement of the sentence to which it semantically belongs; it therefore sometimes also has the form (case) corresponding to it (acc., gen. etc.), but most frequently it occurs in the nominative case. If the independent member is a verb, it is usually in the infinitive. In the sentence to which it semantically belongs, its place is generally taken by the pronoun *ten*, the deictic adverb *tam*, etc.

An independent sentence member is separated from the rest of the sentence in speech by a pause and in writing by a comma (rarely a dash).

An independent sentence member is very frequent in speech, also in emotional and moody discourse ~~language;~~ it is frequently used in artistic style and recently also in journalistic.

For ex.: Hudba, ta dovede uchvátit. -- Knihy, ty měl ze všeho nejraději. -- Společný svět dětí, to je docela něco jiného. -- Dívat se a kombinovat -- to je aspoň poctivá práce. (K. Čapek) -- Číst, to čtu dost. -- Peněz, těch já mám dost. -- Je tam opravdu krásně, na horách.

Concerning semi-sentence constructions see §199 and 200.

§183. Among deviations from regular sentence structure belong also anacoluthon or derailment from one to another rection, contamination or mixing of rections, zeugma or teaming of rections and attraction or sentence assimilation. These deviations are now~~adays~~ generally considered in the literary language as errors or stylistic maladroitnesses; in the spoken language they are more frequent.

1. Anacoluthon occurs when there is a switch from one rection to another in the middle of the sentence.

For ex.: Chlapci ráno, když přišli ze školy, byla jim zima.

2. Contamination arises when instead of the appropriate rection a new rection comes out through the influence of an expression similar in meaning.

For example instead of the appropriate rection zamezit něco there arises through the influence of the semantically similar verb zabránit něčemu a new structure zamezit něčemu, instead of účastnit se oslav, there arises the unsuitable rection with a prepositional phrase účastnit se na oslavách (through the influence of the semantically similar expressions být na něčem, mít účast, podíl na něčem); cf. also the contamination in the expression Jako součást domácí literatury byla pokládána i díla psaná latinsky.

Through contamination arose also the structure obchodovat ovocem, obchod ovocem instead of the original appropriate construction obchodovat (i.e. originally 'to go around') s ovocem, obchod s ovocem; this newly formed construction became stabilized in the language (see also §194.2d), especially also because the semantic relationship between the verbs obchodovat and obcházet is no longer felt.

3. Zeugma occurs when in coordinately joined headwords of syntagms, each of which requires a different rection, only one of the rections is used with the same dependent part of the syntagm.

For ex.: Učili se nasedat a sesedat z vozidel (instead of:... nasedat na vozidla a sesedat z nich). -- Řídíme se a učíme z příkladu vzorných pracovníků (instead of: Řídíme se příkladem vzorných pracovníků a učíme se z něho). -- Similarly: Ničení a šlapání po trávníku se zakazuje (instead of: Ničení trávníku a šlapání po něm...).

4. *Attraction* or sentence assimilation occurs when a word in a sentence is in a different form from the one which it should have according to grammatical dependence; the cause is the influence of another word.

Some examples of such an assimilation of form have become established in the language and are therefore correct. Cf. for example *je širší než delší* (instead of:... *dlouhý*); *vezmi kde vezmi* (instead of: ... *kde vezmeš*); *před deseti tisíci diváky* (instead of:... *diváků*) etc.

> Substandard (occurring in folk speech) are phrases such as *v půli cestě* (instead of: ... *cesty*), *ve většině případech* (instead of: ... *případů*), *před sluncem východem* (instead of:... *východem slunce*) etc.

C. Word order; sentence intonation.

§184. Other devices which are a part of sentence structure are also word order and intonation. Both are more than devices of the grammar of the sentence; above all they are semantically significant structures.

The sequence of words in a sentence, i.e. word order, is not accidental or arbitrary in Czech, but is determined by certain rules. It is affected above all by meaning, then by the grammatical structure and also by the melodic structure (especially rhythmic considerations).

1. When considering meaning we distinguish in a sentence what is known, what is given by the situation context (what is the starting point of the communication), from what is new, the most important, the kernel of the communication. This very kernel of the communication is placed in unemotional declaratory sentences at the end of the sentence.

Frequently, the point of departure (also called topic) is the subject and the new, the real kernel of the communication (also called comment) is the predicate -- therefore the subject part often precedes the predicate part --, but this is not always the case.

In a coherent stretch of language individual sentences are linked up semantically in such a way that a following sentence begins with what is known from the preceding one. For ex.: Po svahu se pohyboval řetěz aut. Prázdná auta stoupala pro nový náklad k slepé železniční koleji. Tam se náklady překládaly z vagónů.

In excited sentences, with a strong emotional coloring, or expression of will, the order of words is reversed; words which express what is new (comment) and most important, i.e. words which are emphasized occur at the very beginning. (Concerning emphasis, see §185.2.)

For ex.: Tu tužku si ořež! Maminka přijela! Krásných výsledků jste dosáhli!

The analysis of a sentence into topic and comment of the communication is given by the posture of the speaker to the actual situation expressed by the stretch of language; most frequently it is determined by the placement of the sentence in the context of the given language segment. Such analysis is therefore called contextual sentence analysis or functual sentence perspective.

This division into topic and comment (theme and rheme) differs from grammatical analysis of the sentence into a grammatical subject and predicate, even if the two often coincide and the grammatical subject is often the topic and grammatical predicate the comment.

2. It is primarily the grammatical structure of the sentence which determines the placement of the attribute. A grammatically agreeing attribute expressed by an adjective, pronoun or numeral usually stands before its noun (kladenští horníci), a non-agreeing attribute usually follows its noun (horníci z Kladna, těžba uhlí). Sometimes, however, a longer or more expanded attribute or other influences cause the attribute to be shifted (psal způsobem dávno již vyšlým z obyčeje; cf. §195.8). -- An appositive construction usually

follows the noun which it determines (*Bedřich Smetana, klasik české hudby,* cf. §196).

Between a non-agreeing attribute in the genitive and the head noun another sentence part may not be inserted, cf. *odjezd zahraničních delegací z Prahy* (not *odjezd z Prahy zahraničních delegací*), *propuštění vězněných bojovníků na svobodu* (not *propuštění na svobodu vězněných bojovníků*).

Adverbial determination expressed by an adverb and dependent on an adjective or adverb has its established place before its headword (*velmi dobrý, neobyčejně spravedlivý, neobyčejně přesně*).

3. Rhythmic considerations determine especially the placement of unstressed words (enclitics) which are attached to the preceding or following stressed word (about enclitics see §22.3).

a) Enclitics, attached to the preceding word, are usually placed after the first stressed part of the sentence or clause, in subordinate clauses after the conjunction (or connecting expression); thus they are often removed from the words to which they semantically and grammatically belong. Exceptions are the coordinating conjunctions *a*, *i*, *ale*, *avšak*, immediately after which enclitics may not be placed. Words, which are attached to the beginning of a stressed word (proclitics, such as *a*, *i*, *až*, *že* etc.) are placed at the beginning of a sentence or clause.

For ex.: Psala se léta devadesátá. Domovní dveře se prudce otevřely. Nedalo se to jinak udělat. Nemohl jsem jim to odmítnout. -- Říkal, že přijde včas. -- A o tom nelze pochybovat. -- Vidím, že se ti zdá práce těžká, ale neříká se nadarmo: bez práce nejsou koláče. -- But: Přišel, ale nezdržel se dlouho.

b) After a pause within a sentence or a clause (in writing indicated by a comma), whether this pause sets off a subordinate clause, apposition, parenthetical expression or a loosely attached sentence member, the enclitic likewise stands after the first stressed member of the new stretch. -- It can, however, also stand immediately after the pause whenever the division is weakened and whenever a desired more fluent expression is thus accomplished. This happens usually especially after a parenthetical expression whenever without the parenthetical expression, the part after the pause would form a single segment with the first part of the sentence.

The dual placement occurs also whenever the first member (frequently rather expanded) forms an independent segment; the enclitic is then placed either after the first stressed part of the next segment, or immediately after the former independent segment (sentence part).

For ex.: Z košaté lípy, jež stála vlevo od hřbitovních vrat, sypaly se chumáče sněhu. (Rais) Do chvíle ticha, které zavládlo, ozval se vzrušený hovor. -- Jiří Bagár, předseda správní komise, se chystal na zimu. (Řezáč) -- A Klínek, trochu opilý douškou horského vzduchu, si náhle uvědomil... -- U kteréhosi z širokých oken mihla se tmavá postava (or: U kteréhosi z širokých oken se mihla tmavá postava). -- Získat vítězství zdálo se nám nemožné (or: Získat vítězství se zdálo nemožné).

The enclitic~~s~~ ~~are~~ is, however, as a rule placed right after the pause, whenever there would remain in the sentence after it only one ~~ending~~ final word and the enclitic would thus fall at the very end of the sentence.

For ex.: Jednání, kterých se zúčastnili ministři zdravotnictví spřátelených států se skončila. -- But: Šel na procházku a zpíval si. Vyšel z domu, ale vrátil se (the enclitic is placed in final position, because it may not stand immediately following the conjunctions a, ale, see above).

c) Whenever several unstressed words follow each other, they follow a certain established order. Whenever the sentence does not contain the enclitic -li (and sometimes also však), forms of the verb být in compound verbal constructions (*jsem, jsi*,..., *bych, bys*,...) stand before all other enclitics and the dative of enclitic forms of pronouns before the accusative (with the exception of the reflexive *se* which is placed before the dative of the pronoun *mi, ti, mu*).

For ex.: *Nemohl jsem ti to odříci*. *Dal jsem ti ji už včera*. *Nespalo se mu dobře*. *Zdá se mi to trochu křiklavé*. -- *Ptala se, zná-li ho*. *Dnes však se mi to nepodařilo* (or: *Dnes se mi to však nepodařilo*).

§185.1. Melodically the sentence forms an enclosed unit, which is characterized by individual melodic devices, i.e. by *intonation*, by the so-called sentence stress and by pauses.

The continuous flow of speech is divided by changes in intensity and pitch of the voice and by pause into segments, more or less distinctly separated from each other. These sentence segments are formed by joining of words united both semantically and grammatically (they are longer expanded or compound sentence parts or even shorter clauses ~~sentences~~). They are marked by the so-called *sentence stress*, i.e. by stress which is somewhat stronger or otherwise different from the other word stresses in the sentence

> It is of course a matter of a complex phenomenon, which exists in the linguistic consciousness, even when some of its components, even intensity itself, may be lacking.

In composed speech such a segment has sentence stress on its last word after which generally follows pause. Writing does not always have punctuation marks to correspond to pauses between segments.

For ex.: Zkušený pilot řídil letadlo bezpečně -- Podle konkrétních podmínek každé země ‖ řeší se i otázka nacionalizace půdy, ‖ t.j. soukromého vlastnictví půdy a jejího převedení do vlastnictví socialistického státu. --Byl to kraj mírně zvlněný, kraj stojatých vod, ‖ kraj jezer, rybníků a bažin, ‖ kraj záplav dostavujících se třikrát do roka, ‖ kraj řek zvolna plynoucích, ‖ kraj řek, jež obtáčejí ostrůvky ‖ a jež se větví v nesčíslná ramena plná ryb.

Sentence stress does not have to occur only in sentence final position or before pause. The placement of the word carrying sentence stress at the end, in the middle or at the beginning of the sentence is determined by the situation or by the context.

For ex.: To nemůže vědět nikdo. -- To nikdo nemůže vědět. -- Nikdo to nemůže vědět.

A rhythmical sentence segment is also called a colon and the division of the stream of speech into such segments is called phrasing.

2. Whenever we want to call particular attention to something in a sentence or in a part of a sentence, the sentence stress is the strongest; it is then called emphasis. This is frequent especially in emotional speech (in exclamatory sentences etc.).

For ex.: To je nečas! Kdybys už dal pokoj! Krásných výsledků jste už dosáhli!

In speech, sentence stress and emphasis can be expressed at any point in the sentence. -- In writing the word with the strongest stress or emphasis is usually placed at the end of the sentence or more rarely at the beginning, because in writing neither stress nor emphasis is especially spelled and ensues only from the order of the words in the sentence. Emphasis may, however, be marked by underlining and in print by a different type or by its size.

3. Also the level of pitch in connected speech is not always the same, but changes. By changes in pitch (i.e.

by the melody or intonation) are distinguished various kinds of sentences. The changes in pitch or pitch contours are different for declaratory, interrogative, imperative, exclamatory etc. sentences (see §173). Pitch contours correspond to sentence segments: toward the end of such a segment the pitch rises or falls or partially falls and again rises etc. (we speak of rising or falling intonation).

Bibliography. About non-verbal mononuclear sentences cf. the basic work of Trávníček 1930 - 1931; following up suggestions of Zubatý esp. those of 1954a and 1954b : more recently about them cf. Havránek 1962; -- About sentences of the type Je vidět Sněžku cf. recently . Porák 1962b.

About independent sentence members cf. especially Trávníček 1928/29; Hrbáček 1966 and 1968; about parenthetical expressions and about unfinished sentences Ružiková 1968, Havlová 1961; and Porák 1956; about eliptical sentences Stich 1964.

Concerning loosened sentence structure in spoken discourse cf. Hausenblas 1962b, Müllerová 1966; on the use of loosened structure in verbal art Doležel 1961ff. and Jedlička 1968b.

The basic question of word order in Czech is discussed especially in the articles of Trávníček 1937, and of Mathesius 1941 (also appearing as 1947m); in a comparative light with a view to methodology Daneš, 1959.

Of considerable import for syntactic studies has been the theory of contextual analysis (functional sentence perspective) worked out by Mathesius 1947f. with discussion by Trávníček 1961c; cf. also Novák 1959a, Firbas 1962 and 1965 as well as Křížková 1968.

Concerning individual questions cf. Ertl 1917, Trávníček 1939b, and some further passages by Mathesius in 1947;

about the placement of enclitics cf. Ertl 1924, Trávníček 1926, 1959a and 1959b; and additionally Dokulil 1956b, cf. also Daneš 1957a; most recently Ondráčková 1960;

about the placement of attributes cf. Bečka 1932, and Jedlička 1958b.

Concerning sentence melody cf. Daneš 1957, Romportl 1951, and 1961, as well as Petřík 1938; also Mathesius 1947b and 1947c.

Concerning sentence stress cf. recently ← Skaličková 1956 (on the basis of an experiment she denies a difference in the intensity of the so-called sentence stress).

The simple sentence

§186. The simple sentence is a sentence entity, which expresses one thought as a unit of communication.

A simple sentence has only one combination of subject and predicate (a combination of two basic members in a basic syntagm) or only one basic sentence member.

A simple sentence with one combination of subject and predicate is a ~~two member~~ binary sentence. A simple sentence with one basic member is a ~~one member~~ mononuclear sentence (about these see §176 and §180).

A simple sentence in which the subject and predicate (or one of them in a one member sentence) is bare, is a bare sentence. -- A sentence in which either the subject or predicate (or one in a one-member sentence) is expanded, or in which both of the basic members are expanded, is called an expanded sentence.

Bare sentence: Hlasatel čte. -- Prší.

Expanded sentence: Zkušený pilot řídil dopravní letadlo. -- Na horách neustále prší.

Whenever in a sentence the subject or predicate has two or more coordinate expressions, if it is compound, we speak of a sentence with several subjects (with a compound subject) or with several predicates (with a compound predicate).

A sentence with a compound subject:

Ptačí švehol, štěbot i hvizdot zněl kolem.

A sentence with a compound predicate:

Zahradník ryl, kopal a kypřil, převracel a vápnil.

Basic sentence members

§187. The basic sentence members in a two member sentence are the subject and predicate.

The subject is that part of the sentence which is not grammatically dependent on any other part. The predicate forms with the subject the basic syntagm of the sentence and is grammatically dependent on (agrees with) the subject.

The subject as a rule expresses the originator or carrier of an action, a state or quality. The predicate expresses, what the subject is doing, what is happening to it or what it is like (it predicates to the subject an action, a state or quality or communicates something about the subject).

> Note. By subject and predicate we here mean the subject and predicate in the narrow sense (the bare subject and the bare predicate); elsewhere we speak also about the subject and predicate in a broader sense, i.e. as the subject and predicate parts of a sentence (see §176 above).

§188.1. The subject most frequently consists of a substantive or a pronoun; it may however also consist of an adjective, a numeral, the infinitive of a verb and every other class of words. Whenever the subject consists of anything but a noun it is syntactically equivalent to a substantive in the neuter gender.

Whenever the subject is a noun (a declinable word) it is in the nominative case.

For ex.: Kraj zapadl sněhem. Já se neztratím. Sytý hladovému nevěří. Každý byl št'asten a spokojen.

"Dneska není tehdá," řekla Postavová. (Řezáč) Tvoje ano není přesvědčivé. Poplašné "hoří" vyburcovalo celou ves.

Mluviti stříbro, mlčeti zlato. Uvidět Prahu bylo jeho velkým přáním.

To find the subject we ask a question composed of the interrogative pronoun kdo or co and of the predicate. (Kdo se neztratí? Co ~~nastává? etc.).~~ zapadlo, sněhem?)

2. The subject in a sentence may be expressed, or unexpressed. The subject in Czech is not expressed, whenever it is known from the situation or from the context or whenever it is obvious from the form of the finite verb. For that reason the subject is as a rule not expressed with the pronouns of the first and second person, nor with the

pronoun of the third person.

It is however expressed with the personal pronoun wherever, a) the subject is compound or is expanded by an attribute, b) it is necessary for understanding (especially when the predicate is in the first person of the past tense without the auxiliary verb být), c) the person is emphasized (also for contrast with another person), d) or whenever it serves to express emotional involvement (excitement) or a milder, more confidential tone (this is true especially in speech). -- In such cases we speak of a pronominal subject.

For ex.: Matka si přetřela čelo a dívala se po stole. (K. Nový) -- Nemohu, i kdybych chtěl.

But: a) Já ani bratr jsme o tom nevěděli. Kde já ubohý vezmu peníze.

b) Já přišel pozdě. My na vás volali. Já jen tak.

c) I my máme dobrou, vysokou a přitom lidovou národní kulturu. Ne já, ale tys to zavinil!

d) Já to tušil, že to takhle dopadne! To já nevím.

3. a) Sometimes the subject is expressed neither by a substantive nor by a pronoun because it is general.

We mean a personal animate subject, but not a concrete one, but a general one, simply someone lidé, člověk, někdo (cf. §130.3b).

In sentences with a general subject the verb is as a rule in the 3rd pl., more rarely in the 3rd or 2nd sg. or in the 1st pl. Agreement, indicated in writing, is always masculine animate.

For ex.: Říkali mu bratr Paleček. Hlásili to v rozhlase. --Hoch spal, jako by ho do vody hodil. -- S poctivostí nejdál dojdeš. -- Uctíváme památku padlých hrdinů.

Note. Sentences with an unexpressed subject and those with a general subject are ~~two member~~ binary sentences. -- A sentence with a general subject is sometimes labeled with the German term man-satz.

b) Sentences with a general subject differ from those with the so-called indefinite subject; the latter is expressed with a form of the neuter gender of the pronoun to (it expresses something which is unknown or something which the speaker does not wish to specify). Sometimes this indefinite subject is not even expressed.

For ex.: V hodinách to hrklo. V hodinách hrklo. -- Trhlo to s ním.

One member verbal sentences with to, ono, such as to prší, to mrzne, ono sněží, are not a matter of an indefinite subject; in these the forms to, ono have a value of emotional, moody words, of particles (they express surprise, wonder, annoyance etc., see §170).

c) Sentences of the type *ubývá vody, měsíce přibývá* are grammatically ~~one-member~~ mononuclear sentences; the verb in them is used impersonally. Semantically the carrier of the action, and therefore "subject" are *voda, měsíc* (as in the sentences *voda stoupá, měsíc roste*). In substandard language such sentences even formally have the appearance of ~~two-member~~ binary sentences with the subject in the nominative (*voda ubývá, měsíc přibývá*).

§189.1. The predicate most frequently consists of a finite verb form; such a predicate is called a *verbal predicate*.

For ex.: *Vítr fičí. Kraj zapadl sněhem. Města byla osvobozena.*

The combination of an auxiliary modal verb (such as *musit, moci, mít, chtít*, see §117.1) with the infinitive is considered a single sentence part, e.g. *musel odejít nemohl přijít, chtěl se (zítra) vrátit, chtěl se stát učitelem* etc. (see §175.1). These auxiliaries acquire their own real meaning only in the combination with a verb in the infinitive; by themselves they only have the meaning of a relationship (they express the way the verb in the infinitive is valid).

Similarly the combination of the so-called phasal verb (*začít, přestat* etc., see §117.1) with the infinitive is sometimes considered the bare predicate, e.g. (*hosté) se začali rozcházet, přestal číst, zůstal sedět* etc., also the combination of other verbs with the infinitive, esp. *dát, nechat*, e.g. *dal se ostříhat, nechal se obehrát* etc.

Sometimes in such constructions the meaning carrying verb in the infinitive is omitted and the verbal predicate (eliptic) is then of course the modal or phasal verb itself, e.g. *chce už domů* (i.e. *jít*), *co mi chceš* (i.e. *říci*), *tak už začni* (*mluvit, hrát* etc.).

2. Other kinds of words, especially nouns (substantive, adjectives, but also pronouns and numerals) can be the predicate; in Czech they are as a rule connected to the subject with finite forms of the verb *být*. Such a predicate is called a *nominal predicate.*

The verb which connects the noun in the predicate with the subject is called the *copula.* In Czech the copula is most frequently the verb *být, bývat*, but the role of a copula can be accomplished also by other verbs, such as *stát se, stávat se*. Such verbs with the validity of a copula do not have their own meaning; we call them connecting verbs (see §117.2). The real function of a copula is grammatical; it serves to express the grammatical meanings of person, number, tense and mood and thus makes the expression more understandable.

The verb *být*, *bývat* of course also has its own lexical meaning 'to exist' and whenever this is the case it has the value of a verbal predicate; cf. *Myslím, tedy jsem*. *Kdysi tu bylo hradiště*. -- The verb *být* is likewise a verbal predicate, when as a verb of broad meaning it represents full meaning verbs; cf. *Kniha je na stole* (= *leží*), *Otec byl nějaký čas u dcery* (=*žil*) etc.

Sometimes connecting verbs are understood quite broadly; among their number are then verbs of wide meaning requiring semantic completion, closer determination with a verbal complement, e.g. *zdát se, jevit se (jakým), zůstat (jaký)*, but also *jmenovat, zvolit někoho (někým), narodit se (jakým), učit se (kým)* etc. Some of them have this lexical meaning weakened to such an extent that they are truly similar to the copula -- but the transition is fluid -- ~~they are~~ verbs like *zdát se, zůstat*; other verbs are however semantically quite restricted, even when in their broad sense they need a complement, they are verbs such as *učit se (kovářem), zvolit (předsedou, za předsedu)* etc. The sentence part specifying such a verb (and relating it also to the noun in the subject or object) is called a verbal complement (cf. §195.5).

Note. The noun in the predicate together with the copula is considered a single sentence part (a bare predicate), of course consisting of two or more words.

The connection of the noun in the predicate with the subject need not be expressed with the copula and such a nominal predicate is then without the copula.

Thus we can have a nominal predicate with the copula and a nominal predicate without the copula.

The nominal predicate without the copula is not current in Czech; it occurs in stylistically restricted examples, especially in proverbs, maxims, mottos, signs, telegrams etc. (Of course the copula can generally only be omitted in the present tense of the indicative).

For ex. a predicate nominal with the copula or other connecting verb: *Hoch je zdráv.* *Otec je strojníkem.* *Pohled se stal nejistým.* *To pero je moje.* *Zátopek byl v cíli první.* -- Without the copula: *Mladost radost.* *Sliby chyby.* *Zápis denně.* *Dobrá kniha - nejlipší přítel.*

An adjective in the predicate may have the nominal form (the short form) -- *je zdráv*; the formation of these short adjectives is however restricted, they cannot be formed from all adjectives, for all genders etc., cf. §98.

3. An interjection, especially an onomatopoetic one with an action meaning can also be the predicate, e.g. *A vodník hop do vody!* (=*skočil*). *Vrabec frnk do hnízda* (see also §171.4).

4. Rarely the infinitive of a verb also has the character of a predicate, as in *já mít dost peněz* etc. (cf. §200), or in the common language sometimes even in the literary, in constructions such as *je vidět Sněžka* (see §180.~~3~~2c). -- In expressions such as *byl orat, jsou tu zvát* the verb *být* has its full lexical meaning; about the validity of an infinitive in such expressions see §198.3b.

§190. The predicate agrees with the subject in person, number and as far as possible in gender (including animate).

Whenever the form of the predicate is ~~controlled~~ governed by the form of the subject noun, we speak of grammatical agreement. Whenever the form of the predicate is determined by the lexical meaning of the subject noun or nouns and not by the form, it is a matter of semantic agreement.

1. The verbal predicate agrees with the subject in person and number. Whenever the verb is compound with a past or a passive participle, it also agrees in gender and in the masculine also in animateness (cf. §138).

Whenever the subject is ma. pl. (if it has in the nom. pl. the ending -i, -é, -ové, -í), the spelling in the endings of the participle is -i. When the subject is mi. or f. in the plural, the spelling in the ending of the participle is -y.

Whenever the subject is a neuter substantive in ~~n.~~ the pl., the predicate in the colloquial language shows the same agreement as for a f. substantive (similar to several n. subjects also in the literary language, see §191.1d).

For ex.: Kraj zapadl sněhem. Chodíme do školy. -- Horníci splnili plán. Vzorní pracovníci byli vyznamenáni. Širé lány byly osety. Elektrické vrtačky pracovaly spolehlivě. Děvčata soutěžila. -- But in the colloquial language: Jab(l)ka padaly se stromu. Děvčata se dobře vytancovaly.

2. The nominal predicate agrees with the subject in number and partly also in gender (including animateness).

a) When the nominal predicate is a substantive, it agrees in number; an adjective also in gender and in the masculine plural also in animateness. The copula agrees with the subject in the same way as a verbal predicate, only rarely does it agree with the nominal predicate (see below).

For ex.: Mladost radost. Sliby chyby. Mladí lidé jsou veselí. Lesy jsou hluboké.

aa) Whenever the nominal predicate is a mass noun not having a plural, or a substantive not having a singular (pluralia tantum), there can be no number agreement with the subject.

Likewise when such substantives are the subject, the predicate expressed by a substantive does not agree with it in number but has number in accordance with its meaning (shows semantic agreement). The copula is then in the plural, if either the subject or the predicate are plural.

For ex.: Čas jsou peníze. Dějiny jsou dobrým učitelem. Housle jsou hudební nástroj. Košice jsou město, kde byl vydán Košický vládní program.

ab) When the predicate is a substantive designating a living being seen by its occupation, rank etc., the substantive agrees with the subject as a rule also in gender to the extent that the corresponding feminine form can be formed and occurs in the language.

An animate noun with a different meaning may occur without agreement in the masculine even if the subject is feminine, especially when the general meaning or an evaluation is being stressed.

If the subject is a feminine substantive but designating inanimate things, the substantive in the predicate often does not show agreement but occurs in the masculine; when the agreement does take place and the predicate substantive is feminine, the whole expression becomes figurative.

For ex.: Ženy dnes vstupují do všech povolání, stávají se konstruktérkami, inženýrkami, etc. -- But: Marie Majerová je velký umělec slova. Česká filharmonie je nositelem (more rarely nositelkou) nejlepších tradic. -- Hmota se stává otrokyní ducha.

b) The predicate nominal also often agrees with the subject in case and thus is often in the nominative.

If the predicate is an adjective with the copula být, bývat, it is always in the nominative (Naše země je krásná).

If the predicate is a substantive with the copula být, bývat it is also usually in the nominative; it is thus that we express membership in a larger class (Velryba je savec), or an evaluation (Petr Jilemnický byl dobrý učitel) etc.

However, if we want to express the fact that the subject just became something or is something only temporarily, i.e. to express his official function, occupation etc., the predicate noun is in the instrumental case (Jiří Mahen byl knihovníkem). -- To preserve distinction, the predicate noun is also in the instrumental case when it stands in initial position in the sentence (before the subject); if the nominative were used in sentence initial position it could be taken for the subject. E.g.: Výhodou je i počeštěný způsob psaní.

When the connecting verb is stát se, stávat se both the predicate substantive and the predicate adjective are in the instrumental.

For ex.: Naše řeč je bohatá. Jiráskovy romány jsou slavné.

Velryba je savec. -- Kniha je dobrý přítel. Jeho rodiče byli dobří lidé. Já jsem chudé matky syn. Petr Jilemnický byl dobrý učitel.

But: Jiřík byl v táboře kuchařem (i.e. he was not a cook before, he had just become one). Petr Jilemnický byl učitelem.

Stal jsem se pionýrem. Stal se opatrnějším.

3. If the subject is a noun designating an inanimate thing, but with a case ending of animates (-i, -é, -ové), the predicate verb is in the animate form. -- Some of these nouns are used in two forms, both animate and inanimate. When they have inanimate forms in the nom. pl. (with the endings -y, -e), then the predicate is also in the inanimate form.

For ex.: Na dvoře stáli dva sněhuláci. Ledoborci vypluli. Dělenci byli sečteni. Čitatelé byli zkráceni. Byli stanoveni hospodářští ukazatelé. -- But: Ledoborce vypluly. Dělence byly sečteny. Byly stanoveny hospodářské ukazatele etc.

An exception are the ~~nouns~~ substantives lidičky, rodiče, koně; these have inanimate endings in the nom. pl., but the predicate verb is in the animate form.

For ex.: Co tam ti lidičky dělali? Rodiče už odjeli. Bujní koně uháněli.

4. Grammatical agreement (with the abovementioned exceptions) is the rule, whenever there is a direct relationship of the predicate toward the subject. If the

relationship of the predicate with the subject is loose (e.g. when the subject on which the predicate depends is already mentioned in the preceding sentence), the agreement is determined by meaning.

This is especially true when the subject is an expression of quantity, such as skupina, řada, pět, několik, tisíce, milióny, with the gen. pl.

For ex.: Skupina lidí se tu sešla; rozpráveli o svých plánech. -- Zástupy diváků se valily na Strahov; na stadión přicházeli s přesvědčením, že naši sportovci dosáhnou nových krásných úspěchů. -- Na sta rybek plulo k písčině a stávaly se kořistí štik. -- Několik slovenských umělců přijelo na konferenci, aby pověděli své zkušenosti. -- Tisíce návštěvníků přišly (or přišlo) aby zhlédli výstavu.

§191.1. The agreement of a predicate with a compound subject is quite complicated.

a) When the compound subject consists of several subjects of various persons, the verbal predicate or the copula is in the first person, if the first person is one of the subjects, in the second person if only the second and third person is represented by the subjects.

For ex.: Já a ty jsme bratři. Já i bratr se učíme hrát na housle. Tvůj otec i ty jste si podobni.

b) If the compound subject is composed of several singular substantives, the predicate can be either in the singular or in the plural. As a rule the deciding point is the position of the predicate: if the predicate follows the subject, ~~it~~ the former is usually in the plural; if it precedes the subject, ~~it~~ the predicate is usually in the singular and the determining factor (also of gender) is the first member of a compound subject.

For ex.: Pára a elektřina vykonávají bez námahy práci nad lidské síly. Otec a matka byli v divadle. Lidskému zdraví prospívá vzduch, slunce a voda. V divadle byl otec i matka.

c) If the compound subject is composed of several coordinate substantives of various genders and in the case of ~~of~~ masculines some ~~of~~ which are animate and some inanimate, the following rules apply:

aa) If one of the nouns in the subject is ma., the verbal predicate too will have the ma. form.

Only when one or all of the nouns in the subject are plural, and the predicate precedes the subject, is the agreement with the nearest noun of a compound subject.

For ex.: Matka a syn se vrátili z hor. Z hor se vrátili matka a syn (but also: z hor se vrátila matka a syn). Člověk i stroj zvítězili v závodě s časem. V závodě s časem zvítězili člověk i stroj. (But also: V závodě s časem zvítězil člověk i stroj.)

Všechny žákyně a jeden žák byli odměněni za dobrý prospěch. Lidé a stroje zvítězili v závodě s časem. Zdravotní sestry i lékař čekali na příchod ředitele internátu. But: V naší třídě byly odměněny všechny žákyně a dva žáci (or also byli odměněni). V závodě s časem zvítězily stroje a lidé (or also zvítězili...). Na příchod ředitele internátu čekaly zdravotní sestry i lékař (or also čekali). Skladbu "Pohádka" cvičily na spartakiáde dívky i chlapci (or also cvičili).

bb) If one of the substantives in the subject is not ma., the verbal or nominal predicate has forms of mi. or of f. gender.

Only when the predicate precedes the subject is the agreement with the nearest noun.

For ex.: Stoly a sedadla byly nové. Koncertní síně i divadla byly stále plné. Ovce a jehňata se pásly na stráni. -- But: Na louce se pásly jehňata a ovce, or Na louce se pásla jehňata a ovce. Byla zachvácena města i kraje divnou úzkostí.

If one of the subject nouns in the singular is a grammatically inanimate substantive, but one which has a lexical meaning of a quantity of animate beings, such as lid, národ, rodina etc., we can have either grammatical agreement (i.e. the ending -y for the participle in the mi. pl. to agree with the grammatically inanimate noun) or semantic agreement (i.e. with -i in the participle).

For ex.: Čínský lid a jeho armáda ve snaze osvobodit vlast od cizí nadvlády byly odhodlány (or also... byli odhodláni) vést boj až do úplného vítězství.

d) If there are several neuter subjects and at least one of them is singular, the predicate has the f. pl. form.

For ex.: Bulharsko a Rumunsko byly osvobozeny Sovětskou armádou. Je žádoucí, aby ministerstvo a příslušná nakladatelství řídily v tomto duchu práci. -- But: V počátcích našeho letectví letadla a auta spolu závodila (or závodily).

2. If a subject containing designations for living beings has an expanded construction with the preposition s with a masculine noun, the predicate as a rule has the form agreeing with the head noun in the nominative case, especially if the head noun is more special in its meaning or if the predicate stands before this head noun. Under other conditions the agreement of the predicate can also be expressed (to some extent only in writing) by a ma. case form.

For ex.: Dívky s hochy se vrátily (or... vrátili). Matky s kojenci měly vyhrazeno oddělení v předním voze. Vrátily se už dívky s hochy? Mnoho měsíců se připravovala děvčata s hochy pro vstoupení učňovského dorostu na spartakiádě.

Note. If the instr. with the preposition s is an expansion of a predicate verb, if it is the predicate's adverbial complement, it of course has no influence on the agreement: Dívky závodily s hochy, or in a different word order Dívky s hochy závodily.

§192. The sentence base of a ~~one member~~ mononuclear sentence is its basic member. The basic member of a one part sentence is not grammatically dependent on any other part.

In verbal one member sentences the basic part is a 3rd sg. verb (in the past tense it is also neuter); cf. prší, uhodilo.

In one member nominal sentences the basic part is a noun (substantive, adjective, pronoun, numeral), often in the nom. (e.g. with an evaluating, descriptive, etc. role, cf. Lesy, lesy, bez konce lesy. -- Zajímavé.), but also in the accusative (in greetings such as Dobrou noc! Šťastnou cestu!), in the genitive (with exclamatory value, as in Té radosti! Těch lidí!), or in the vocative (esp. in an attention-getting or qualificatory role, cf. *Karle!* *Táto!* *Ty snílku!*).

The basic part of ~~one member~~ mononuclear sentences can also be an adverb (or adverbial expression) or an infinitive (*Rychle!* *Zpět*. *Pozor na vlak*. -- *Stát!* *Na krok nevidět.*)

The nominal base of ~~one member~~ mononuclear sentences (esp. adverb and infinitive) is sometimes with the copula *být*, *bývat*. The copula is 3rd sg. (as in the verbal base of one member verbal sentences); in the past it is as a rule neuter (*bylo zima, bylo pěkně, bylo slyšet hudbu*). -- Only if the nominal expression is substantival in nature can it sometimes also have a form agreeing with this substantive (*byla zima, byl by to hřích nevyužít toho*).

In one member interjectory sentences the basic member is an interjection.

Cf. more about ~~one member~~ mononuclear sentences in §180.

Expanding sentence members

§193. The expanding sentence members are the following: object, attribute (and appositive), predicat~~ive~~e complement and adverbial determiner.

The expanding member of the subject is usually an attribute (or an appositive); the expanding members of a predicate are ~~an~~ object, predicat~~ive~~e complement, adverbial determiner.

The expanding member of the subject together with the subject form a syntagm as do the expanding member of the predicate with the predicate (e.g. bílá - jinovatka, obalovala - větve etc.).

Expanding members may also expand the basic member of a ~~one-part~~ mononuclear sentence (and form syntagms with it); this is done according to the nature of the word class to which the basic member belongs: if it is a verbal one-member sentence the expansion will be with an adverbial complement (more rarely an object) as in drobounce prší, ubývá vody etc.; if it is a nominal one-member sentence (or compound nominal) the expansion will be an attribute, an adverbial determiner or an object as in Rozkvetlé louky, Je mi velmi zima etc. and if it is an infinitive one member sentence, the expansion will be an object as in zavřít dvéře etc.

Expanding members may in turn be expanded, i.e. may themselves form a syntagm, in which another expanding part depends on a headword, e.g. an attribute dependent on a head noun in an expanded object (koná dobrou práci), or a non-agreeing attribute with another attribute dependent on it and agreeing with it in an expanded ~~object~~ adverbial complement (za stěnou další kanceláře) etc.

The object

§194.1. The object is sentence part which is used to expand a verb or an action adjective and is governed by its governing headword, i.e. the case of the object is determined by the rection of the governing member. It forms a syntagm with this governing member.

The most frequent headword of an object is the bare predicate, as a rule verbal, but its head can also be a nominal predicate (even a basic member of a one-part nominal sentence and less frequently a verb alone). -- The object can, however, depend on a verb or an action adjective even when they are other sentence parts.

The object expresses a person, animal or thing which is directly affected by the verbal action, into which it passes or which it directly concerns or which indespensably complete it.

The object can be elicited by asking the questions koho, co?, koho, čeho?, komu, čemu?, kým, čím? or by questions with prepositions such as na koho, na co?, o kom, o čem? attached to the head verb or adjective.

For ex.: Horníci kopou uhlí. Užívají sbíječek. Zvykli si tmě. Pohnul vozíkem. Vědí o důležitosti své práce. Dívají se na sloje. Vítají se s přáteli.

Bratr je podobný matce. V březnu jsme nedůvěřiví k jaru. Je mi líto otce. Je mi smutno po tobě.

Byl mi přítelem. Přinášet oběti je nutné. Otužilý hoch, zvyklý chladu, nenastydne tak snadno.

The object is found as a rule with objective verbs (see §116).

~~Non-objective~~ Objectless verbs have an object only sporadically, in bookish style, in which case it is the so-called internal object, which semantically, and as a rule also by its word stem is connected with the head verb and expands its meaning only formally. E.g. Žiji krásný život. -- Bojují spravedlivý boj. -- Dřímal sen spravedlivých.

2. The object is a noun, as a rule a substantive, most frequently in the accusative case, but it can also be in other cases -- in the genitive, dative or instrumental or in cases with a preposition.

Verbs which take an object in the accusative case (only with negation also in the genitive) are transitive, the others are intransitive (see §116).

Concerning the various meanings of individual cases of the object see §64. Here we will only supplement the information on the cases which individual verbs ~~take~~ govern.

a) The following verbs usually take an object in the genitive case: dotknout se (drátu), dosáhnout (úspěchu), dojít (uznání), dopustit se (omylu), dobrat se (pravdy), všímat si (všeho), účastnit se (přednášky), vážit si (knih), vzpomenout (hrdinů; bookish), bát se (hladu), dbát (rady), litovat (činu, but litovat osiřelé děti), zbavit se (nepřátel), minout se (cíle), varovat se (nátlaku), zříci se (chyb) and so forth; in addition verbs with the prefixes na-, při-, u- with the meaning of partiality or quantity, such as natrhat (jablek), přidat (soli), ubrat (vody) etc. also govern the genitive

Some verbs, in addition to taking the genitive case now also even in the literary language take the accusative case: potřebovat (peníze - acc.) and potřebovat (náhrady - gen.); postrádat (péči lékařskou - acc.) or postrádat (péče lékařské), požadovat (náhradu - acc.) or požadovat (náhrady - gen.), vyžadovat (pozornost - acc.) and vyžadovat (nákladů - gen.), šetřit (lesy) and šetřit (lesů).

The verbs užít (užívat), použít (používat) are also beginning to take in addition to the genitive case also the accusative even in the literary language: užívat (pomůcek - gen.), používat (nátlaku - gen.) etc; The accusative use is mandatory in some meanings such as in užívat léky. Similarly the verb dobýt, dobývat is beginning to take the accusative with concrete nouns as in *dobýt město, (Kyjev)*, while with abstract nouns it keeps taking the genitive as in *dobýt velkého uznání*; only the accusative is current in the meaning 'to dig, to mine' as in *dobývat brambory, dobývat rudu*. -- Also the verb *pozbýt* is beginning to take the accusative with concrete nouns as in *pozbýt (matku, peníze, mistrovský titul)*, while abstract nouns keep the genitive especially in such fixed expressions as *pozbýt platnosti, jistoty*... In the colloquial language the accusative is coming into use also with the verb *nabýt (majetek)* next to the genitive as in *nabýt (důvěry, klidu převahy, jistoty*, etc.).

The verb *dojít* in bookish style takes the genitive case (*knihy nás došly*) next to the current use with the dative (*knihy nám došly*). The genitive with the verb *vzpomenout* is equally bookish (*přátel, zásluh*) while more current use is with a prepositional phrase (*na přátele, na zásluhy*).

An object in the genitive case can also be dependent on adjectives as in *dbalý (povinností), žádostivý (peněz)*, *pln (nadšení)*, *znalý (všeho)*, (*je si) vědom (následků*), (*je) blízek (zoufalství*) and so forth.

> Concerning the genitive case after negative verbs see §64.

b) The following verbs now take only the accusative case: *přát si (mír), žádat (pomoc), hledat (pomoc), hájit (mír)* etc. -- The genitive case with these verbs is obsolete and can be used only for stylistic differentiation (Přej toho štěstí mně! Hájit vlasti měl jsem za povinnost největší).

The literary language requires the use of the accusative with the verbs zamezit (válku), získat si (oblibu), even though we find other cases used with them through the influence of verbs with similar meanings: zamezit (zlu - dat.), získat si (zásluh - gen.); with the verb předejít, předcházet, the use with the accusative case is original but here too, through contamination we find the dative as in předejít nemoci.

c) The object in the dative case completes the goal or direction of the action; the following verbs take the dative case: nadběhnout (chlapci), utéci (bratrovi), darovat (příteli), podobat se (otci), slušet (děvčeti), patřit (známým), prospívat (nemocným), pomáhat (lidem), sloužit (lidu), rozumět, porozumět (slovům), zvykat si (kázni), odporovat (zlu), zabránit (válce), divit se, obdivovat se (výkonům) and so forth.

Next to the appropriate use with the dative case with the verbs učit, učit se, naučit se (jazyku), učit se (ruštině) we find even in the literary language use with the accusative, naučit se (báseň). The use of the dative case with the verb blížit se is now obsolete, it is currently used as a rule with a prepositional phrase (blížit se ke břehu).

A dative object also follows adjectives, as in *podobný (otci), vlastní (ženám), milý (chlapci), užitečný (všem)* and so forth.

d) An instrumental case without a preposition goes with verbs with the meaning 'to cause a motion' among which are *hýbat (světem), točit (klikou), třást (stromem), házet (kamením), krčit (rameny)* and others; also with verbs meaning 'to occupy oneself' among which are *zabývat se (prací), zaměstnávat se (literaturou)*, the bookish *obírat se (myšlenkou)*, as well as other verbs such as *chlubit se (úspěchem), opovrhovat, pohrdat (zrádci), plýtvat (chlebem), šetřit (chválou), vládnout (slovem)*. -- Verbs having the meaning 'to move' also can have an object in the accusative case (*točit kolo, házet kamení* etc.).

The verb *obchodovat* now takes a simple instrumental case (*obchodovat zeleninou*) instead of taking the prepositional phrase (*obchodovat se zeleninou*).

Verbs which have the basic meaning 'to cause a motion' when used in a figurative sense, most frequently take an instrumental prepositional phrase (but also the simple instrumental), for example *hnout (s příkladem), pohnout (s bytovou výstavbou), zatočit (s někým)* and so forth. Prepositional phrases occur also less frequently with some of the other abovementioned verbs cf. *obírat se (s minulostí)*, *pochlubit se (s úspěchy)* and so forth. -- The verb *spokojit se* is recently also being used with a prepositional phrase (*spokojit se s dosaženými úspěchy*) but also with the original instrumental without a preposition (*spokojit se málem*). The verb *hospodařit* today takes only the prepositional phrase (*s materiálem, s výrobky*).

An object in the instrumental case can also be dependent on an adjective as in *je jist úspěchem, známý svou horlivostí* and so forth.

e) Among the verbs which take prepositional phrases the following are worthy of note: *záviset (na otci, na doporučení), žádat (o povolení), bojovat (o mír, za mír), diskutovat (o návrhu), uvažovat (o návrhu,* in technical style only also *uvažovat polohu, váhu* etc.), *zasloužit se (o národ)* and so forth.

Two kinds of prepositional phrases can be used correctly with the verb *pracovat: pracovat na novém díle* and *pracovat o novém díle* (but not *pracovat nad dílem, nad knihou* etc.).

> Note. Concerning contamination in constructions of this kind see §183.2.

3. An object may in more rare instances also be a word other than a noun. It can be an infinitive or other word understood as a neuter substantive.

An infinitive can be an object with verbs expressing knowledge, effort, endeavor, etc. (učil se, uměl psát; rozhodl se, slíbil, snažil se etc. učinit co) and the subject of the verbal predicate is identical with the assumed agent of the object infinitive. An infinitive can also be an object following verbs which impose an action on someone else or restrain someone from doing an action (rozkázal mu, bránil mu přijít); in this case the assumed agent of the infinitive action of course can not be identical with the subject of the sentence (it can be identical with the object).

The infinitive object may also follow an adjective (zvyklý snídat, je povinen mluvit pravdu etc.).

> For ex.: Odmítl letět. Zakázal mu jít nahoru. Je povinen mluvit pravdu. -- Každé proč má své proto.
>
> An infinitive following the verbs musit, mít, moci, chtít, dát se, nechat etc. (e.g. musel ustoupit, nemůže přispět, chce vytrvat, dal se ostříhat) is not considered as an object; the combination of the infinitive with these verbs is considered a single ~~syntagm~~ sentence member the predicate, composed of course of two words (see §175.1 and §189.1).

4. Dependent on the same head in a sentence may be several objects in the same case (either alone or prepositional phrases), which are both grammatically and semantically coordinate; in such a situation we have a compound object.

For ex.: Cti otce i matku. Vzpomínali na domov a na děti. Byl pln pochyb a nejistot.

5. Sometimes the same headword has several objects which are not coordinate and appear in different cases dependent on it. Most frequently we find an object in the dative case and another one in the accusative, e.g. Dej mi tu knihu. Posílám matce dopis. Kdo jinému jámu kopá, sám do ní padá.

Almost all transitive verbs (which take the accusative) may have such a dative object and so may some of the verbs which take a genitive object; this dative object as a rule expresses the person concerned with the action and is sometimes called an indirect object (second object) or a personal dative; such a dative may occur also with verbs which otherwise do not take an object.

For ex.: Půjčil kamarádovi knihu. Natrhal dítěti jablek. Neřekl nikomu ani slova. Rozkázal mu přijít včas. Zakázal mu číst při světle. -- Dítě sedí matce na klíně.

Analogously the dative can express a person for whom the whole content of the sentence is valid and thus is to his advantage or disadvantage or in his interest or who is the carrier of that content. ~~It~~ also occurs frequently in ~~one member~~ sentences.

For ex.: Poškrábal mu tvář. Smysly se mu pomátly. Myslil si své. To jsou mi přátelé. -- Je mi zima. Děvče natrhalo mamince květiny. Běda mužům, kterým žena vládne. Spí se mi dobře.

In these sentences with two objects we have two syntagms: dej-tu knihy and (dej tu knihu) - mně.

Concerning the personal dative and the so-called dative of the interested person (commodi and incommodi) cf. §64; check there also concerning the ethical dative.

6. As a second object next to the direct object we can also sometimes consider the objective infinitive as in Slyšel tlouci slavíka (cf. in contrast an object dependent on the infinitive tlouci in the following sentence: Nerad viděl tlouci psa). Viděl ho vycházet z domu.

This is also a matter of two syntagms: slyšel - slavíka and (slyšel slavíka) - tlouci; in the construction tlouci slavíka it is also a matter of an actor (slavíka) toward his action (tlouci), but here the relationship remains semantic and is not expressed syntactically. -- The infinitive in such cases is sometimes considered a complement; such a view is justified historically, but not from a synchronic view of the language.

7. The object again may in turn be *expanded*; ~~the~~ most frequently it is expanded by an attribute expressed by an adjective (e.g. *kopou černé uhlí, nedůvěřivý k předčasnému jaru*), but sometimes also by an object or by an adverbial determiner, especially after an objective infinitive (e.g. *touží uvidět moře, toužil vrátit se do vlasti*).

The attribute and the apposition

§195.1. The *attribute* is a sentence member, which expands a substantive whatever its syntactic value (even in the value of the basic member of a ~~one-member~~ mononuclear sentence) and further determines, delimits its meaning and forms with the substantive a syntagm.

To elicit the attribute we use the interrogative pronouns *jaký* or *který* or *čí* joined to the head substantive.

2. The attribute may agree with the headword or may be governed by it, or the dependence may not be formally expressed.

a) An attribute which agrees at least in case with the substantive on which it depends is called an ~~agreeing~~ congruent *attribute*.

Whenever it is an adjective (or a pronoun or numeral of adjectival value), it agrees in case, number, gender, and in the masculine plural also in animateness. If the attribute is a substantive, it agrees in case, and wherever it is possible, also in number and gender.

> For ex.: Ostravští horníci kopou v hlubokých chodbách černé uhlí. Koná se národní pout' na hory Říp. Byl mým dobrým druhem. Přišli po deváté hodině. -- Město Praha bylo založeno kněžnou Libuší.

b) Whenever an ~~agreeing~~ congruent attribute is expressed by an adjective depends on a substantive, which may in nom. pl. have ~~an~~ animate or inanimate form, (such as ledoborci or ledoborce, see §190.3), the attribute is in an animate form, if the substantive headword has an animate form with the ending -i, -é, -ové, and in an inanimate form, if the substantive headword has an inanimate form with the ending -y, -e.

The substantives lidičky, rodiče, koně have animate agreement (see §190.3); therefore the agreeing attribute dependent on them is also in the animate form.

> For ex.: Sovětští ledoborci (vypluli), but: Sovětské ledoborce (vypluly). Hospodářští ukazatelé (byli stanoveni), but: Hospodářské ukazatelé (byly stanoveny). -- Zlatí lidičky, drazí rodiče, bujní koně.
>
> Sporadically we find an attribute in f. with masculine substantives as a device of emotional coloring, frequently pejorative, as in chlapče zlatá, ten kluk ušatá, ten kluk zatracená, ty kluku jedna, and so forth; such an attribute always stands after the

the substantive, which is often in the vocative, cf. 8b below and also §57.1 and §95.1.

c) An attribute which is not declined together with its substantive and is as a rule in a different case from the substantive on which it is dependent is called a ~~non-agreeing~~ incongruent attribute.

Its simple case, most frequently genitive, or its case with a preposition is frequently governed by a head substantive. At other times its case or prepositional phrase express syntactic dependence but are not governed by the headword.

For ex.: Horníci z Kladna splnili plán těžby. Těžba uhlí stoupá. Vzpomínka na domov jej posilovala. Potkali muže v černém kabátě. Nadešli jsme si cestou lesem.

~~The agreeing attribute is also called congruent, the non-agreeing incongruent.~~

A special instance of a ~~non-agreeing~~ incongruent attribute is the so-called naming nominative (román Psohlavci, v románě Psohlavci, z opery Dalibor; see §63).

3. An attribute is as a rule a noun (a declinable word); most frequently it is an adjective, it can also be a

substantive, pronoun, numeral and nominal forms of verbs (participles and gerunds, especially when they are adjectival). An attribute can also be an adverb or an infinitive.

In an attribute we use the long (compound) forms of adjectives and not their nominal (short) forms (with the exception of possessive adjectives).

> For ex.: Mohutná auto vozí náklady štěrku. Miluj svou vlast! Devátá hodina odbila. Tekoucí voda je studená. Neruda kritik není menší než Neruda básník. -- Těším se na návrat domů. Naplňovala jej touha vrátit se.

4. The attribute is as a rule dependent on a substantive; it can therefore expand any sentence member, basic or expanding, which is expressed by a substantive. Only rarely is it dependent on a different word which plays the role of a substantive, and an agreeing attribute then has a neuter singular form.

> For ex.: Tvé ano mě nepřesvědčuje. Bojovné hurá rozléhalo se po nádvoří.

5. Sometimes one headword is expanded by several attributes.

a) When these attributes are co-ordinate we call the construction a compound attribute.

Whenever coordinate attributes are not joined by the coordinat~~e~~ing conjunctions a, i, ani, nebo they are separated in writing by a comma.

For ex.: těžká, odpovědná, namáhavá práce; nevelký, ale statný stařík (compound ~~agreeing~~ congruent attribute);

temné skvrny lesů a hájů; město s dobrou polohou a s krásným okolím (compound ~~non-agreeing~~ incongruent attribute).

b) Sometimes however several non-coordinate attributes are dependent on one substantive, e.g. těžké vozy tažené silnými koňmi, petřínské stráně s krásnou vyhlídkou, or the attribute expands a construction consisting of a substantive already expanded by another attribute (either agreeing or non-agreeing), e.g. hospodářský plán výroby, velké kožené pouzdro, základní odborná škola, jeho černý gumový plášť.

In both cases it is a matter of two or more syntagms but with different mutual relationships: těžké - vozy, vozy - tažené silnými koňmi, petřínské - stráně, stráně - s krásnou vyhlídkou; plán - výroby, hospodářský - plán výroby, kožené - pouzdro, velké - kožené pouzdro, gumový - plášť, černý - gumový plášť, jeho - černý gumový, plášť.

We must therefore distinguish between a compound attribute and such other instances of expanding a head noun by several attributes, where an agreeing attribute (adjectival) expands a construction of another agreeing attribute with its governing noun. This is the so-called sequentially expanded attribute; this kind of attribute, unlike the compound attribute is not separated by commas. An expanding member of this kind may be further expanded by one or more sequentially expanding attributes.

Cf.: *vynikající sportovní výkon*; *nový spisovný český jazyk*; *celé mezinárodní odborové hnutí*; but: *nový, spravedlivý řád*; *vynikající, překvapující výkon*; *hospodářská, politická i mravní síla*.

As an aid in determining whether the attribute is compound (the parts of which are to be separated by commas) we may try inserting the coordinate conjunctions *a*, *i* between the parts (*vynikající a překvapující výkon*) or try changing the word order. If the attribute is compound the individual attributes may not be in an order with the noun between them while in a sequentially expanded attribute, such a word order is possible (nový spisovný jazyk český, nový český jazyk spisovný).

6. An attribute may be *expanded* by another sentence part; such an expanding part may be an attribute, an object or most frequently an adverbial determiner.

For ex.: zboží domácí výroby, město s krásným okolím; syn podobný otci, povinnost odstraňovat nedostatky; velmi dobrá úroda, prudce tekoucí voda, voda rozlitá po lukách.

7. According to the relationship of an attribute to its headword, we distinguish tight and loose attributes.

A *tight attribute* narrows the range of meaning of its head substantive and cannot be left out without a change of meaning of the construction or sentence.

A *loose attribute* expresses a quality which only additionally completes the meaning of the head substantive; a loose attribute may be omitted without changing the meaning of the sentence. Such an attribute is as a rule expanded and its base is often an adjectival participle or an adjectival gerund. (cf. §199 and 200).

A loose attribute always follows its noun and is separated from it in speech by pause and in writing by a comma. A tight attribute is not separated by a comma.

Examples of tight attributes: Bílý prapor vlaje. Zahnul na cestu vinoucí se pod kopcem. Domky rozptýlené po stráních byly ozářeny sluncem. Na slavnostní zasedání okresního národního výboru byli pozváni zástupci družstev vyznamenaných v celostátní soutěži (i.e. only those which were honored). -- Loose attributes: Dlouhý stůl obklopený židlemi, byl pokryt hromádkami listin. Rozlehlý dvůr, vroubený kamenitými chodníky podél budov, upoutával vzorným pořádkem.

8. A~~n~~ ~~agreeing~~ congruent attribute expressed by an adjective usually precedes the headword, an ~~non-agreeing~~ incongruent attribute regularly follows its head.

a) ~~An agreeing~~ congruent attribute follows its headword as a rule when it is liberally expanded; this position aids in clarifying and is necessary especially when in a position preceding a noun two prepositions would follow each other. A liberally expanded attribute may not be divided in such a way that its base would stand before the noun and the expanding member(s) after the noun. Cf. also §184.2.

b) ~~An agreeing~~ congruent attribute is furthermore placed after its headword whenever it carries emphasis, or when it is a part of a technical term or of a set phrase especially a very old one.

~~An agreeing~~ congruent attribute which is an adjective is placed after its head also in expressions with emotional coloring or value such as lidé zlatí, kluk hloupá, pakáž jedna etc.; this deviant position is a device for emotional coloring (sometimes also with a deviant form of the adjective accompanying a head masculine noun, cf. kluk hloupá etc., see §57.1 and §95.1 and in 2b of this section).

c) Sometimes an ~~non-agreeing~~ incongruent attribute of a personal noun in the genitive and with a possessive meaning also precedes its head, especially in personal designations or for clarity. -- An ~~non-agreeing~~ incongruent attribute also may precede its noun in artistic language.

For ex.: Rodné město, náš stát, devátá hodina - na březích Vltávy, krajina bez lesů.

a) Nedostali jsme odpověd' na zprávu zaslanou vám již minulý měsíc (a liberally expanded attribute). -- Transportní pás dopravuje z~~a~~e skládky bukovou kulatinu rozřezanou do metrů (not...ze skládky do metrů rozřezanou kulatinu). Bylo nutno opravit budovy poškozené válkou (not...poškozené budovy válkou). Podejte přihlášku do dne stanoveného ve vyhlášce (not... do ve vyhlášce stanoveného dne).

b) Nechceme bídu a nezaměstnanost, chceme řád spravedlivější (emphasis). -- Věta holá, kuna lesní, kysličník uhličitý (technical terms). -- Bible kralická, Universita Karlova (old terms - set phrases).

c) Vrchlického sady, Palackého universita; Dobrovského teorie jazykové kultury (teorie Dobrovského jazykové kultury would have a different meaning). -- Noci stín, ptáků sbor, strašný lesů pán (Mácha), stříbra kousek (Erben) etc.

§196. A loosely attached ~~agreeing~~ congruent attribute expressing an almost independent thought supplementarily is called an apposition. It is expressed by a substantive and is as a rule expanded, more rarely compound and follows its headword.

An apposition is separated from the substantive which it more closely determines and from the rest of the sentence in speech by pause and in writing by a comma.

For ex.: Zdeněk Nejedlý, nejlepší znalec Smetanovy hudby; Julius Fučík, neohrožený bojovník proti fašismu; památník Josefa Kajetána Tyla, zakladatele českého divadla.

An apposition as a rule more closely expounds the head substantive and may therefore also be attached by the expressions *totiž, a to, to jest* and so forth. (e.g. *Všichni, staří i mladí, přišli se poklonit jeho památce*. *Jirásek píše s oblibou o nejslavnější době naší minulosti, totiž o době husitské*).

Such an explanation specifies or concretizes a head substantive. At other times an apposition accomplishes its closer determination by being ordered below a concept classified on a higher level (see the examples listed above).

Sometimes the apposition is semantically a summing-up expression dependent on a compound member (e.g. *Charváti, Srbové, Makedonci, Bulhaři, zkrátka všichni balkánští Slované, mají krásné bohatýrské zpěvy*).

At other times the apposition evaluates and in such cases it may be introduced by the words *takový, ten* (e.g. *Jeho syn, nadaný hoch, to dokázal* - *Jeho syn, takový nadaný hoch, to dokázal*).

Note. 1. Constructions such as *město Praha, král Václav, básník Erben, soudruh učitel* and so forth, also are often explained as consisting of a so-called tight apposition (*město*..., *král*...), and a substantive. -- It is, however, better to consider these as consisting of an attribute expressed by an ~~agreeing~~ congruent substantive; these are fixed expressions fixed to such an extent that sometimes we can distinguish the head substantive from the expanding attribute only by the stress on the semantic kernel; for example in the construction *město Praha, básník Erben* the headwords are as a rule the words *město, básník* but sometimes the semantic kernels which are more closely determined by a noun may be the proper nouns *Praha, Erben*. The expression which is the grammatical head is indicated by the grammatical agreement of the predicate, which is governed for example by *město* (*město Praha bylo založeno*). Similarly in constructions consisting of a name and surname it is as a rule only the stress which indicates the head noun, as in *Jan Novák*, but *Jan Novák* (with the same meaning in the constructions *Jan Nováků, Jan Novákovic*) and so forth.

2. By apposition is sometimes understood not just a sentence part (a kind of attribute) but a kind of syntactic relationship, along with predication, determination and coordination. It is a matter of a relationship understood as a relationship of broad identity (according to V. Mathesius), standing between determination and coordination. This relationship of course exists also between other sentence parts not just between an apposition and its head noun.

In another view (Trávníček's) although the apposition is considered a sentence part, it is viewed as having determining marks, both formal and semantic, i.e. its supplemental and loose attachment, its placement after the head, which also are true of other constructions besides the substantival attribute (cf. for example sedlák, ve tváři od větru zardělý, kráčel nahrben; budovu natřeli, ohavně zelenou a masově červenou barvou). In this view an apposition is a sentence part understood at a different level from the other sentence parts; an apposition in this sense (i.e. a part attached appositively) can therefore be not just a substantive attribute, but also an adjectival one, ~~and also~~ as well as an adverbial determiner, an object or a complement.

The Complement

§197.1. The complement is a sentence part, which as a rule expands the predicate verb, but at the same time has affinity with the subject or object noun. It expresses a quality (or a state), which this noun has during a certain action or which is predicated to it by a certain action.

The complement forms a syntagm with the predicate verb on the one hand and with the subject or object noun on the other; it is this dual relationship which is characteristic of the complement.

Only rarely does a complement depend on a non-predicate action adjective or on a predicate adjective.

2. The complement either agrees with the subject or object noun, or the relationship is expressed by a special form. Thus like the attribute we may have an ~~agreeing~~ congruent or an ~~non-agreeing~~ incongruent complement.

A~~n~~ ~~agreeing~~ congruent complement agrees with the subject or object noun (substantive or adjective) to which it relates at least in number sometimes also in case and as far as possible also in gender and animateness; the same rules apply here as for the agreement of a predicate noun, see §190.2.

An ~~non-agreeing~~ incongruent complement is in a different case from that of the noun it more closely determines. ~~The~~ Most frequently it is the instrumental, sometimes also a prepositional phrase with the preposition za. Here, however the instrumental and the accusative cases after the preposition za are special instances of ~~non-agreement~~ incongruence.

The complement (especially when expressed by a substantive) is as a rule in the instrumental case with verbs by which a quality is regularly predicated to the subject or object or which urgently require complementation, such as *jmenovat (někoho předsedou)*, *nazývat (někoho otcem)*, *nazývat se (básníkem)*, *učit se (kovářem)*, *narodit se (básníkem)*, *cítit se (dítětem)*, *zůstat (předsedou)*. A complement expressed by an adjective in the instrumental case only rarely accompanies these verbs, as in *činit (někoho odpovědným)*; more frequently it is in the nominative (for some verbs both nom. and instr. are possible), cf. *zůstal klidný, cítila se opuštěná, jevil se, zdál se lhostejný* (or *lhostejným*) and so forth.

Some verbs have a complement consisting of a prepositional phrase with the preposition *za*, sometimes in addition to a complement in the instrumental case as for example *pokládat, považovat (někoho za přítele), zvolit (někoho za předsedu* or *předsedou*) and so forth.

A complement with the conjunction *jako* (more rarely the bookish *jakožto*) may be congruent ~~agreeing~~ or incongruent ~~non-agreeing;~~ in such cases it as a rule expresses a function, rank, mission, appraisal etc. In the present-day literary language *jako* is sometimes left out of a~~n agreeing~~ congruent complement.

A complement having a relationship with the subject is in the accusative case in bookish constructions such as seděl bradu v dlaních a lokty zapřeny o kolena, spala tvář zachumlanou do polštáře, chodil tvář zarudlou studem and so forth. In these constructions with the so-called accusative of quality it is really a matter of an elliptic gerundial construction with the omitted present gerund maje. -- These constructions compete with instrumental prepositional phrases of the same meaning, as for example seděl s bradou v dlaních and so forth.

To elicit the complement we ask questions consisting of the interrogative expression (i) jak, (i) jaký (kým, čím, jakým, za koho, zač, jako kdo, co and so forth) together with the pertinent (predicate) verb and subject or object.

For ex.: Vrátili jsme se domů osvěženi. Přišel unaven. Hoši rádi soutěží. Hoši rádi soutěžící vynikli. Dům vypadal nedostavěný. -- Maso je zdravější vařené.

Viděli jsme ho včera ještě zdravého a veselého a dnes jsme jej zastihli těžce zraněného. Nejlepší pracovníci byli zvoleni členy (za členy) národních výborů. Lid nazval údolí Úpy se Starým bělidlem "Babiččiným údolím". Bral své sny za skutečnost. Hory bylo vidět bez mraků.

Jako malé děvče žila u babičky. Osvědčil se jako vzorný pracovník. Vyrůstal jako jedináček. Hoši se cítili jako dospělí lidé.

Volíme národní výbory jako orgány statní moci. Chápeme tento čin jakožto nepřátelský útok. Výpověď člověka vyslýchaného jako svědek. -- Rodák malostranský, zobrazil Neruda... (instead of Jako rodák...).

When we have a verb with a reflexive pronoun in the role of an object the complement as a rule determines the subject and is therefore in the nominative (or instrumental) case and not in the accusative.

For ex.: Poznej sám sebe. Cítí se nemocen (or nemocným). Vidím se nucen zakročit včas.

3. The complement is frequently an adjective. The adjective in the complement - like in the predicate noun, may have the nominal (short) form only in the nominative case. The formation of these nominal forms is however restricted (cf. §98).

A complement may also consist of a substantive, pronoun, numeral, or the verbal gerund.

For ex.: Byl zvolen předsedou. Vrátil se sám. Doběhl do cíle třetí. -- Chlapci zapírali zardívajíce se. Vstoupil, chvěje se po celém těle. Vystoupivše na vrchol, rozhlíželi se po okolí.

Concerning ~~participial~~ gerundial constructions cf. §199.

4. Sometimes several coordinate complements depend on a single predicate; this is a case of a *compound* complement (cf. above: *viděli jej zdravého a veselého*).

5. A complement may be *expanded* by another sentence part, by an attribute, an adverbial determiner or by an object (cf. above: *byli zvoleni členy národních výborů*; *zastihli jej těžce zraněného*; *vrátil se pln nezapomenutelných dojmů*).

> *Note*. The concept and assignment of the complement is not completely homogeneous in our grammars. Sometimes the complement is viewed quite broadly; a nominal predicate after the connecting words *být, bývat, stát se, stávat se* (the copula or the connecting verb are then considered as true verbal predicates), as in *bratr je zdráv, otec se stal učitelem*. -- At other times the complement is narrowed down to those instances, in which the semantic meaning is of the quality (state) of a noun in the subject or object in the course of a certain action (*děvčata tancovala bosa, vrátil se zdráv*). Such cases of expressing a quality which is predicated to the noun in the subject or object

by a certain act is then not considered a complement (zvolit někoho předsedou, za předsedu, učinit někoho št'astným etc.), i.e. after verbs which urgently require semantic determination, complementation; such determination is viewed as a special kind of adverbial determiner (having an action content).

The first view ignores only the formal meaning of the copula and creates a contentless kernel of the sentence, the second view creates a homogeneity of the relationship of the object and of that special kind of adverbial determiner.

Adverbial determiner

§198.1. An adverbial determiner is a sentence part which expands most frequently a verb, sometimes also an adjective or an adverb and forms with it a syntagm.

Its dependence on a headword is not expressed by a special form, i.e. an adverbial determiner does not agree with its headword, nor is its case (prepositional phrase) governed (by the verb or adjective).

An adverbial determiner is most frequently the expanding part of the verbal or nominal predicate, but it can also be the expanding member of an attribute or of an adverbial determiner -- consisting of an adjective or adverb.

-- Adverbial determiners may also expand basic members of one-member sentences (verbal or nominal with the copula).

> For ex.: *pracovali obětavě,* šel lesem *byl mi vždy dobrým přítelem*; *prudce stoupající voda, velmi dobrý prospěch*; *zcela přesně odpověděl*; *přesně o páté hodině přistálo letadlo*. -- *Na horách prší*; *je velmi zima*.

An adverbial determiner expresses various circumstances and relationships (of place, time, manner, cause etc.), which determine the headword more closely.

> This semantic standpoint together with a basic grammatical standpoint (as well as the fact that dependence is not expressed either by government or by agreement) helps us in some instances to distinguish the adverbial determiner from the object.
>
> For ex.: *Píši perem* (manner, the instr. does not here form a construction with the verb *psát* -- it is an adverbial determiner); *třesu stromem* (the shaking affects the tree, the instr. forms a construction with the verb *třásti* -- it is the object).

2. An adverbial determiner more closely determines the place (answers questions *kde, odkud, kudy, kam*), time (*kdy, odkdy, dokdy, jak dlouho, jak často*), manner (extent, means, view, origin and originator -- *jak, jakým způsobem,*

kolik, jakou měrou, z čeho, od koho, kým), cause and purpose (proč, nač, k čemu, za jakým účelem), condition and allowance (za jaké podmínky, i/{ani} v kterém případě).

We therefore distinguish adverbial determiners according to their meaning into determiners of place, time, various determiners of manner, cause and purpose, condition and allowance.

To elicit the adverbial determiner we use the various interrogative expressions mentioned above (kde, odkud etc.) together with the governing member (verb, adjective or adverb).

Examples of adverbial determiners of place: Horníci kopou uhlí pod zemí. Dolů sjíždějí těžkými jámami. Vrátili se domů. Listí padá se stromů. Mrazí mě v zádech;

time: Večer se stmívá. Přišel pozdě. K ránu se vyjasnilo. Pracuje na svém díle celý den. Do týdne bude hotov. Byl mi vždy věrným druhem;

manner: Práce mu šla dobře. Je zdráv jak ryba. Stroj je téměř nový. Šel na to náramně zchytra. Bylo jich na tisíc. Pojedeme domů vlakem. Jablka byla krásná na pohled;

cause and purpose: Skákal radostí. Na radu lékaře zachovával dietu. -- Děti šly do lesa na jahody. Některé knihy čtu pro zábavu, jiné pro poučení;

condition and allowance: Při dobré vůli je možno se dohodnout (=je-li dobrá vůle). Přijedu podle možnosti zítra. -- Přes zákaz jsme se shromáždili (=ačkoli to bylo zakázáno). Proti očekávání jsme prohráli.

We classify determination of extent, means, regard and association as adverbial determiners of manner. E.g.: Doskočil pět metrů. Psal perem. Byl myslí doma. Na něho je to dobré. Šel s bratrem na procházku.

Adverbial determiners of origin and originator are close to the determiner of cause. E.g.: Z jiskry bývá oheň. Město bylo pobořeno nepřáteli. Bude z něho mechanik.

3. a) Adverbial determiners consist of adverbs or nouns (most frequently substantives) in simple case forms (with the exception of the voc. and dat.) or more frequently of prepositional phrases. Sometimes a noun is also attached

by the conjunctions jak, jako, než, nežli. Nouns in a simple case or in prepositional phrases do express a sentence relationship but a syntactic one, and are not governed in this case by a headword, i.e. are not a part of its rection; case in this instance expresses a non-grammatical meaning (place, time etc.) as a semantic determiner of the headword.

> In addition to the above examples cf. also: Bil ho hlava nehlava. Kláda leží v lese již řadu let. Celý den na něho čekal. Každé chvíle napínal sluch, zda již nezvoní. Časem si na vše zvykneš. Pěšinou si nadešel. Kovářka přiběhla jako na koni.

Nouns in simple cases or in prepositional phrases sometimes lose their original meaning and their value and become adverbs (cf. večer, ráno, honem, úprkem; zpaměti, nahoře, bezpočtu etc.); see §162.7.

b) An infinitive may also be an adverbial determiner, most frequently one of purpose (goal) especially after verbs of motion, less frequently with a meaning of regard.

> For ex.: Jdu se koupat. Spěchal otevřít. Přišli se rozloučit s námi. Poslali ho nakoupit. Dejte vody pít. (Erben) -- Je pozdě litovat. To je lehko uhodnout.

The same kind of infinitive is in expressions such as byl jsem se koupat, byl telefonovat, jsou zde zvát, cf. §189.4.

4. Sometimes one head may be determined by several adverbial determiners.

a) Such adverbial determiners may be coordinate both grammatically and semantically, i.e. they are compound adverbial determiners.

For ex.: Máme mluvit krátce a jasně. Chodil lehce oblečen v zimě v létě. Děti se hnaly přes ztvrdlá pole, přes meze a přes strniska.

b) More frequently, however, several non-coordinate adverbial determiners depend on one headword, this is mostly due to the fact that they are adverbial determiners of several types.

For ex.: Už v duchu se chlubí doma svým úspěchem (adverbial determiners of manner and place). Šli pomalým krokem za tiché noci po nábřeží (manner and time and place). Sejdeme se zítra ráno na nádraží (time and place). -- But some are non-coordinate even when they are the same kind (e.g. place): Seděl jsem v kavárně u okna na pohovce.

5. An adverbial determiner may be *expanded*; most frequently it is by an attribute, sometimes by other adverbial determiners or by an object (with an infinitive), e.g.: *Za tiché noci svítily hvězdy*. *Na dva kroky dopředu nebylo vidět*. *Tak lehce se nedám*. *Půjdeme sbírat jahody*.

Bibliography. The bibliography on the general problems of sentence members follows §179.

For contributions on individual sentence members cf. especially the following:

subject: *Mathesius*, 1947h.

predicate: *Mrázek*, 1957, *Kopečný*, 1949a, *Hrbáček*, 1960, 1956.

copula: *Novák*, 1959b, *Zimek*, 1963.

attribute and apposition: *Mathesius*, 1947a; see also the bibliography on the so-called quantitative attribute following §115, esp. *Kopečný*, 1953a; for a popularized discussion see *Haller*, 1947; cf. also the discussion about the grammatical and semantic structure of expressions of the type *město Praha* in *ČJ*, 1955 - 1957, with a summary by *Hausenblas*, 1957 and with discussion contributed by *Novotný*, *Svěrák*, *Bauer*, *Daneš*, *K. Svoboda* and *Kopečný*; a more recent discussion of this problem is Trávníček, 1959c;

object: Trávníček, 1954;

complement: Daneš, 1965a K. Svoboda, 1966b, Uličný, 1969a (and relating to it K. Svoboda 1969);

adverbial determiner: Hausenblas, 1958a;

concept of parts of a sentence (also from the pedagogical point of view) cf. the discussions in ČJ esp. about the copula and about the predicate with the copula, 1951/52, 1954, and about the object and adverbial determiner, 1953-1956, 1958 and elsewhere;

agreement: cf. recently Kuchař, 1959.

Gerundial phrases; infinitive phrases

§199. A gerundial phrase is a construction which consists of a gerund with its expanding members. The expanding parts of a gerund are the same as those of a verbal predicate (object and adverbial determiner); a subordinate clause may also depend on it. Cf. §193.

> A gerundial construction expresses nearly a complete thought, but is not an independent sentence; it does not have the full shape of a sentence, because the gerund is not a finite verb form (it does not express person), it therefore can be neither a verbal predicate, nor a verbal basic sentence member in a mononuclear ~~one-part~~ sentence. A gerundial construction is always only an expanding part, as a rule a complement, less frequently an apposition ~~attribute~~.

The agent (bearer) of the action of the gerundial phrase is always identical with the subject of the sentence (clause) of which the gerundial phrase is an expanding part and the gerund agrees with this sentence subject in number and gender -- to the extent that it is formally possible.

> For ex.: Pastevci, dokouřivše své dýmky s hrotitými víčky, ve spánku oddechovali. -- Voralka, stojíc u chléva, dívala se za mužem. -- Jsouce zaraženi a

přemoženi, lili vodu na pukající zem. -- "*Tak to je...,*" *povzdechl, trpce se usmívaje*.

> Modern literary Czech does not permit gerundial constructions which would have a different subject from the subject of the sentence (clause) of which they are a part. In older stages of the language such gerundial constructions existed, e.g. *Vidouc dítě tak zcela změněné, projelo bolestné tušení její duší.* (Němcová).

The gerundial phrase by its expanding members and by its relationship to the subject is similar to a dependent clause, and is therefore separated from the rest of the sentence by commas. -- Only tight gerundial phrases with little expansion are sometimes not separated by a comma; e.g. *Stojíce na rozcestí rozhlíželi se kolem*.

> Concerning the use of gerunds according to simultaneity or precedence of the action and about their relationship to aspect cf. §136.3.

§200. The infinitive likewise may be richly expanded by expanding parts usual for the finite verb (verbal predicate), especially by objects and adverbial determiners. Such a richly expanded infinitive may be called an infinitive phrase (construction).

Such an infinitive phrase may also be a sentence part, but unlike the gerundial phrase it may be -- as may the infinitive in general -- any sentence part, even a basic one.

For ex.: Obnovit literární život u nás znamenalo pro Dobrovského vyjít z té situace českého spisovného jazyka, kdy byl nejrozvinutější (F. Vodička; one infinitive phrase as subject, another as object). -- Pocit'ujeme živou touhu vynést z minulosti na světlo doklady vyšší vzdělanosti (attribute). -- Přiznat vinu je lepší než žít ve výčitkách svědomí (object, adverbial determiner).

Because the infinitive -- in contrast to gerunds -- does not have an inflectional form, it is not always possible to determine its character as an expanding part unequivocably. Thus among infinitive constructions a special role is played by constructions of acc. with the infinitive and dat. with the infinitive (slyšel slavíka zpívat, rozkázal mu zavřít), which we as a rule classify as objective infinitives, see §194.3 and .6.

Significantly more independent are constructions of the following type: *nevím co dělat, není čím platit, není proč se bát*; here an independent infinitive of consideration (like *co dělat*) becomes dependent. Cf. §135.4).

The most independent kind of infinitive construction is the phrase with an infinitive in the value of the conditional mood, i.e. in the value of an adverbial conditional clause. Such infinitive phrases are set off by a comma.

For ex.:
Mít čas, byl bych přijel za vámi. -- *Slyšet tě tatínek, neměl by z tebe radost*. -- *Nebýt rychlé pomoci, sotva by byl vyvázl životem*.

Gerundial phrases, infinitive constructions and appositions (see §196) are sometimes called semiclausal constructions because they express nearly an independent thought, but not an independent sentence (clause). Semantically they express basically the same content as a sentence, but do not have the complete grammatical structure of a sentence. They may, therefore, not be used as independent units, but are always just a part of the grammatical whole of the sentence.

Besides the apposition other semiclausal constructions are the loose attributes the base of which is an adjectival participle or adjectival gerund. See §196 and 195.7.

Bibliography. Stimulated by the ideas of Mathesius, Hrabě discusses this question anew in an article 1958 and in a monograph 1964; cf. also Marková 1967 and Uličný 1969b; on infinitive constructions see the bibliography following §135.

On the development of one kind of semi-clausal constructions cf. Sedláček 1959.

Complex sentences

§201.1. A complex sentence is a grammatical and semantic sentence unit composed of several clauses and expressing a complex thought (divided into sub-thoughts or connecting sub-thoughts).

For ex.: Ledy roztály, přichází znovu jaro. -- Když měl poprvé promluvit na schůzi, hlas se mu chvěl.

Clauses which are joined into complex sentences may be grammatically independent of each other or may be dependent one on the other. Whenever a clause depends on another clause grammatically as its sentence part, this dependent clause is subordinate and the sentence they form is a complex sentence proper. What is here involved is subordination and the construction is subordinate.

Whenever clauses are joined in such a way that they are grammatically independent of each other they are coordinate and this sub-class of complex sentences is called compound. What is here involved is coordination and the construction is coordinate.

In distinguishing coordination from subordination in complex sentences the deciding factor is the grammatical relationship of the clauses. We consider it a matter of coordination when we have a sentence in which there are joined together (either with a connecting expression or without it) clauses which are grammatically independent of each other, even if in thought content, ~~semantically~~ one is dependent on the other, i.e. is semantically subordinate. For example Nepůjdu z domu, prší (~Nepůjdu z domu, protože prší). Přijel pozdě, nebot' zmeškal vlak (~protože zmeškal vlak). -- Analogously: Žena o tom nesmí vědět, to není pro ženské. -- Podej mi tu knihu, je na stole. -- Já vím, bylo to svým způsobem popírání života. (K. Čapek).

Some clauses, the so-called pseudo-subordinate have the form of subordinate clauses joined with relative pronouns or relative adverbs even with conjunctions (který, což, kdo, aby etc.), but they do not express grammatical subordination. In meaning they express a mere succession of an action or a supplementation from the point of view of the governing sentence, they thus are semantically coordinate. (See more about them in the individual sections under the various connecting expressions §204.3 and §205.4).

Compound sentences with coordination are also called paratactic and coordination parataxis. Complex sentences proper with subordination are also called hypotactic and subordination is called hypotaxis.

2. The clauses in complex sentences are joined either by special words, the so called connecting expressions, or their relationship is not expressed by a special word.

Connecting expressions may be conjunctions (a, ale, že, když etc.) or other words with a joining function (relative pronouns and adverbs, e.g. který, co, odkud, jak or other adverbs, such as vždyt', totiž, dokonce, nejen etc.).

Note. Introductory words, as a rule particles, such as at', necht', kéž, (see §170) must be distinguished from connecting expressions.

Whenever the clauses in a sentence are not joined with connecting expressions, the connection is signaled in speech by melodic devices (intonation see §172 and §185, pause), in writing by graphic devices (punctuation marks), see §208.2 and §210 below.

3. The joining of clauses is also affected to a certain extent by the order of the clauses. This order is determined especially by ~~the~~ meaning ~~content~~, less frequently by grammatical considerations.

The meaning ~~content~~ of a complex sentence (just as of a simple one) is analysed into the part which expresses what is given by the situation or context and into the part which contains the actual kernel of the communication.

In sentences with subordinate clauses the main clause or the subordinate one may be either what is given (the topic), or the kernel (the comment). Thus the order of subordinate and main clause is determined by the meaning content of the clauses and in connected discourse also by the semantic contact with the preceding sentence. The subordinate clause may also be inserted into the main clause.

An object subordinate clause consisting of the kernel or comment of the communication usually follows its head or main clause. The same is for the most part also true of the subordinate clause of purpose.

In compound sentences the coordinate clauses are placed according to the sequencing and importance of the thoughts being expressed (cf. also §207).

For ex.: (Věda se dnes rozvíjí přímo bouřlivě.) Aby bylo tempo jejího rozvoje zachováno, musí věda už dnes myslet na potřeby budoucího desetiletí.

Řekl, že nepřijde. Ptal se, co děláš. Bál se, abys nespadl (že spadne). -- Přišel, aby mu blahopřál.

The placement of an attributive subordinate clause is determined grammatically; its position is usually immediately (or at least as close as possible) after the substantive of the main clause on which it is dependent (for more details see §204.3).

Complex sentences with dependent clauses

§202.1. In complex sentences proper, one clause, the subordinate one depends grammatically on another as its sentence ~~part~~ member and the meaning content of the dependent clause often supplements the meaning of the clause on which it is dependent.

The subordinate clause is also called dependent and the clause on which it ~~is~~ depend~~ent~~s is called the main or governing clause.

Sometimes another subordinate clause may depend on a clause which is already subordinate; the latter is to the former its governing clause. Thus a subordinate clause may also function as a governing clause.

A governing clause which is not grammatically dependent on any other is an independent or main clause.

Thus a complex sentence proper consists of one main and one or more subordinate clauses.

2. Subordinate clauses are always attached or introduced (subordinate) by connecting expressions, either by conjunctions, or by relative pronouns or relative adverbs.

Subordinate clauses attached or introduced by conjunctions are called conjunctive; those introduced by relative pronouns or adverbs are called relative.

Conjunctions or other connecting expressions which attach dependent clauses in complex sentences are called subordinat~~e~~ing conjunctions or subordinating connecting expressions.

A governing clause sometimes contains referring expressions (demonstrative pronouns or adverbs, such as ten, takový, tam, tehdy, tak, proto etc.). The referring expression in the main clause is a correlate of the connecting expression of its subordinate clause; this pair of words (ten - kdo, takový - jaký, tam - kde, proto - že, etc.) are called correlative expressions.

The demonstrative pronoun or adverb in the head clause which refers to the subordinate clause is not considered a sentence part, it only replaces formally in the main clause the sentence part which is expressed by the subordinate clause.

> Examples of conjunctive subordinate clauses: Julius Fučík dovedl odpouštět drobné nedostatky, protože věděl, že nikdo není dokonalý. Dělá to všechno proto, aby přehlušil nejistotu; relative clauses: Julius Fučík se stal hrdinou těmi myšlenkami, které ho naplňovaly. Ti, kdo přijdou po nás, nám jednou budou závidět. Zas se najdou takoví, co se vymlouvají na dobu.

Whenever a main clause has two or more subordinate clauses dependent on it introduced by the same conjunction and coordinate to each other, sometimes the conjunction appears only in the first subordinate clause and need not be repeated in the rest.

For ex.: *Poslouchal jak syčí pára, svištî řemeny a zpívají transmise,* or: *Poslouchal, jak syčí pára, jak svištî řemeny a jak zpívají transmise*.

§203.1. A subordinate clause may be subjective, objective, attributive, complementing, adverbial and rarely predicative according to which sentence part in the governing clause is represented by the subordinate clause.

This classification is thus based on the grammatical relationship of the subordinate clause toward the governing clause (or toward some part of the governing clause).

2. According to the semantic relationship of the subordinate clause ~~and of~~ toward the governing clause we distinguish content clauses and complementary or determining clauses.

Content clauses express the thought content of the main clause; they often follow the verbs *mluvení, myšlení* and *vnímání* in the main clause (and thus express what someone says, speaks about, what he thinks, what he feels, what he wishes etc.). Grammatically they are usually ~~su~~objective clauses.

Subordinate clauses which are complementary or determining, complete the content of the governing clause or determine it more closely; they express varied circumstances (place, time, manner etc.) in relation to the content of the main clause. Grammatically they are either attributive or adverbial clauses.

> Examples of content clauses: *Cítil, že je unaven*. *Vypravoal, o čem slyšel*; complementary determining clauses: *Došli jsme k domu, kde bydlil*. *Usadili jsme se v zahradě, kde vyhrávala dechová hudba*. *Postavil kufřík na dlažbu, až to cvaklo*.

§204.1. A subjective clause expresses the subject of the main clause. It is often introduced by the relative pronoun *kdo* or *co* or by the conjunctions *že, aby, jak* etc. The main clause usually has a referring expression (*ten, to, každý* etc.) in the role of the formal subject.

> For ex.: *Kdo se bojí, nesmí do lesa*. *Kdo si zamiloval svou práci, ten vyhrál půl života.* *Komu není shůry dáno, v apatyce nekoupí*. *To, co se stalo, zůstává záhadou.* -- *To není možné, že tam půjde*. *Bylo by lépe, kdybych ji byl neviděl*. *Není známo, kdy se vrátí*.

2. The objective clause expresses the object of the main clause. It is often attached by use of the conjunctions že, aby, jak or by the relative pronouns and adverbs kdo, co..., kde, kam, odkud, kudy,...

Subordinate clauses which are objective are usually dependent on verbs with the meaning 'speaking, thinking, understanding,' such as říci, vypravovat, ukazovat, myslet, vědět, vzpomenout si, pamatovat si, ptát se, dívat se, přát si, slíbit, radovat se, bát se etc., more rarely on adjectives with the copula (je spokojen, je přesvědčen and so forth).

The governing clause sometimes has a demonstrative pronoun in the case which the verb requires, as its formal object; the content itself is expressed by the subordinate clause.

Objective clauses, which contain a statement or a question are called indirect quotations or indirect questions (see §211.3).

> For ex.: Cítil že je soused rozmrzen. Bojí se, že přijde pozdě (..., aby nepřišel pozdě), Nepřeji si, abys k nám chodil. Bránil mu, aby se nevracel. Nemohu to vystát, když někdo mnoho mluví. -- Vypravoval, jak se mu tam líbilo. Poznal, kdo má pravdu. Přiznal, co vyvedl. Zapomněl, kam chtěl jít. Divil se, odkud přicházím.

Pátral, nezahlédne-li ji. Ptal jsem se, zda mě ještě zná. Nevím, jaká je to pověra. -- Jsem spokojen s tím, co jsem se dozvěděl.

Concerning negative clauses after verbs with the meaning of opposition or apprehension cf. §174.1.

3. An attributive clause expresses an attribute of one of the substantives (or pronouns) in the governing clause. Attributive clauses are most frequently relative and introduced by a relative pronoun (kdo, který, jenž, jaký, co) or by a relative adverb (kde, odkud, kudy, kam, kdy), less frequently they are conjunctive, attached by a conjunction (že, aby, jak, zda etc.).

Relative attributive clauses introduced by relative adverbs most frequently determine a substantive signifying the place or time of an action, such as místo, chodba, ulice, náměstí,... čas, chvíle, doba, léta...

Attributive conjunctive clauses as a rule determine action substantives with similar meanings to those of the verbs on which objective clauses are dependent, e.g. představa, poznatek, otázka, přání etc. However relative clauses too may be dependent on these nouns.

In the main clause the noun which the attributive clause expands may be accompanied by a demonstrative expression such as takový, ten etc.

For ex.: Mám ráda lidi, kteří dělají s naprostým zaujetím svou věc. Jsou věci, o nichž se nemluví. Potlačila první nevoli, jakou vzbudí nečekaný host. Otevřel některé z těch oken, co vedou na zahradu. -- Sotva se zmohl na dotaz, odkud ho zná. Vybrali si chvíli, kdy odpočíval. Chodil k bunkru, kde se skrývali partyzáni. -- Kladl si otázku, jak by měl postupovat dál. Lákala ho představa, že by se mohl postavit.

An attributive subordinate clause usually follows right after the head substantive on which it is dependent, whenever this noun is not also expanded by an ~~non-agreeing~~ incongruent attribute. If the noun in the ~~non-agreeing~~ incongruent attribute has such a form, that the connecting expression could grammatically relate the clause to it instead of to the head substantive, the order must for the sake of clarity be changed by placing the dependent clause immediately following its head noun.

For ex.: Návštěvníci z ciziny, kteří přijedou až po zahájení veletrhu, budou ubytováni v Mezinárodním hotelu. -- But a sentence like the following: Sovětští vědci seznámili shromáždění s novými poznatky z oboru *kosmického záření, které získali s pomocí umělých družic* must for the sake of clarity be re-ordered, e.g. ... *s novými poznatky z oboru kosmického záření; získali tyto poznatky*...

Note. Sometimes pronouns or relative adverbs are used unsuitably to attach clauses which are not semantically subordinate to the governing clause. -- E.g. *Předseda vlády přijal delegaci, s kterou setrval v dlouhém srdečném rozhovoru* (instead of ... *a setrval s ní*...). -- *Vyhoupl se na stůl, což dělával s oblibou* (instead of the coordinate also in form... *(a) to dělával)*. -- Such clauses with *což*, having as a rule a complement relating to the content of the whole governing clause, persist in a bookish style of the literary language.

Concerning the stylistic differences between the relative pronouns *který, jenž,* co cf. §102.3.

4. A *complementary clause* expresses the complement of the main clause. It is usually introduced by the conjunctions *jak, kterak*, rarely also with an obsolete connecting expression *an* (*ana* etc.). The governing clause usually has a transitive verb of sensual perception with the object expressed.

For ex.: Slyšel chlapce jak se směje. Představil jsem si chlapce, jak sedí za večera v baráku na pryčně s očima otevřenýma. Zahlédli jsme srnku, kterak se mihla mezi stromy a zmizela v houští. Spatřil na poli ženu v bílé plachetce, ana tam sbírala klasy. (Erben).

The obsolete connecting expression an (ana etc.; formerly composed of a on), which was still frequent in the language of the national revival, had several meanings; it connected also subordinate clauses of time, cause; it was also used in compound sentences (especially in contradicting ones).

5. Rarely we also find predicate clauses, expressing a nominal predicate (which is frequently represented in the main clause by a demonstrative pronoun); they occur as a rule after the copula in the governing ~~sentence~~ sentences.

For ex.: Divadlo je, jak by nabil. Obloha byla, jako by ji vymetl. Náš dědeček byl z těch, kdo šířili osvětu a socialismus na českém venkově. Jaký pán, takový krám.

§205. An adverbial clause expresses an adverbial determiner expanding the predicate of the main clause.

The clause is classified as an adverbial clause of place or time or manner or cause and purpose or condition or allowance, according to the circumstances and relationships by which it more closely completes or determines the main clause.

The basic criterion for determining adverbial clauses is grammatical, but further subdivision into individual types (of place, time etc.) is semantic. If we talk only about the semantic relationship of the clauses in a complex sentence all of the above are complementary clauses (see §203.2).

1. The subordinate clause of *place* expresses a determination of location affecting especially the verbal action of the main clause. It is usually introduced by the connecting expressions *kde, kam, kudy, odkud, kamkoli* etc. The main clause usually has referring pronominal adverbs (*tam, tudy, odtud* etc.) or other adverbs or adverbial expressions with a meaning of location (*všude, zde, sem, nahoře, vzhůru* etc.).

For ex.: *Pod zemí můžeš kopat uhlí, kde chceš*. *Kam šlápnou, tam tráva neroste*. *Půjdu zase, odkud jsem přišel*. *Šel, kudy ho nohy nesly*. *Uniká dál, kam ho nestačí sledovat*. *Kam noha vkročila, všude odvaly.* *Kamkoli se z Hodonína obrátíš, všude jsi na Slovácích.* (Herben).

Note. Sometimes we count among adverbial subordinate clauses of place also clauses which depend on substantives with a meaning of location, especially a very common one, such as *místo, směr strana* etc. Strictly formally they should belong among attributive clauses, since they expand a substantive as does an attribute. Cf. for example *Otočí hlavu směrem, odkud k ní přilétl hlas* (cf. an adverbial clause of place: *Otočí hlavu tam, odkud*...). *Zastavil se v místě, odkud jej mohou slyšet*. But: *Chodil k bunkru, kde se skrývali partyzáni* (attributive clause). -- From the semantic point of view all these clauses are clauses of place.

2. Subordinate clauses of *time* express determination of time or limitation affecting the content of the main clause. They are usually introduced by the connecting expressions *když, až, zatímco, mezitímco, jakmile, sotva, sotvaže, co, jen co, jak, hned jak, dřív než, než, kdykoli, kdy, dokud, pokud*. In the main clause we often find the correlate expressions *vždy, pokaždé, právě, ještě, už, hned* etc.

The correlate expressions of the main clause sometimes penetrate into the dependent clause and form a compound connecting expression, cf. *dřív než, hned jak, ještě než* etc.

The action of the subordinate clause of time may in relation to the action of the main clause be either simultaneous, or precedent or subsequent.

a) The most widely used conjunction in subordinate clauses of time is když; it has a very general meaning, but it is especially used to express simultaneous or precedent action. A simultaneous or precedent action in the future is expressed by the conjunction až, a subsequent action is most frequently expressed by the conjunction než, dříve než. To express the duration of an action (measure of time, how long?) the conjunction až is used.

> For ex.: Když jsem na obchůzce, nedržím se žádných cest. Až se maminka vrátí, bude mít radost. Ještě než se vrátili, už tu byly nepříznivé zprávy. Dříve než se rozhodl, bylo už místo obsazeno. -- Stála u brány, až houkalo.

b) Other conjunctions and connecting expressions express other meanings within this basic determination of time:

The connecting expressions jakmile, sotva(že), hned jak, už jak, jak, když, jen, the bookish jedva, jedvaže emphasize, that the action of the main clause follows immediately after the realization of the preceding action of the subordinate clause;

the conjunction kdykoli (vždy, když; pokaždé, když), in clauses with simultaneous or precedent action, expresses the repetition of an action; the repetition of a simultaneous action only is expressed by the connecting expression kdy;

measure of time or duration is expressed by the connecting expressions pokud, dokud, až, co, než;

the connecting expressions zatímco, mezitímco express either simple parallel action in time on the part of both the subordinate and the main clause, or frequently also, that the action of the subordinate clause opposes the action of the main clause.

> Concerning this truly opposing meaning of the connecting expression zatímco and about clauses of similar meaning to kdežto cf. § 207.3.

For ex.: Rozloučila se, jakmile se začalo stmívat. Sotvaže prošel vrátnicí, ohlédl se. Jen došel domů, začalo pršet. Jedva jsme vstoupili do lesa, začal jsem vyprávět. Už jak procházel vrátky, poznala, kolik uhodilo. Jak dopis napsal, hned s ním šel na poštu.

Kdykoli zajel do hlavního města, vždy ho navštívil. Pokaždé, když jsem ho o to žádal, přišel. V pokoji mohl se, kdy chtěl, zavříti. (Šmilovský)

Kula železo, pokud bylo žhavé. Nebude pokoj, pokud se dělníci na celém světě nespojí. (Pujmanová) Nechtěl jíst, dokud nerozbalí dárky. Nedovedlo se mu dobře, co se odstěhoval.

Zatímco (mezitímco) jedinci (v průvodu) procházeli Karlínským viaduktem, druzí už dorazili na Staroměstské náměstí. (Pujmanová) Někteří doporučující zahrádkářům trochu žlutého písku, zatímco jiní před ním varují. (K. Čapek)

3. A subordinate clause of manner expresses adverbial determination of manner, extent, means or regard.

For ex.: Dělal to, jak nejlíp dovedl. Poslouchá soustředěně, aniž se pohne. Přišel, aniž se ohlásil (manner). -- Můj hněv opadl tak rychle, jak se vzepjal. Čím více se namítá, tím míň je o tom přesvědčen (extent). --Stroj se uvede do pohybu tak, že se otočí pákou (means). -- Pokud šlo o úklid, byla tu stará posluhovačka (regard).

a) Some clauses of manner express the circumstances by comparison and are called comparative. They are usually attached by the connecting expressions jak, jako, jako by, jako kdyby, jako když, než, než aby, čím - tím etc.

b) Others express these circumstances as a result, consequence and are thus called consequential. They are usually connected with the conjunctions že, až, aby etc.; in the main clause we often find the corresponding tak, natolik.

c) Finally there are clauses which express these circumstances as a limitation (limiting clauses). They are usually attached with the conjunctions leč, leda, pokud etc.

> For ex.: a) Vymýšlel se herec do postav tak lehce, jako když pták zpívá. (Řezáč) -- Dělal, jako že nevidí. -- Jindra vyběhl z pokoje, jako by mu hořelo v patách. -- Jsou jiní, než byl on (comparative clauses).
>
> b) Stála u něho blízko, že cítil její dech. Třískl pěstí do stolu, až příbory zachrastily. Byl tak zabrán do práce, že si ho ani nevšiml. Neovládl se natolik, aby nepřibouchl dveře (consequential clauses).
>
> c) V čeledníku se shromaždila všechna, čeládka, pokud doma zůstala. -- Nikoho tam nepouštěj, leda by přišel někdo z úřadu (limiting clauses).

Note 1. After the conjunction _aniž_ the verb in the subordinate clause is usually in the same mood as the verb of the main clause, cf. _přišel, aniž se ohlásil_ (less frequently in the conditional... _aniž by se ohlásil_); _byl bych tam šel, aniž bych byl pozván_. -- The conjunction _aniž_ is sometimes used in bookish style as a coordinate conjunction, cf. _kmotr ho nezdržoval, aniž pozval_. (Jirásek).

2. _Jak, jako_ connecting comparative clauses are adverbs in the role of connecting expressions; they must be distinguished from the subordinate conjunction _jak_ which connects objective, subjective, attributive, complementary and temporal subordinate clauses, see §204.1,.2,.3,.4 and §205.2) and also from the coordinate _jak_ (with a compounding function, see §207.1).

3. A comma is written before the comparative connecting expressions _jak, jako, než_ only when they introduce a clause, not when preceding other expressions. E.g.: _Spí, jako by ho do vody hodil_. _Je starší, než jsem si myslil_. -- But: _Je starší než ty_. _Je zdravý jako řepa_.

4. The connecting expression _jako_ with the conditional _by_ (spelled as two words: _jako by,... jako bys_) must be distinguished from the adverbial compound _jakoby_: cf. _udělal to jakoby naschvál; přitom se jakoby nic přesvědčím, co tam dělají_ (one can't say _jako bych naschvál_, _jako bys naschvál_ etc.).

4. An adverbial subordinate clause also may express adverbial determination of cause or purpose; it is then either causal or purposive.

a) A *causal clause* expresses the cause for the content of the main clause. It is usually attached to the main clause with the conjunctions *protože, že, poněvadž*, also the bookish *jelikož, ježto*. The main clause may contain the referring expression *proto*.

For ex.: *Naše mužstvo prohrálo, protože nebylo dobře sehraným celkem*. *Poněvadž mu nesloužilo zdraví, odjel na léčení do lázní*. *Časopis proto nevyšel, že se nesešlo dost příspěvků*. -- *Ten znak jest tam schválně zazděn, jelikož dvorec stojí na místě starého šlechtického zámečku*. (Pfleger) *Ježto je každý sonet uzavřeným celkem, nehodí se pro skladby cyklické*. (Vrchlický).

Note. Logically -- in the thought process -- cause and reason must be distinguished but our language does not make this distinction in its clause structure.

b) A clause of *purpose* expresses a purpose in regard to the main clause, i.e. the circumstance, toward which our action is directed. -- It is usually attached to the main clause by the conjunction *aby* (*abych...*), less frequently *jen aby* in bookish and obsolete style by a mere by (bych...) and contains a verb in the conditional. The main clause may contain the referring ~~correlative~~ proto.

For ex.: Uděláme všechno, abychom zvítězili. Rozběhl jsem se k telefonní budce, abych zavolal. Proto jsem tě přivedl, abych ti to vysvětlil. Vemluví nemoc i zdravým, jen aby z nich mohli tahat peníze. (Pujmanová) Přišli Turci, by lod' pohledali. (Holeček)

Note. Some clauses introduced by aby do not express purpose, but a mere succession; they are bookish in nature. Cf.: Ulehla, aby už nevstala. Bookish and unsuitable: Odejel, aby se po deseti dnech vrátil instead of the coordinate Odejel a po deseti dnech se vrátil.

Clauses of purpose are also sometimes called final clauses.

5. Finally an adverbial subordinate clause may express a condition or allowance; it is thus conditional or allowing.

a) A conditional clause expresses a condition, under which the action of the main clause may take place. -- Its relationship to the main clause is expressed by the conjunctions kdyby, -li, jestliže, by the obsolete pakli (kdyby takes a verb in the conditional); from Common Czech we get a penetration into the literary colloquial language of the conjunction *když* with a conditional meaning and sometimes also of the conjunction *jestli*. The main clause sometimes contains the correlates *přece, tak, pak,* less frequently *jistě* (and in Common Czech also *to*).

> For ex.: *Kdyby žil Šuhaj, nebylo by na světě tolik bídy.* (Olbracht) -- *Slyšíš-li slovo parašutista, ihned si představíš osobu silné vůle.* -- *Pakli se neštítíte, sedněte si.* --*Jestliže chceme někoho soudit, musíme o něm také něco vědět.* -- *Jen s ním mluv, když tě to těší.* *Jestli si někdo myslí, že jsem vyřízen, tak se mýlí.* (Řezáč) --*Trváš-li na tom, pak ti to řeknu.*

In a conditional clause we usually find the indicative mood, whenever it expresses a real condition (as a rule after the conjunctions *-li, jestliže, když*), or the conditional, if it expresses a condition which is only possible or is unreal (mostly after the conjunction *kdyby*).

The main clause may have the indicative even when a clause subordinate to it has the conditional.

> A complex sentence with a conditional subordinate clause is often called a conditional or hypothetical sentence.

Note. Some clauses introduced by the conjunction *jestliže, -li* do not have a real conditional meaning; they express a contrastively confrontational relationship which is a kind of adversative relationship. These clauses are frequent in artistic criticism and are also gaining ground in journalistic style (they have parallels in other languages). Cf. *Jestliže, v dětství ji držela na uzdě má matka, omezoval ji později můj příjem*. (Olbracht). -- *Znepokojovala-li Dyka bázeň o zemi, mladí (básníci) pokládali úpravu současnosti za trvalý fakt*. (A. Pražák)

b) A clause of allowance expresses allowance, i.e. a circumstance which is at variance with the content of the main clause. --The relationship of a clause of allowance to the main clause is expressed by the conjunctions *ačkoli, třebaže, třeba(s), přestože, i když, i (ani) kdyby* (in Common Czech also *kdyby* alone), *at'*, less frequently by the conjunctions *ač, jakkoli, byt'(i)*.

If the main clause follows a subordinate clause of allowance, it often contains the correlative *přece*.

For ex.: *Ačkoli jsme na nedostatky upozorňovali, přece nebyly odstraněny. Třebaže jsem tě v poslední době neviděl, často jsem na tebe myslil. Vrčivost byla jen maska, třebas mu přirostla k tváři. Měl bujné vlasy, třeba byl v abrahámovinách.* Neobrátil se, přestože cítil v zádech upřený pohled. I když jsem uvízl, neznemocňovala se mě stará sklíčenost. Mohu na tom jen málo změnit, i kdybych se namáhal. Nedostane to, ani kdyby zlatem platil. Přijdu, kdyby šídla padala. Slib splním, at' se děje cokoli. -- Vstal jsem, ač lehká závrat' mnou kymácela. Nebyla to náhoda, jakkoli to jako náhoda vypadalo. Byt' (i) měl úkol sebetěžší, vždy ho zvládl.

The main clause expresses a result, a consequence, which is unexpected and which is at variance with the reason or cause of the clause of allowance. Sometimes clauses of allowance (introduced by the conjunctions i když i kdyby, at') express also a condition, which should have excluded the result expressed by the main clause, but does not exclude it. Such clauses of allowance are sometimes called conditionally allowing.

If it is a matter of an allowance placed in the future, the conjunction ačkoli, ač may not be used.

A clause of allowance may also be called a clause of concession.

6. Individual types of subordinate clauses are introduced by connecting expressions peculiar to them, e.g. clauses of purpose by the conjunction aby, clauses of allowance by the conjunctions třebaže, ačkoli etc.

Subordinate clauses, however, cannot be determined by the connecting expressions alone, because the majority of connecting expressions introduce subordinate clauses of various kinds, e.g. the conjunction *aby* for clauses of purpose but also for objective, attributive etc. clauses. Cf.: *Zastavil se, aby nabral dechu* (purpose). -- *Chci, aby přišel* (objective). -- *Ke konci listu stála vroucí prosba, aby babička k nim se odebrala navždy.* (Němcová) (attributive)

Compound sentences

§206.1. A *compound sentence* is a union of coordinate clauses, i.e. of clauses, noneof which is dependent on another as its sentence part. Each clause in a compound sentence could stand independently and be understood, but despite this fact, the clauses ~~they~~ are joined into a whole which expresses a more complicated thought unit.

For ex.: *Lípy kvetly a jejich vůně se šířila po okolí*. -- *Vypravili jsme se na Sněžku brzy ráno, ale východ slunce jsme už nezastihli*.

Among compound sentences are counted also those in which one of the coordinate clauses is in itself a complex sentence with a main and subordinate clause(s) or where both (or even more than two) are such complex sentences. Such sentences are compound-complex, cf. §209.1d.

For ex.: *Čekal jsem ho, ale nepřijel, ač byl ohlášen.* -- *Řekni mi, co čteš, a já ti povím, jaký jsi.* -- *Němcová poznala potom lidi snad ještě lepší, než byli ti doma, a přece žádní jiní lidé nedovedli jí nahradit to, čím jí bylo a po celý život zůstalo ratibořické údolí.*

2. The coordinate clauses in compound sentences are either joined by connecting expressions, or are simply placed next to each other without a connecting expression.

The connection expressions joining coordinate clauses are frequently conjunctions, such as *a, i, ale, nebo, neboť* etc.; the role of connecting expressions may however be taken also by adverbs, e.g. *brzy, také, potom, dokonce, vždyť* etc. Sometimes there is a connecting expression in each clause of a compound sentence and we thus have the formation of a two-part connecting expression, such as *ani - ani, dílem - dílem, jednak - jednak, buď - nebo* etc.

Conjunctions or other connecting expressions, joining clauses in compound sentences, are called *coordinating*

3. From the semantic point of view, the clauses in a compound sentence may have a relationship which is simply joining, or gradational, or adversative or disjunctive or a clause attached to a preceding one expresses its conclusion

or its cause or some other determining relationship; sometimes the second clause is an explanation of the preceding one.

Coordinate clauses may be in the same relationship to each other as are coordinate sentence parts in other compound expressions, see §178.2.

Thus, according to the interrelationships between the clauses we distinguish compound sentences which are joining, gradational, adversative, disjunctive, conclusive, causal and explicative.

§207.1. In a joining compound sentence the clauses are simply joined one with the other as equal in meaning.

Most frequently such clauses are joined with the connecting expressions *a, i, ani, nebo, též, také, pak, potom, rovněž, zároveň*, or by two-part joining expressions *i - i, ani - ani, jednak - jednak, dílem - dílem, brzo - brzo, hned - hned, jak - tak, nejen - nejen* etc.

The conjunction *i* joins clauses which are in joining relationship while at the same time emphasizing the second clause.

In a joining compound sentence composed of more than two clauses, the first clauses are usually attached without conjunctions and the last clause is attached with the conjunction *a*, *i*. Only in artistic style do we find all the clauses attached with the conjunction *a*, *i*, or we find all of them without a conjunction.

Such a joining of clauses in sentences without the use of conjunction is called asyndetic or asyndeton. -- The joining of more than two clauses (or sentence parts) in which each is joined with a conjunction, is called polysyndetic or polysyndeton.

Concerning the conjunction aniž in the role of a coordinating conjunction cf. note 1 in §205.3.

Concerning the use of nebo in a meaning close to a joining one cf. 4 below.

For ex.: Pohlédl na hodinky, sklapl zavazadlo a chystal se odejít. Někteří ještě spali, jiní už posedali. Tatínek ji tiskl ruku, maminka ji plačíc objímala, ona pak je plačíc líbala na obě líce. (Němcová) -- Honza byl už vzhůru, také Filip seděl na uhlí a pil vodu. (J. Marek) -- Větřík se nehnul, ani hlásek se neozval. -- Milada radostí brzo se červenala, brzo bledla. (Němcová) -- A zase řeč umlklá a znějí sekery a skřípe pila. (J. Marek)

2. In a gradational compound sentence, the second clause is in meaning content more important than the first. -- The most frequent connecting expressions are the following:

ba, dokonce, ano (often in combination with pointing out words i, ba i, ba ani,...) and the two-part connecting expression nejen - ale (i), nýbrž(i) etc.; a gradational meaning can be found also in the conjunctions a, i, ani.

> For ex.: Nedali mu zaměstnání, ba smáli se mu do očí. V kraji nebylo velkých silnic, ba ani železnice tudy nevedla. -- Sestra nejen pomáhala v práci, ale i povzbuzovala. Dosažený úspěch nejen jej uspokojil, nýbrž i povzbudil k další práci. -- Už se stmívalo, a k tomu počalo sněžit. Skla v oknech se rozdrnčela, i zdi se zachvívaly.

3. In adversative compound sentences, clauses the content of which is opposed are joined; they are placed one against the other so that the meaning of the second clause either is completely opposed to the meaning of the first, or limits it. The most frequent connecting expressions are the following: ale, avšak, však, jenže, nýbrž, leč (bookish) and the two-part connecting expression sice - ale (avšak); an adversative meaning may also be expressed by the conjunction a.

> The conjunction ale usually stands at the very beginning of the clause being attached, and only rarely in other positions, the conjunction avšak

is always initial, the conjunction *však* usually takes a second position.

For ex.: *Z útěku ve sněhu dostal zápal plic, ale vykřesal se*. *Lidská stopa tu byla vzácná, zvěře však všude hojně*. *Rád by to koupil, jenže nemá dost peněz*. *Pes zaštěkal, leč ihned umlkl*.

Z daleka se sice ozval hlas nějakého dravce, ale záhy umlkl. *Slunce sice pěkně vycházelo, avšak později se obloha zatáhla.* -- *Děti mluvily na pana Proška česky, a on jim odpovídal německy*.

Note. An adversative meaning is also expressed by clauses attached by the conjunction *kdežto*; the meaning of the clause is placed in apposition to the meaning of the main clause. A similar meaning can be found also in the temporal conjunction *zatímco*, used especially in technical and journalistic styles (cf. §205.2). E.g. *Kdežto bratři studovali filosofii, já jsem šel na techniku.* *Někteří souhlasí, kdežto jiní odmítají*.

4. In *disjunctive* compound sentences are joined clauses, the contents of which mutually exclude each other; if one possibility is valid, the other is invalid. Into disjunctive

compound sentences are often joined questions with an excluding meaning; they may be direct or indirect and are used to ascertain which of two possibilities is valid (cf. § 173 A.2).

Clauses in disjunctive compound sentences are always joined by connecting expressions; most frequently they are nebo, anebo, and in an excluding question they are also či, čili, or the two-part connecting expressions bud' - bud', bud' (at') -(a)nebo, at' - at', and in excluding questions also zda(li), at' - či (a)nebo etc.

Sometimes the disjunctive meaning declines into a mere contingency and comes close to a joining meaning, in such a case a comma is not as a rule written before the nebo (anebo).

> For ex.: Zvítězí anebo padne. Mají bud' okna zavřena, nebo nesvítí. At' chtěl, nebo se tomu bránil, hlava se za nimi obracela. Bud' teprve začnou Němci útočit, nebo s dolem nepočítají, anebo se jim vůbec nechce.-- (J. Marek) -- Kreslíš všechno sám jen tak z hlavy, či jsi už něco takového viděl? Je dobré, co se stalo, nebo ne? (excluding questions)

5. In a compound sentence one clause sometimes expresses a cause and the second the conclusion or consequence. If the first clause expresses the cause and the clause with the connecting expression the conclusion, it is a *conclusive* sentence. If on the other hand the second clause joined by the connecting expression indicates the cause it is a *causal* sentence.

The joining of the clauses is here looser than in a complex sentence with a subordinate conclusive clause or with a causal clause, see 205.3 and 4; the clauses are not grammatically dependent on each other and a conjunction which would signal one of the clauses as a necessary complement of the other is not present.

Connecting expressions in conclusive sentences are *proto, tedy, tudíž, a proto, a tedy, a tak* etc.; in causal sentences they are *nebot'* (the bookish and obsolete *neb, nebo*), *vždyt'*.

> For ex.: *Továrna poznala jeho dobrou výkonnost, proto ho znovu přijala*. *Válcovny po čase ztrácely dodávky, a hutníci ztráceli práci*. (Majerová) -- *Má rád hory, a proto se učí lyžovat*. *Ochuravěl, a nemohl tudíž přijít* (conclusive sentences).
>
> *Zhoubný požár se rychle šířil, nebot' vál prudký vítr*. *Já už něco vydržím, vždyt' jsem valcíř.* (Majerová) -- *(Údolí) teskné jest a temné, neb žádný den tam nezasvitne slunce.* (Bezruč) (causal sentences).

6. In *explicative* sentences the second clause is an explanation of the first. -- It is attached by the connecting expressions *to jest, totiž*, or *to*.

> For ex.: *Nepočínal si dost ekonomicky, to jest nešetřil svými silami*. -- *Jel kočár, to sedlák Doskočil vezl do města své dcerušky*. (Leger)

§208.1. The semantic relationship of clauses in a compound sentence is already as a rule indicated by the connecting expression. The conjunctions *a*, *i* are typical joining ~~compounding~~ conjunctions, the conjunctions *ale, avšak, však* adversative, the conjunction *či* disjunctive, the conjunction *nebot'* causal and so forth. But some connecting expressions may also join clauses with other semantic relationship, than is basic for them, e.g. the conjunction *a* also joins clauses in a gradational, adversative and conclusive relationship. (Cf. the examples under the discussion of the last three kinds.)

2. If the clauses in a compound sentence are simply attached to each other without a connecting expression, they are most frequently in a joining ~~compounding~~ relationship, but they may also have other relationships such as adversative, causal, conclusive etc.

> Their attachment is usually quite loose, so that one may sometimes speak about a completely loose attachment (see §210 below).

For ex.: *Stromy se klátily, z lesů hučelo, na chalupách se chvěly došky* (compounding relationship). *Havíři nás sem nezavedli, my sami jsme šli*. *Chtěl se učit elektromechanikem, dali ho na přádláctví* (adversative relationship). -- *Nemohla nám odpovědět, neumí česky*. *Tehdy se uhlím ještě netopilo, bylo dost dříví* (causal relationship). -- *Hordubal zhubl, kostmi by mohl chrastit* (conclusive relationship).

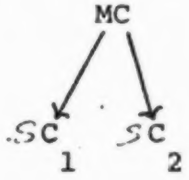
~~Remember!~~ Note: The connecting expressions in a compound sentence are preceded by a comma; it is omitted only preceding the conjunctions *a, i, ani, nebo, anebo* in ~~compounding~~ joining sentences. With a disjunctive meaning a comma is written before *nebo, anebo* as it is before an emphatic *ani*. The comma is also written before *a* in adversative meaning as well as before the conclusive expressions *a proto, a tak, a tedy*.

Complex sentences of greater complexity

§209.1. A sequence of clauses in a sentence may express a very complicated whole, and in that case its structure may be quite complex. Such involved sentences are composed of at least three clauses, usually of more, except for compound sentences which are formed only of main clauses.

There are many types of these involved complex sentences; here we mention only their basic structural types arranged by the combinations of the coordinate and subordinate relationships.

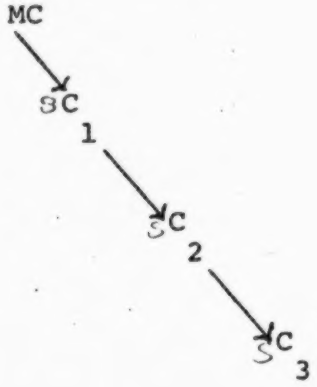
a) The main clause has two or more subordinate clauses directly dependent on it, the latter are not mutually interrelated by any syntactic relationship.



For ex.: Když začal číst, list se mu chvěl v rukou tak silně, že všichni tři odvrátili od něho pohledy. (Řezáč) -- Kdybyste mne postavili na palouček se zavázanýma očima, povím vám docela bezpečně, odkud se ozývá sýkorka. (P. Jilemnický).

> Note. Grammars are not in complete agreement on the classification of this and the following types.

b) The main clause has a subordinate clause dependent on it, the latter is in turn a governing clause for another subordinate clause; each following clause is dependent on the preceding subordinate clause which serves as its head.



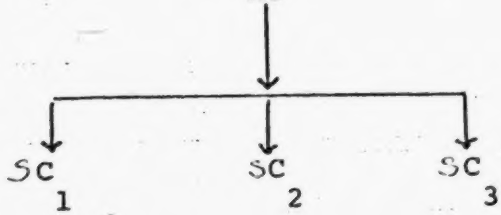
In this type of complex sentence, the subordinate clauses may be of the same kind or of various kinds (e.g. only objective or causal clauses, or an objective clause, a temporal clause, a causal clause etc.). If the clauses are of the same kind, good style requires the selection of different synonymous conjunctions.

A dependent subordinate clause may at the same time be inserted in the main clause or into the subordinate clause which serves as its head.

For ex.: Obával se, že by si rozhněval hlavu za okénkem (informačním), kdyby prozradil mihnutím brv, že cokoli pozoruje. (M. Pujmanová) -- V kapsách měl papír, na němž stálo, že tato továrna se vším, co k ní náleží, mu byla svěřena do národní správy. (V. Řezáč) -- Hana se místo odpovědi jen usmála, čímž vyjádřila svůj mírný podiv nad tím, jakže Marii vůbec mohlo napadnout, že by

Born byl s to nesouhlasit s něčím, co ona uznala za dobré učinit. (Vl. Neff) -- Domnívám se, že jenom lidé, kteří žijí v nějakém zastrčeném koutě přírody, kde k nim důvěrnou řečí promlouvá každý strom, prožívají nevyslovitelnou radost, když se vracejí domů, kde nebyli třeba jen dva tři dny. (P. Jilemnický) -- Kdyby člověk zvyklý na hlučný život velikých měst, putoval údolím, kde stojí osamělé stavení, v němž Proškovic rodina žila, pomyslil by si... (B. Němcová).

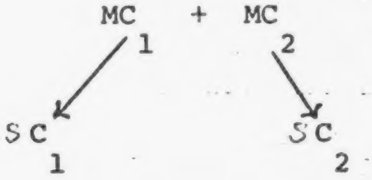
c) On the main clause are dependent two or more subordinate clauses, joined coordinately one to the other; this is really a matter of a compound subordinate clause. The subordinate clauses may be in a joining ~~compounding~~ adversative, gradational or disjunctive relationship.

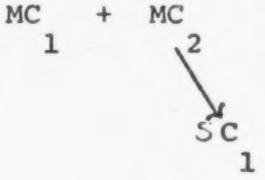


If the subordinate clauses thus attached are introduced by the same conjunction, the conjunction is sometimes placed in the first clause and is not repeated in the rest.

For ex.: Pan otec točil pikslu v prstech, buď' že byla těžká, buď' že měl neohebné prsty. -- Ráno, sotva že se rozbřesklo, šel Sýkora vzbudit Vavřínka, aby vstal a hlídal, aby on si zase odpočinout mohl, neboť tu noc hlídal on. (B. Němcová) -- Starý Přibek ještě starou chodskou slávu pamatoval, kdy ještě byli volni, kdy měli svůj hrad a práva. (Al. Jirásek) -- V lese máš dojem, že tě ustavičně někdo sleduje, že větévky praskají a někdo se tajně probírá za tebou. (M. Majerová) --Pyšnila se v nevinnosti srdce, že by mohla bydlit sama, že je svá paní, ale bratr že by ji za svět nepustil. (M. Pujmanová).

d) The sentence is composed of two or more coordinate clauses which in turn contain main and subordinate clauses of various complexity, or one of these coordinate clauses may be simple and another contain main and subordinate clauses. Such a unit is still considered a compound sentence (see § 206).





For ex.: Pověz mi, co čteš, a já ti povím, jaký jsi. -- V jeho slovech byla pravda, za kterou se celý život pral, mluvil jen to, čemu hluboce věřil. (V. Řezáč) -- Rád naslouchám myšlenkám druhých, a hodí-li se to, rád vyjadřuji myšlenky své. (V. Řezáč).

-- Díval se, jak se z propálené dýmky valí hustý oblak dýmu, a čekal na další slova. (V. Řezáč); -- Kdyby věděli, jak je zle mezi lidem, přece by snad dali, ale oni to nevědí. (B. Němcová) -- Ale i když si odmyslíme to všechno technické, čeho je při točení filmu třeba, shledáme po delším okounění a divení, že se film vlastně dělá jinak, než jak by si představoval divák v biografu. (K. Čapek).

e) Besides the abovementioned basic types of involved complex sentences, there are also various other combinations which are devised by verbal artists for special effect. The individual main or subordinate clauses in the sentence types described above may have further subordinate clauses dependent on them in turn expanding the governing clause as in b.) or coordinate as in c.)

For ex.: Spadla z něho tíha člověka, kterému se zdálo, že na všechno zůstal sám, že úkoly před ním narůstají rychleji, než je stačí odklízet, a že mu nikdo nepomůže. (combination of b and c types) -- Jestliže socialismus je mládí lidstva, je přirozené, že se jako všechna mládí především začne obírat stružkami vody, bystřinami a říčkami, které se po deštích mění v divoké řeky, a že na nich bude stavět hráze a nutit nakupenou vodu, aby točila mlýnky, přesněji turbínami, aby z této hry vznikal lehčí, šťastnější život, kdy práce se stane, dík turbínám a jim příbuzným zařízením, opravdu hrou - potěšením. (combination of types a, b, c).

As an example of artistic style we will cite a sentence from V. Řezáč; basically it is a simple sentence with a compound subject expanded by a summarizing apposition and having a compound predicate; the individual subjects are expanded by subordinate attributive clauses (or by a semiclausal attributive construction) with connecting expressions which alternate symmetrically:
Živnostníci, kteří ztratili své živnosti za války, malí obchodníci, jimž zůstali v krámcích jen prázdné police, jejich pomocníci, toužící po osamostatnění, neurčité existence, jež se přiživují na každé poměrně ustálených řádů, lidé, kteří za sebou potřebují zamést stopu z neblahých okupačních let, ti všichni se sem valí, procházejí, čenichají a nakonec mávají dekrety a usazují se.

In expositive artistic style involved complex sentences are used to express complex thought dependences and relationships.

For ex.: Pokud jde o krásnou literaturu, je dobově omezené poznávání skutečnosti provázeno i úsilím estetickým, které vytváří z těchto děl výtvory udržující si náš zájem i tehdy, když zmizely společenské podmínky, jež vznik daného díla podmiňovaly, jež mu dávaly dobový charakter. (F. Vodička)

2. A special kind of an involved complex sentence is the period. The period is composed of two parts, each of which is a complex sentence as a rule with a coordinate structure.

The two parts of a period are sometimes separated by a colon in order to make the two part structure more expressive and outstanding.

For ex.: Nejen že padlo v tažení od Hory až ke Brodu lidu královského ke 12 tisícům, nepočítaje v to 548 oděnců, kteří na ledu se provalivše utonuli; nejen že nemalý počet lidí znamenitých octnul se v zajetí, za než potom Král Zikmund všecky vězně své české na svobodu propustiti musil: i kořist, které Čechové u Brodu Německého se zmocnili, byla nevýslovně bohatá, jelikož královští odběhli od všech svých vozů, jichžto bylo přes pět set s nákladem rozmanitým. (Palacký)

Loose joining of clauses. Direct quotations

§210. The joining of clauses and their relationship need not always be expressed by conjunctions or other such expressions, but may sometimes be loose and be indicated only by the intonation with which the clauses are pronounced; the clauses are joined into a whole only by sentence stress and of course also by their meaning content.

This simple kind of joining clause is frequent in speech and especially in folk speech.

However, this type of sentence structure is also used for effectiveness quite extensively in the artistic style of some prose writers.

In compound sentences the boundary between simple attachment and loose attachment of clauses is quite fluent (see §208.2).

For ex.: *Jdi do zámku k ránu, to budou strážci spát, a nikde se nemeškej* (Instead of *Jdi do zámku k ránu, když budou strážci spát*...). -- *Chybil či nechybil, liška se mu ztratila.* -- *Ondřej zaklepal, zpěv umlkl, za dveřmi syčel plamínek, hlas pozval dovnitř.* (M. Pujmanová) -- *Já do toho nechci spadnout jako otec, kam bych se poděl sám před sebou, jak může někdo, kdo chce dobré, dělat něco tak nízkého, ale táta z toho nic nemá, leda tu slávu úspěšného ředitele, a pro ni to sotva dělá.* (J. Trefulka).

§211.1. The relationship of direct quotation also has such a loose relationship to the clause which introduces it. Such a clause is called an introductory clause. A *direct quotation* states or reproduces what someone said (or thought), directly, word for word. The introductory clause introduces who the speaker is, how he said what he said, under what circumstances

and so forth. -- This is a matter of two levels of language, the expression of two speakers: of one who reports, explains, and of another whose speech is being directly reproduced, quoted.

The relationship of the introductory clause and the quotation is signaled in speech mostly by intonation, in writing by punctuation.

Note. From the point of view of artistic style, the introductory clause is the author's, the narrator's, the direct quotations are by the characters.

Direct quotations reproduce someone's speech exactly as it was pronounced; a question remains a question (a direct question), an exclamation is preserved as an exclamation etc. Just as in conversation we find in direct quotation first and second (but also third) grammatical persons, the imperative mood etc. We also find frequent use of lexical and syntactic colloquialisms (colloquial expressions and turns of phrase, often expressive in nature, ~~one-member~~ mononuclear sentences, independent sentence parts, coordinate joining of clauses, etc.).

2. Direct quotations are usually placed in quotation marks (In Czech indicated thus: „ ...") The introductory clause, when preceding is set off by a colon (:), if it is inserted into the quotation or if it follows, it is set off by commas

(comma); an exclamation point or a question mark at the end of a quotation replaces the comma, as does the period at the end of the sentence.

> For ex.: Roztrhl obálku a četl: „Schůze se koná již dnes." -- „Nezapomeň se zastavit u matky," řekl jsem mu, „má o tebe strach." -- „Tatínek, tatínek!" volaly děti. -- „A co říkal doktor?" dychtivě se ptal.

3. Quotations may also be expressed indirectly by indirect quotations (or by indirect questions). Indirect quotations are grammatically dependent on a finite verb (the verbal predicate) in the introductory clause, it is an objective dependent clause introduced by a connecting expression. -- In comparison to a direct quotation we also find a change in the grammatical person; the person of the pronoun and of the verb in indirect quotations (and questions) is adjusted to the meaning content of the main clause.

> For ex.: Zdeněk Karlovi včas oznámil, že má pozítří oddílovou radu. But: Zdeněk mi včas oznámil, že mám pozítří oddílovou radu. -- As a direct quotation: Zdeněk Karlovi (mi) oznámil: „Máš pozítří oddílovou radu."

Ptal se sám sebe, zda tam má jít, či má zůstat doma. But: Ptal jsem se sám sebe, zda tam mám jít. -- Direct quotations: Ptal se (Ptal jsem se) sám sebe: „Mám tam jít, či mám zůstat doma?"

4. In modern prose we frequently find the so-called semi-direct quotation as a special device of artistic style. A semi-direct quotation is transitional in form between direct and indirect quotation. It is similar to direct address in that like the direct quotation it has all the syntactic signs of colloquial style; but unlike the direct quotation, it is not graphically set off by quotation marks, nor does it use all three grammatic persons, but only the third person.

For ex.: „Jak se máte, Eržiko?" řekl vesele mužský hlas. Ne, nemusí se bát, nejde služebně, slyšel jen, že má Eržika po muži nějaké medvědí kožišiny a rád by švagrovi do Čech nějakou poslal. (Olbracht)

5. Also a transitional formation is the so-called pseudo-direct quotation, which is sometimes discussed separately. It is even closer to a direct quotation, it differs from it only in tone (in writing only in that it isn't graphically separated from the narrator's speech) and usually doesn't even have an introductory clause.

For ex.: *Juraj chodí po dědině a hledá, koho ještě nezastavil: i na Fedeleše Gejzu kynul rukou, jen Geričovi se vyhnul. A Gerič už natahoval ruku, ale Juraj se odvrátil. Pokud živ budu, neznám tě: co mně máš co povídat, nechci vědět, co si myslíš.* (K. Čapek)

Bibliography. In addition to the discussions of complex sentences in grammars cf. the following articles on general questions: Havránek, 1958, Bauer, 1955b, 1957, (see also his 1960b monograph), K. Svoboda 1961, 1967, 1968; cf. also Bauer et al. eds. 1962, p. 215 ff.

About individual kinds of subordinate clauses cf. especially Trávníček, 1942a and 1943, Bauer, 1955a and 1960a, Rojzenzon, 1959a and 1959b; Poldauf, 1955b, Daneš, 1954, K.F. Svoboda, 1954, Hausenblas, 1958b, Daneš, 1963a, Rulíková, 1966, Hrbáček, 1964, Bauer 1965, Grepl 1964;

Concerning the various kinds of compound sentences cf. especially Bauer 1956 and 1955c and K.F. Svoboda 1956b and 1962.

On more complex sentences cf. the discussion in SaS with contributions by Hrbáček 1965, K. Svoboda 1965, Bauer 1966, Stěpán 1968

(Hrbáček 1965 gives a bibliography of Slovak contributions on such sentences mentioning Ružička, Dvonč, Počtová, Košič and Mistrík). recently cf. Miko 1966.

About semi-direct and pseudo-direct quotations cf. especially Doležel 1958 and 1957, also with critical comments on the older article by Haller 1929; cf. also in Doležel 1960a.

APPENDIX 1.

ON THE LEXICON AND THE MEANING OF WORDS

The lexicon; its grouping and development

§212.1 Words have object or word (lexical) meaning which is known to the given speech community. They are the symbolization, the designation of objects, phenomena, actions etc. which exist in the external and also in the so-called internal world, in actual or imagined reality, conceived as reflections and generalizations of concepts and their relationships in our consciousness.

> From the Marxist linguistic point of view it is important to realize that the meaning of words is not a mere reflection of reality; it is not a matter of a reflection of the outside world being created by language, but a reflection in the consciousness as a result of a cognitive activity in the form of concepts and notions with the participation of language (linguistic expression is the materialization of this consciousness) and its symbolic value (with the help of this symbolic value language is the expression of a given, concrete reality and the communication about it).

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Sometimes objects, phenomena etc., are symbolized, designated not by one word, but by a group of words. e.g. podstatné jméno 'substantive', běžící pás '~~running-belt~~ assembly line', národni výbor 'national committee', postavení mimo hru 'time out', vlčí mák 'red poppy' etc. Such a group of words which is a single designation (a lexical unit), is called a set phrase. Thus we have lexical units composed of one or of several words.

We can further distinguish designations which are descriptive from those which are symbolic. Descriptive designations enable us to guess the meaning from the shape of the designation (word) and from the meanings of the parts (a motivated designation), e.g. učitel, hlediště, dálkový posluchač etc.; in symbolic designations there is no such relationship between the shape and the meaning of the word (the designation is unmotivated), e.g. les, skála, písek, muž, žena, nese, jde, kniha, škola. Of course descriptive designations during the development of language often pass into symbolic ones, either because they became isolated words after a relationship with other words is lost (see §213.1), or through the loss of the related words themselves.

E.g. *píce, pitomý* (formerly 'fed', *pitomá hus*) after the loss of the verb *pitěti, pitati* 'to feed'; a word such as *strom* 'tree', (from *strmý* 'steep', *strměti* 'to tower') became semantically separated from its related words; *starost* 'worry', *úzkost* 'anxiety', originally substantivized quality from *starý* 'old,' *úzký* 'narrow,' like *mladost* 'youth' from *mladý* 'young'). All these became independent words and consciousness of their derivation was lost; cf. also. §213.1 below.

Onomotopoetic words (like *břink, břinknout*) are also to a certain extent motivated words, as are metaphors.

2. All the words of a given language form its *lexicon*. The lexicon of Czech, like that of every national language with a mature literary language fulfilling the many faceted roles of a wide span, is rich and complex as well as considerably stratified.

The lexicon is recorded in dictionaries -- usually arranged in alphabetical order.

The large dictionary of contemporary literary Czech *Příruční slovník jazyka českého* (1935-1957) contains more than 250,000 entry headings; *Slovník spisovného jazyka českého* (1960 - 1971) has more than 192,000. Of course no Czech knows all

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these words, not even passively(the number includes words of low frequency, obsolete words, words from various fields of specialization known only to experts). Every Czech uses actively only certain portions of the large number in the lexicon, but the kernel, which in itself is quite extensive, is common to all the speakers. . . .

§213. The individual words of the lexicon are usually not isolated, they are not without mutual interrelationship; on the contrary they form groups of words mutually bound in various ways.

1. Related words are grouped according to the fact that a basic word, -- or merely a word base from which they are all derived is common to them (see §40); this word or word base is the carrier of basic meaning for the whole group and has on the whole the same composition of sounds.

For example práce: pracovat - pracující - pracovník - pracovitý - spolupráce;

dělník: dělnický - dělnictvo;

hora: horský - hornatý - horstvo - horák - pohoří;

prodat: prodávat - prodavač - prodej - prodejna - výprodej - odprodej etc.

Such basic words forming the nucleus of the lexicon of the language live for centuries and furnish the language with a storehouse from which to draw when forming new words. These stable and almost unchanging basic words are numerous in the language; they are words such as země, voda, les, chodit, dělat, člověk etc.

From them are usually formed larger or smaller groups of words derived by the addition of suffixes and prefixes; during this process the phonemic shape of their common base may be partially changed, especially the root vowel and the final consonants (see §40.3).

> For example the base word voda: vodička, voděnka, vodní, vodový, vodstvo, vodník, vodák, vodácký, vodárna, vodárenský; vodka, vodovod, vodovodní, vodojem, vodoléčba etc.; povodí; povodeň; zavodnit, zavodňovací etc.
>
> chodit: chodník, chodec, chůze, procházet, procházka, východ, východní etc.

Such a group of related words with a common base is called a word family.

> The mutual relationship of words is sometimes clouded by sound changes and by long semantic development, so that some words, usually whole word groups become detached from their family.

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For example the word family with the common base stel-/stl-/stol- fell apart into two groups: a) stelu, stlát, stlaní, postel...; b) stůl, stolice, stolní, stolovat, stolař...

Rarely we find a single word which became isolated.

Isolated words in a language are not numerous; sometimes they are words, which by their shape and change of meaning lost the relationship with the common base, to which they belonged from their origin, as for example (ani) zblo 'nothing at all' (is connected with stéblo 'piece of straw' actually 'not a piece of straw'), at other times the basic word was lost, e.g. the word ratejna was preserved, but rataj 'ploughman' (cf. the placename Rataje) has been long lost (alone in the sound change or- to ra- and the rare suffix -taj it became isolated from the root or-, orat~~i~~' 'to plough').

We often find such isolated words among placenames and personal names, when the awareness of their relationship to common nouns is lost, e.g. Hůrka with hora, Brodce, Brůdek with brod, Hejný with háj, hajný (they are often also different in phonemic or morphemic shape), cf. also §220.2 below.

Such isolated words (sometimes also loanwords) then become regrouped, i.e. newly grouped in the consciousness of the speakers into word families different from those to which they originally belonged. For example the word *čitelný* 'legible' is today grouped with the verb *číst , čtu* 'read', but originally it belonged with the verb *číti, čiji* 'feel'; the word *provoz* 'activity, traffic,' has joined the group *provozovat, provést - provedu, provádět* 'carry on', but by origin it belongs with the words *odvoz, vývoz,* and the verb *vezu, vézt* 'to carry by conveyance'.

Sometimes in being grouped into a word family, loanwords become at least partially assimilated to Czech: from Germ. *Friedhof* came Czech *břitov*, but by being grouped with the verb *po-hřbít , po-hřbívat* 'to inter' it changed into *hřbitov* 'cemetery'; the word *rozinky* from Germ. *Rosine* [-zí-] became associated with the word *hrozen* 'grape' and became *hrozinky* 'raisins' etc.

A group of words related because of common origin is called an *etymological* word family (the branch of linguistics which seeks to determine the original word stock is called *etymology*).

Such an etymological grouping of words may be distinguished from word families which are the result of the linguistic consciousness of contemporary speakers. Such a regrouping is then called folk or false etymology.

2. Words are mutually related not only by their word bases (in which there is a common phonemic shape and a common basic meaning), but are also grouped according to the devices of word formation (derivation: prefixation and esp. suffixation) and according to parts of speech.

The derivational devices having the same phonemic shape also unite certain types of meaningful changes in word bases, e.g. the suffix -tel means 'actor' (učitel, kazatel, přispěvatel...), similarly the suffix -cí (bicí, řezací...) has the meaning 'purpose' (for which something is used) and the suffix -ívat, -ávat (chodívat, sedávat...) indicates a repeated action etc.

Words as members of parts of speech do not only have common clean-cut grammatical signs (morphological and syntactic, e.g. the verb has certain grammatical meanings, it is conjugated and usually serves as a predicate), but also have a common semantic character (an adjective expresses quality, a verb, action etc.).

Word formation with the aid of suffixes and prefixes also concerns both the grammatical structure and ~~the area of~~ meaning, see §40.

The discussion of parts of speech and word formation has been, because of the common grammatical character, discussed in the grammar portion of this volume; in the appropriate sections of that portion may also be found a discussion of the semantic characteristics of parts of speech and word formation types.

3. Words are variously classified also according to their semantic content into groups with natural meaning relationships, e.g. kinship terms (otec, matka - syn, dcera etc.), names for parts of the body (hlava, krk, trup, ruce, nohy, oči, uši etc.), color terms (bílý, černý, červený etc.), terms for spacial relations (vysoký, hluboký etc.).

Because logical relationships are important for language, two kinds of these come to the forefront:

a) Words are joined by parallel, coordinate meanings, such as words for colors: červený, černý, modrý...; words for kinds of trees: lípa, buk, dub, habr...; words for scholarly fields (zeměpis, dějepis, národopis etc.; přírodověda, jazykověda zdravověda etc.) and so forth.

> Internal parallelism is also shown by *synonyms* (*pěkný - hezký - krásný*) and by *antonyms* (*nízký - vysoký* etc.), cf. §223 below.

b) Another kind of grouping is by words which comprise a certain identificational section, the meanings of which are in a mutual relationship of super- and subordination, e.g. *rostlina - strom - lípa* 'plant - tree - linden tree'.

> Such words express concepts, the meaning and range of which is partially the same and partially different. For example the word-concept *lod'* 'ship' signifies 1. a vessel which is 2. hollowed (in contrast to a raft), 3. intended for transportation; those are individual *characteristics* of the *word-concept lod'* and it is their sum total which determines the content *meaning* of the word. The word-concept *kajak* also means *lod'* (with all three characteristics), but further determined by four more characteristics: 4. narrow, 5. long, 6. light, 7. covered outside of the sitting space. The meaning was thus increased by further characteristics. -- The concept *lod'*, however has a greater range than *kajak* (the totality of all ships falling under the word-concept *lod'*, which may be thus labeled, is great, under the word-concept *kajak* small). The range and content meaning

are in inverse proportion: the broader the range, the poorer the content and vice versa, for example we have the series *Čech, Slovan, běloch, člověk* in which the range is broadened by degrees, but the meaning is narrowed, or on the other hand the series *rostlina, strom, lípa,* where meaning characteristics increase but the range is narrowed.

The lexicon could be compiled on the basis of a system and classification of meanings or concepts i.e. from the point of view of designating need. Such a procedure is called *onomasiological* and the corresponding field *onomasiology*. Recently some dictionaries have appeared arranged according to a system of concepts; such classification was frequent in the past and was the basis of Komenský's *Janua linguarum* and *Orbis pictus*.

4. Words are furthermore grouped, also by meaning content, but specifically by belonging to a *common professional segment*, or area of work, e.g. agriculture, forestry, the military etc.

To the extent that such words present a true and precise picture of the concepts and things of a given field, they are its *technical terms*; the set of technical terms of a certain field of specialization is its *terminology*, see §5.2b.

In addition to a given terminology, members of a professional community in daily contact with each other make use of certain special words and turns of phrase; the collection of these is called *slang* and the words are *slang* words; for example in mining slang we find the words *fárat* 'to mine,' *štajgr* 'mine foreman,' *štempl* 'bracket,' *fedruňk* 'output,' *cáchovna* 'record room' etc.

The set of words used by social groups of outcasts and which are used also for purposes of preserving secrecy of what is said is called *argot* (such words are *tác* 'thousand crowns', *búr* 'five crowns', *dát búra*, *bachař* 'prison guard'), see §5.2b. Close to argot are also slang words belonging to a certain closed social special-interest group such as for example *student slang* (*kule*, 'failing grade' *bajle*, *sardel* 'failing grade,' *zemák* 'geography,' *krézo* 'drawing' etc.), *hunter's slang*, *sport slang* etc.

5. Finally, the lexicon is divided into large segments according to the *relationship of the meaning of the word to the actual content expressed* and according to the *speaker's attitude* toward it.

At the basis of the lexicon are words with obvious designating and cognitive function -- they are the words we mean mostly when we speak about our word-stock or lexicon.

In addition to the above there are two special groups of words:

a) Words, which do not by themselves have their own content meaning and which acquire such a meaning only in a concrete situation or context which may be either material or linguistic; they are the pronouns (and pronominal adverbs), such as ten, zde, tam, kde etc., and interjections and particles which call attention to something, such as hle etc.

> The abovementioned words are basically different from the so-called grammatical words, such as auxiliary verbs, prepositions, conjunctions, introductory particles; these gain meaning content in connection with other words (they are for that reason also called synsemantic), not from the situation, see §39.3.

b) Words, the meaning of which is not a material content meaning, but the expression of feeling or will (movement of the mind) or having as ~~its~~ their goal the arousing of feeling in others (the interjections ach, ouvej etc.); they are those in which the content meaning is supplemented by emotive or volitional coloring, the so-called expressive words, see §224.

Words which have designative and cognitive function are called designative or notional in contrast to expressive words which -- most frequently also with content meaning -- express emotions and are called emotional (e.g. ach, teploučko etc.), or are called upon to arouse emotion and are then called emotive (e.g. Jen do něho 'get him', these are usually longer word groups).

These two sides of linguistic expression stem from the fact that language is a tool of communication for all forms of reflection of reality ~~of~~ in the consciousness, both objective cognitive (mental) forms and subjective (attitudinal, emotional and volitional phenomena) forms.

6. The lexicon -- with the exception of the above mentioned groups of words which are more or less closely connected -- is internally classified also according to the frequency and range of usage.

a) Frequency in the use of individual words varies; some words -- especially the so called function words, such as být, the conjunctions a, i, že -- are very frequently repeated, other words, though universally understood, are used less frequently.

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> Word frequency is the subject of the so-called frequency dictionaries; recently one appeared also for Czech: *Jelínek*, ~~J.~~, ~~J.V.~~ *Bečka* and ~~M.~~ *Těšitelová* (1961).

b) There are words which are *common to all speakers* of a language, and these comprise a significant portion of the lexicon. Other words have a more *limited* use, only over a limited portion of the national territory, or are characteristic for a certain linguistic stratum.

Words common to the whole speech community are basically those comprising the word stock of the literary language in its national function, but the stock of the *literary language* is broader and more differentiated; in addition to terminological words of various fields, which also belong to the lexicon of the literary language, but the use of which is limited (see §5.2b), there are *bookish* words (such as *líce, otvětit, pravit* etc.) on the one hand and the so-called colloquial words (*koukat, pořád, neón, trvalá, pavučinky* etc.) on the other, see §5.2b and §231.

In the *substandard word* stock we find the words of Common Czech (see §246), as well as words limited ~~in~~ to an area, used only in some regions (e.g. Moravian *dědina, stolař, peřina, zavazet*, in contrast to their literary and Common Czech equivalents *vesnice, truhlář, polštář, překážet*, or the Moravian *pravda* in the meaning 'of course' etc.), in addition there are the words limited to professional or interest groups, see also 4 above and in §5.2b.

§214.1 The lexicon is continuously changing, because language as an instrument of communication develops along with the development of society. Life around us is constantly changing, undergoing development. There are changes in ways of manufacture and in what is manufactured, there are changes in economic conditions, in social organization, in culture, technology and science. These changes cause change in the word stock, even if they do not greatly affect its nucleus or the basic words (see §213.1 above).

The word stock changes by change of meaning of the individual words which themselves remain, or by new words or new multiple word designations coming into being or by old words and other designations coming into disuse.

Sometimes in the course of development the thing being designated and thus the meaning of the word for it changes, but the word itself remains: (pero originally meaning only quill, now a writing instrument). Or the word is preserved but its meaning content changes with the development of the comprehension of things and concepts (plán, plnit plán, soutěž, závazek, pohraničí, družice etc.).

At other times *new words* come into being for new things, realities, concepts, e.g. *penicilín, silon, ministryně, mládežnický, soutěžit, pohraničník, průkopník, pionýr, brigáda* etc. Sometimes a word is used which existed in an older stage of the language, but without regard to its former meaning, becoming a designation of a new thing or concept (*rozhlas*), or its older meaning becomes considerably narrowed or adapted to a new reality, cf. for example *strana, stranický*, of the abovementioned words *pionýr, brigáda* etc. -- This involves new designation, and therefore becomes not merely a matter of separate new words, but of *new word combinations*, such as *výšková stavba, běžící pás, pracovní jednotka, studium dálkové, nástavbové, postgraduátní* etc.

The need for new words (designations) is especially great during a period of revolutionary economic and social change, i.e. also in today's period of building a new social order.

When new words are formed or used to express a new meaning an attempt is often made to choose an expression which would give a true picture of the thing being designated or would be artistically effective and appealing; cf. for example *šírý kraj* (in the works of Čelachovský, Mácha etc.), *došumět* (Josef Hora), *zazřít, rozeplát* (Vilém Závada) etc.; cf. §5.2c and §231.

2. Words and constructions which entered the language recently and are felt by the speakers to be new are called *neologisms*.

Words and constructions belonging to older stages of the language which are no longer common, but which are still sometimes used are called *obsolete* (just as we have obsolete grammatical devices, such as *bratří*), e.g. *vysoké učení* (now *universita, vysoká škola*), *čísti lekci* (*přednášet*), *klásti počet*.

Such obsolete words or phrases give the language a flavor of seriousness or even grandeur, and thus are used especially in public communication of a ceremonious nature (in oaths, in proclamations, in ceremonial speeches).

It is useful to separate obsolete expressions from *archaisms* which are also from older stages of the language but which are no longer used and which a writer may consciously resurrect, e.g. *školmistr* (now *učitel*) *okasalý* and *kasalický* (now *vystrojený*) etc. -- An author using these is usually trying to give his language a period coloring. -- Sometimes this is simply a matter of things which have come into disuse, e.g. names of Hussite weapons, such as *sudlice, řemdih, tarasnice*, etc., articles of clothing such as *perkytle* 'a skirt with a cape worn by miners', words for old institutions, such as *královská komora, zemské desky* etc. They are so-called period terms.

Besides obsolete words and archaisms we also find words which are *obsolescent*, which are coming into disuse, as for example *milostpaní*, titles given to wives of professional men (*paní doktorová*), the greeting *má úcta*, the words *podruh, hokynář* etc. Reasons for obsolescence may be found in changes in things and attitudes, but they also may have partly linguistic causes (such as the replacement of the word *hasič* by the *požárník* 'fireman' because of an existing pejorative meaning '   ' for the former word.

Such obsolescent, obsolete and archaic words or expressions then become available for stylistic expression ~~in order to express~~ for irony or humor whenever they are amassed and used in discord with the content of the work.

§215. *The lexicon* is *enriched* in various ways:

1. By *deriving* new words from *native* (sometimes from assimilated borrowed) *word bases* (e.g. *pověřenec, plánovač, úkolář, výzkumník, pohraničník, zlepšovatel, záhumenek, odchovna, mládežnictví, údržbářství; letec, padák, vypínač, zásuvka, pojistka, nástěnka, bleskovka, obrazovka*, etc.) or *new compound* words are formed (e.g. *rychlostavba, velkodůl, větrolam, ocelohliníkový, samovaz, plamenomet, plexisklo*,

novodur). -- Sometimes new words arise as a result of the writing of abbreviations, these are called acronyms (*Čedok, Drutěva, Četka* etc.). Cf. §40, 41 and 42.

2. Native words sometimes gain a new needed meaning through metaphor, semantic narrowing, etc., *kopáč, skládka, svíčka, vlna* (in broadcasting), *proud* (electric), *vysílat, hlasatel, spojka, družina* (of young people). --Sometimes homonymous forms are not a further use of an existing word, but are newly formed for the expression of a new meaning, for example in electrotechnical terminology *zásuvka, pojistka* etc.

3. Word sequences become fixed in a new needed meaning, e.g. *národní podnik, jednotné zemědělské družstvo, základní devítiletá škola, dálkové studium, běžící pás, tryskové letadlo, zimní stadión, národní výbor, národní umělec, poštovní novinová služba* etc.

Such two-(or more) word designations sometimes become single words derived from a part of the set phrase most frequently the attribute (compound words were simplified in the same way the result being simply ~~of~~ a formal change from a group ~~of~~ to one word~~s~~), e.g. *devítiletka, dvanáctiletka, vlečňák*, etc.; often in these cases the point of departure is the spoken language, e.g. *státnice* (for *státní zkouška*), *plenárka* (*plenární schůze*), *diplomka* (*diplomová práce*), *dálkař* (*posluchač dálkového studia*) etc.; this is especially so, wherever the only part remaining of a two word expression is the adjectival attribute, as in *šampaňské (víno)*, *vysoká (zvěř)* etc.

4. Foreign words are translated resulting in *loan translations*, such as *mrakodrap* (Eng. *skyscraper)*, *vodotěsný* (Germ. *wasserdicht*), *přidělenec* (*atašé*) etc. -- This is also the case in some instances of metaphorical use of words, e.g. *vlna, proud, svíčka*, to the extent that similar metaphorical use is also current in many other languages.

> Loan translations are also called *calques* and translations of metaphorical use -- *semantic calques*. The formation of one word designations from set phrases is called *univebization*.

5. Words are borrowed outright from other languages, for example from Russian (words needed for a socialist society, these may be native Russian words, but also words which were borrowed into Russian), such as *sovětský, obezlička, pionýr, družba, rozvědka, prověrka, kombajn, instruktáž, estráda* and many others; in earlier times from German, such as *bouda, blok, šablona, žemle* etc.; from English (especially in the area of sports), *tenis, ragby, fotbal, tramp, voleybal*, recently *song, western, hit* etc.; from French (words from politics, art and high fashion), *parlament, president, republika, angažmá, ateliér, parfém, kravata, krepdešín, gabardén* etc.;

etc.; from Slovak *znoj, zástava, železničár, výdobytek, namyšlený*, in the usage of some writers also *gazda, gazdina* (for *hospodář, hospodyně*), *hydina (drůbež), pásovaný (zdobený pásy), prosto (přímo)* all used by Němcová, *otulec (krajíc)* by Heyduk, *otecko* and *páčit se* by Jirásek, *nepřestajně* by Drda etc. (In times past words were also borrowed from Latin, German, Italian, Polish etc., see §243.).

Another source of borrowing is the stock of *international* words, which do not belong to any one national language but are most frequently formed from Greek and Latin elements, for example *automobil, motor, rádio, aeroplán, vitamín, televize, atom, reaktor*; less frequently from personal names such as *volt, rentgen, mansarda, šrapnel* or placenames *babylón, ementál, damašek, havana* etc.

6. Words from non-literary varieties of Czech are also borrowed into the literary language, for example from individual dialects, from Common Czech, from language of the family, from varieties of professional language or slang (e.g. *pragovka, tepláky, ahojka*) etc.

Borrowed, and especially international words often have special suffixes peculiar to them: -*ismus* (*socialismus, komunismus*), -*ista* (*socialista, realista*), -*átor* (*agitátor*), -*ace* (*relace*), -*ína* (*disciplína*), -*iv*, -*ív* (*aktiv, kolektiv, archív*), -*ura* (*literatura, kultura*). Adjectives derived from loanwords also often have their own suffixes, partially of foreign origin, such as -ický (socialistický), -ární (disciplinární) etc., see §93.3b.

Word meaning and semantic change

§216. Words -- as lexical items outside of a sentence -- have a general meaning and do not usually symbolize a definite, concrete person, thing etc.

For example the word dům does not symbolize a particular house, but summarizes many kinds of houses (the house in which I live, as well as the neighboring one etc., a modern city house as well as a humble country cottage etc.); all these despite their variety have common basic characteristics. The word dům symbolizes a house as it became generalized in our mind as a result of acquaintance with concrete houses as a general idea on a higher, logical conceptual level of 'house'. Cf. §38.1.

The sentence as verbal expression of thought is concerned with concrete reality (with a given situation or context). Therefore the general meaning of a word, when it is used in a sentence becomes associated with this concrete reality and thus with a definite concrete person, thing etc.

For example the words otec, syn may mean any father or son, the word město may mean any city -- i.e. these words symbolize fathers, sons and cities in general.

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If, however, a son utters the sentence Otec je doma, it becomes clear in the context of reality, that he is speaking about his father. When a citizen of a village situated near a regional center such as Hradec Králové says that he jde do města it is obvious that he means that particular city.

The general meaning of the word here acquires a direct relationship to the given reality. This relationship may be more closely determined with the addition of a pronoun: můj otec; tento strom (se mi líbí) may be said of a beautiful spreading linden tree which I happen to be admiring.

This relationship to a given situation restricts the validity of the general meaning and gives it closer determination; the meaning becomes more definite.

§217. The validity of the general meaning of a word is also limited and more closely determined in word combinations which are dependent on each other in the context of the statement; this is also a matter of making something more definite. For example vysoký strom..., krásné město..., široká cesta..., cesta lesem..., nesu knihu... .

From the point of view of meaning the junction of words may be loose or tight.

In loose junction, exemplified in the above examples, individual words fully preserve their semantic independence and are joined by semantic and syntactic relationships only in the given sentence, where the meaning of the word being expanded is more closely determined by the expanding word (of course this is also not an arbitrary junction).

In *tight junction* the result is a change of meaning of various kind and degree. Basically there are two types:

a) Several words come to form *complex designations*. For example *strom - strom lesní, okrasný, ovocný - lesní strom jehličnatý, listnatý*, . .

president - president republiky - president Československé socialistické republiky.

The word sequences in the above examples have a designating function, but they must not be thought of as two-or three-word designations. The individual words in these constructions basically preserve their own meaning. The relationship of the words to the word which is its kernel, is the same as in a one-word designation; their content meaning is in a relationship of super- or subordination (such as *strom - dub*) or is parallel (*strom jehličnatý - listnatý, ovocný - okrasný, město krajské - okresní* etc.).

This kind of construction can become fixed to such an extent that it becomes a designating unit, a set phrase composed of several words, for example *těžký průmysl, lehká atletika* (see §212.1). To the extent that the words do not lose their own meaning we find it hard sometimes to draw a line between the two above-mentioned types. Only when the words no longer have their own meaning, do we have an

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obvious designating unit, a set phrase which is indivisible, e.g. *černá smrt* 'plague', where *černá* no longer means 'black' in the usual sense and *smrt* no longer means 'death' as it is usually thought of, or *zlatý déšť* a name of an ornamental shrub where it is neither a matter of 'gold' or of 'rain'.

b) Phrases are formed in which though meaning and phrase structure agree and are mutually contingent, each word preserves its own meaning. For example *bojí se otce* differs in meaning from *bojí se o otce*, *čekám bratra* differs from *čekala s večeří*, etc.

Sometimes such constructions become *phraseological*; in these usually one word loses its own meaning or gains a new (frequently metaphorical) meaning. For example *dávat pozor* 'pay attention' (here *dávat* does not have the same meaning as in *dávat knihu*), *lomit rukama; starosti leží na někom; leze jako rak* (where *jako rak* does not mean 'like a crayfish' but 'slowly', but in *ruce jako rak*, mean 'red'), *přiložit ruku k dílu, přijít věci na kloub* etc.

Sometimes such phrases become a *fixed semantic unit*, where the individual words though not losing their meaning, do not make use of all of it: the unit called a *saying* or *idiom* has a new meaning, often metaphy~~sical~~orical: e.g. *páté kolo u vozu, malovat čerta na zeď*; they make use also of words which in today's language are not common outside the unit or are even incomprehensible, e.g. *nechat koho na holičkách, mít něco za lubem*.

At other times the stabilization of the unit is just conventional; by such convention come about social formulas, such as greetings etc. (*dobrý den, pěkně děkuji*).

§218. *Proper nouns* are a special kind of designation. In contrast to common nouns, which symbolize a person, animal or thing in general and only in the topic (in context) they symbolize a definite person, animal or thing (as an individual, but a member of its kind); they in themselves symbolize a definite, concrete person, a definite animal or a definite place etc.

> Even when a proper noun is repeated and in itself does not symbolize a unique person or place (which it does only in a given context), e.g. *Jan Novák, Novotný, Lhota, Nová ves*, it nevertheless remains always only *the name of a definite person*, settlement etc., and never means *Novák* in general, abstracted from the various persons whose name is *Novák* -- which is true of the words *dům, les, město* etc., because it does not have its own meaning content, but only this external name relationship; it merely identifies.

According to meaning we differentiate especially *personal* proper nouns (indicating one definite person), *national* proper nouns (indicating those belonging to groups such as nations, tribes, states, regions, places, e.g. *Čech, Slovenka, Francouz, Holand'an, Chod, Pražan* etc.) and geographical proper nouns (names of mountains, rivers, states, nations as well as cities, and settlements, all these are also called placenames, etc.).

> Words for citizens or inhabitants of nations, states, tribes, cities (*Čech, Hanák, Pražan* etc.) in the singular do not indicate individuals but any person who is such a citizen, they are thus not strictly speaking proper nouns; only in the plural do they become proper nouns to a certain extent, they distinguish always one nation (tribe etc.) from another. Therefore they are not in many languages capitalized, e.g. in Russian. In Czech it is an old established custom to think of them as proper nouns and to capitalize them.

§219. All people in Czechoslovakia and for the most part elsewhere have a two-part *personal name*: a *surname*, common to all members of the family and their own *given* name.

In Czech, and in most European languages, the given name comes before the surname, e.g. František Palacký, Karel Jaromír Erben, Julius Fučík, Zdeněk Nejedlý. -- Only in an alphabetical listing of surnames, as in rosters, indexes, encyclopedias etc. does the surname appear first.

1. Given names are either of native origin (Václav, Jaromír, Vojtěch, Běla, Ludmila), or of foreign origin, especially Biblical or Christian names which frequently are assimilated to Czech (Jan, Jiří, Pavel, Tomáš, Marie, Eliška, Kateřina) or translated (Blažena from Beatrix, Vítězslav from Viktor), some are similarly assimilated from German (Oldřich, Bedřich), others are taken over from Russian (Olga, Soňa, Věra, Igor, Boris), etc.

In public and official contacts we use the names in the same form as they are recorded in the birth register, and therefore also on the birth certificate. In friendly conversation and in intimate contact, these names are frequently changed. The result of such changes result in hypocoristics or nicknames (e.g. Václav - Vašík, Véna, Venda, Venouš etc.; Marie - Máňa, Mařenka, Mařena, Mařka, Mářa, Maruška etc.; Jan - Jeník, Jeníček, Jenda, Honza etc.; Jaroslav - Jára, Jarda, Jarka, Jaroušek etc.)

2. *Surnames* arose and were formed as a result of various circumstances. Frequently use was made of a given name, or even more frequently of one of its hypocoristic forms (*Václavík, Václavek, Vašek, Váňa, Vach, Vachek, Váša, Vašata, Venca, Vendulák* and many others), or the surname was derived from the given name of the father (*Macků, Janů, Jakubec, Jírovec, Kubín, Pavlinec, Ješín*). ~~The~~ Surnames formed from given names are the most frequent.

At other times surnames arose from *national* or *tribal* names (*Čech, Polák, Hanák, Moravec*) or from names for *inhabitants* (especially according to place of origin, such as *Pražák, Hradecký, Táborský, Čelakovský, Horák* etc.).

Other surnames originate in *common nouns*. They may be names of trades or occupations (*Bednář, Truhlář, Kovář, Sládek*) or physical or spiritual characteristics of the bearer (*Černý, Skoupý, Černík, Pokora*). Frequent are surnames from words for fauna or flora (*Jelínek, Zajíc, Ryba, Sokol, Holub, Liška, Malina, Trnka, Vrba, Smrček, Jedlička, Hruška* etc.), whether arising from an indirect expression of characteristics, or from house signs (i.e. signs on houses, which in times past served for address identification). Frequently surnames evolved from derisive or name-calling words (*Cibulka, Hlaváč, Neruda, Nevyjel, Vyskočil, Dostál*); in this way arose also compound names such as *Brzobohatý, Osolsobě, Kopkáně* etc.

Some surnames are of foreign origin, most frequently German (*Mann, Fischer, Winter, Gebauer, Neumann*), sometimes assimilated to Czech spelling and pronunciation (*Šmíd, Švarc, Fišer*), less frequently of Latin origin (Servus, *Serbus, Rektoris, Mathesius*) or even from other languages.

About the formation of women's surnames from those of men see §58.2.

The use of dual personal names came into use gradually; the hereditary nature of surnames became legally mandatory only in 1780. -- Our ancestors for a long time used only one personal name (a custom which has lasted much longer among rulers); beginning in the twelfth century, noblemen began to add to their single name a designation of their seat (*Ondřej z Dubé*) and this custom was later imitated also by others (*Jan z Husince* 'John Hus'), especially in university life. Such a second name was however subject to change according to the seat of the holder or the place where he held property. -- People were also distinguished by naming their father (*Vašek syn Jakuba, Jakubů*). -- Only beginning with the 16th century did surnames start to stabilize as permanent names of the whole family and as inherited invariables.

§220.1 *Placenames* for *settlements* often arose from personal names having a collective meaning of the inhabitants (these are therefore pluralia tantum: *Vítkovice, Petrovice, Vršovice, Opatovice, Biskupice* etc.)or they are from posessive adjectives derived from the personal names of founders or noblemen whose seat they were (*Ondřejov, Libušín, Kojetín, Boleslav, Jaroměř, Zderaz*, i.e. *Boleslav's Jaromír's, Zderad's* {castle} etc.). Both of these types point to a clan (*Vítkovice*) or later feudal dependence of the citizens (on the church: *Opatovice, Popovice*..., on the king: *Kralovice*..., on noblemen: *Lobkovice, Jaroměřice* etc.) and thus are a reflex of the feudal order.

Placenames also arose from words specifying its citizens according to occupation (*Ovčáry, Rybáře*), according to the location of the settlement (*Dolany, Říčany*) or according to their origin (*Moravany*). There are also many placenames of 'nickname' origin such as (*Nesvačily, Kozojedy, Hrdložezy*).

> In all such names the acc. pl. of the names of inhabitants became the nom. of the placename; the inhabitants were of course called *Vítkovici, rybáři* etc., but in the name of the settlement as in inanimate substantives the nom. was replaced by the acc. (as in *hrady, meče*). All the placenames which came into being this way are pluralia tantum.

In such placenames certain types of word formation are frequent, esp. with the suffixes *-ovice*, (*-ice*), *-ov*, *-any*, with the aid of which new placenames may also be formed, such as *Gottwaldov*, *Švermov* etc.

2. *Common nouns* are less frequently used in Czech as a source of placenames; when they are used they indicate the type of settlement or its location, its characteristics or those of its environs (*Hradec, Ústí, Písek, Vrbice*, *Meziříčí, Podhradí, Poříč* (from *Poříčí*) etc.), or socio-economic customs, conditions etc. (*Žd'ár, Třebová, Seč, Mýto* etc. arose in places where forests were burned or felled, or *Lhota, Zvole, Stráž* according to the form of legal basis or purpose of its founding etc.).

Many placenames are then in addition differentiated from others of the same name by the use of various attributes, such as *Dvůr Králové - Králův Dvůr, Hradec Králové - Jindřichův Hradec, České Budějovice - Moravské Budějovice*, *Český (Úherský, Železný, Vyšší) Brod, Červený Kostelec - Kostelec nad Černými lesy - Kostelec na Hané* etc., also *Staré*, *Nové Město, Nová, Dlouhá*... *Ves* etc. (this differentiation is frequently quite recent).

Some placenames have as their source two word designations such as compound words (*Kněževes*, i.e. *kněžova ves; Uhříněves, Uhřínova ves; Suchdol - suchý důl* etc.), but there are also old compound placenames such as *Vyšehrad, Velehrad*.

Sometimes such placenames have become separated from the original common nouns not just in meaning but also by different sound and morpheme changes; cf. §213.1. For example *Zbečno* (from older *Stbečno*), analogously *Jistebnice* (from *jistъba, jьstъba*, Mod. Czech *jizba*); *Břevnov* for original *Břevnová* (like *Březová* etc.) according to placenames in *ov* etc.

3. Some placenames are of foreign origin, e.g. those ending in -*burk*, -*berk* (*Nymburk* from Germ. *Neuenburg*, *Rožmberk* from *Rosenberg*), *Benátky, Beroun* according to Venice and Verona in Italy, *Tábor* from the Biblical mountain etc.

4. Special designations may also be found for forests and their parts and stretches of railroad lines, such as *Na horách, Na drahách, Na jezírkách, Boroviny, Na výhonech* etc. They are called *local* names.

Analogous to these in cities are names of *streets* and *squares* which are for the most part recent (cf. the examples in the chapter on orthography on ~~p.~~ § 32.IA).

§*221*.1 A word in isolation may have either a unique meaning, e.g. the proper nouns *Praha, Čechy, Kavkaz, Jirásek*..., the onomotopoetic interjections, such as *fuj, frnk*, technical terms, such as *vodoměrka, elektronka, nadhodnota, obrazovka* etc.

More frequently words have several common *meanings*, e.g. *země*: 1. soil, 2. ground, 3. region, 4. the planet Earth; or the word *kraj*: 1. region, 2. a political subdivision, 3. periphery etc.

The majority of words have several meanings; only when they are in a concrete situation or context does this kind of word attain a unique meaning.

However even here we comprehend the individual meanings (of a word of several meanings) as meanings of the word as a unit of the lexicon (even if only potentially realized) in contrast to a *contextual meaning* (shades of meaning or meaning variants), which the word gets in context and only there, e.g. *hnát koně na pastvu, hnát koně do vrchu, hnát zajatce* etc.

2. Of the various meanings of the same word one is often the *basic meaning* and the others are *secondary*, cf. the various meanings of the word *oko* with the basic meaning

'human eye'. -- Less frequently we cannot firmly determine one meaning of a word as basic, finding instead several equivalent meanings; e.g. in the word *kraj* meaning 2. (a political subdivision) is secondary to the basic meaning 1. (region), but one can scarcely say the same of meaning 3. (periphery). -- At other times, although one meaning is basic, the secondary meanings form semantic groups, in which one meaning is again basic in relation to the rest; e.g. in the word *hlava* the basic meaning is 1. the upper part of the body, and the rest of the meanings -- 2. an individual person, 3. a thing similar to a head (head of a nail), 4. a chapter (in a book) -- these are secondary, but under 1. we find sub-meanings: a) repository of thought,.. feeling, b) the brain, c) will, determination, d) memory; under 2. also 'he who is in charge of something' (head of state, of a family) etc. -- Sometimes the difference in meaning is so great, that we may prefer to speak of two words, e.g. *pokoj* 'peace' and *pokoj* 'a room'.

Secondary meanings may occur in language in general, or only in a certain field. When they occur in general, they are usually tied to set phrases, e.g. *malovat na růžovo, malovat budoucnost* etc. (cf. §217). Sometimes a secondary meaning may be tied to a particular case or prepositional phrase, e.g. *držet na koho - držet koho*.

Words having several meanings are also called *polysemantic*; the phenomenon is called *polysemy*. The basic meaning is the true designating meaning of the word in isolation (nominative); it does not always have to be the original meaning, for that reason we do not call it primary.

3. Secondary meanings are frequently ~~metaphorical~~ figurative. The word is transferred to another thing or notion, which has a characteristic similar to what is at other times was indicated by the word, e.g. *oko* (human eye) - *oko* (hole in a stocking) - *oko* (round of fat floating on broth) - *oko* (snare); *zub* (tooth in the mouth) - *zub* (cog); *hlava* (part of the body) - *hlava* (of a family); *lopatka* (small shovel, a tool) - *lopatka* (shoulder blade); (*člověk) vychází* - (*slunce*) *vychází*. -- Sometimes the word is transferred to a thing or notion, which is connected in some way with the original thing designated, e.g. *sklenice (vody) - vypít (sklenici)*, *radost - (zimní) radosti*, *město - město* (*se baví* i.e. the citizens not the city itself is celebrating), *Jirásek* (the writer) (*čtu*) *Jiráska* (a book written by him), *sto let* - *sto let (za opicemi)*.

The first kind of figurative meaning is called *metaphor*, the second *metonomy*. Such lexical metaphors and metonomies, which are a matter of established designations, must be distinguished from chance metaphors, especially poetic ones, where the exchange of a customary designation for an unusual one is to attain figurative expression which has more appeal, e.g. *vítr pláče, stromy šepotají, oči továrny svítí do noci, listí krvácí na stromech*.

Synecdoche is a type of metonomy. The whole is named to indicate the parts (or vice versa), the sum total is the name of an individual, the indefinite number stands for a definite one etc. For example a poetic synecdoche: (*vlastní*) *krov* (a part of the house, the home); *Jen oko jeho plálo výmluvné* (instead of *oči*) in Vrchlický.

Such poetic metaphors and metonymies also sometimes become fixed (if not lexicalized, not ceasing to be figurative) and give rise to so-called *cliches* such as *bydlí pod vlastním krovem, vrátil se k rodinnému krbu*.

From true figurative meaning one must distinguish a figurative *use* of a word (in a whole figurative expression), as in *zub času, chrpové oči* etc., but here too the usage is either fixed, as in the above examples or a chance, new usage, e.g. *makové oči* etc.

4. A *secondary* meaning of a word is found also where a word with an *abstract meaning* is used for a *concrete thing* or vice versa (e.g. *sbírka*: 1. the act of collecting, 2. a collection of something (stamps etc.); *cesta*: 1. a stretch paved or otherwise prepared for walking or riding, 2. the act of traveling, a trip; or a word is used in a more narrow or a more wide sense (e.g. *žena*: 1. woman, female, 2. wife).

Sometimes a secondary meaning arises because a part of what was usually designated by the word changed, but the designation even for this changed part remained unchanged, so that the same word has the old unchanged meaning, as well as the new meaning, e.g. *pero* 'bird feather' - *pero* 'writing instrument', *mlátit* 'beat (someone)' - *mlátit* 'thresh (grain)'.

§222. Polysemy in a word may also be accidental, arising ~~through~~ from homonymy of words of different meaning and origin; this of course is obviously a matter of two words. Some examples of *homonyms* are the words *stopka* 'stem (as on an apple)' - *stopka* 'tail light', *pojistka* 'insurance policy' - *pojistka* 'fuse', *obloha* 'sky' - *obloha* (kitchen slang for something placed around).

> Usually only words belonging to the same word class are considered to be homonyms, and forms of different kinds of words, and identical only in phonemic shape, such as *pila* 'a saw' - *pila* 'she drank' are not.

Sometimes homonyms arise through a deep ~~break~~ cleavage in the meaning of a word of the same origin, cf. for example the word pokoj (1. peace, 2. room) mentioned above.

Some words are homonymous only in speech; they are however differentiated in writing. The present-day orthography makes their differentiation possible and aids in comprehension, for example: míti 'to have' - mýti ' to wash'; bil 'he was beating' - byl 'he was'; pisk '~~bud of a~~ pin feather' - pysk 'lip'; led 'ice' - let 'flight'; zpráva 'report' - správa 'repair' etc., see also §37.2.

§223. On the other hand, the same content meaning may be expressed by several different words. This is then a matter of synonyms. Synonyms are for example the substantives hlína - země - půda - prsť, the adjectives hezký - pěkný - krásný - nádherný, the adverbs velice - velmi - moc, the verbs činit - konat - dělat etc.

The meanings of these synonymous words are not, however, usually identical. They differ in the finer shades of meaning (nepřesný, nezřetelný); or they differ in being used only in certain meanings or constructions (we can say kladné výsledky práce or příznivé..., but only kladný hrdina); or the synonyms differ in that they may be used only in certain milieu or in a certain field of specialization (e.g. moc 'very' occurs only in Common Czech, see also §225).

We also frequently hear talk of series of synonyms such as those listed above (hezký...), but rarely are the members of such series on the same level and one is not always able to interchange them easily.

In linguistic consciousness there is a connection not only of words with like meanings (synonyms) but also of words with opposite meanings. Such words are called antonyms, for example ostrý - tupý, včera - zítra, světlo - tma, hluboký - vysoký etc.

§224. Words differ from each other also in emotional coloring. Some words are emotionally neutral; we may use them regardless of whether we find something to be pleasant or unpleasant. Such words do not in themselves have an accompanying emotional coloring; they may acquire such meaning only in sentences in which they are used in view of a certain reality (according to the context or situation). -- However, in other words a special emotional coloring is an inseparable part, expressing along with the material meaning also the emotional attitude of the speaker to the reality being expressed, or his subjective attitude in general. Such words are called expressive (see § 213.5b above). -- Technical terms of only one meaning do not usually become expressive (unless they are used in other contexts as terms of abuse such as the isolated use in the abusive ty gramatiko).

1. Expressive words usually have either a *fondling, flattering* meaning-hypocoristics (*teploučko, spinkat* etc.), or *an abusive meaning* (*barák* for *dům, fabrika* for *továrna, chlap* for *muž, chrnět* for *spát* etc.). -- A fondling meaning is usually associated with words having the form of *diminutives* (*hlavička, sluníčko* etc.) and all family words (*máma, táta, mamička, chlapeček, Věruška* etc.), see §219.1. Pejcrative meaning is usually associated with the so-called *magnified* words (*babizna, psisko* etc.) and *coarse* or *vulgar* words (*dršt'ka, drška* for *ústa, chlastat* for *pít* etc.

> Of course such expressive meanings often change with the situation, context etc.; for example *chlap* need not always be pejorative, it can be used also to express a positive evaluation, etc.

2. Sometimes it becomes unpleasant to name a thing, action or quality by its own term; in place of words which are too closely tied with the thing, we choose words or phrases which do not have such a coarse or unpleasant effect. Such designations intended to tone down or avoid a word are called *euphemisms*. For example in place of *zemřel* we frequently find *zesnul, skonal, dodýchal* or the

periphrastic construction odešel navždy; instead of být opilý we find mít v hlavě etc.; sometimes what was originally euphemistic has worn away as in jít na stranu. Some euphemisms are restricted to poetic use and are not established in the language, e.g. stařec dohasíná for 'the old man is dying'.

Close to euphemisms and sometimes arising from them are tabu words which are avoided because of superstition and are variously replaced (so that one would not attract some 'evil' etc.). This is of course a phenomenon which is no longer alive, having its roots in the distant past. For example the term medvěd i.e. 'a honey eater', is a word which replaced the former word for 'a bear' and was again in turn often replaced by the word míša, or d'ábel (which in itself was a Greek tabu word meaning 'cunning') was replaced by čert and later by zlý (as in the saying bůh s námi a zlý pryč); to this category belong also words with partial phonetic change such as safra for sakra etc.

3. If we want to express ourselves in jest, to scoff, or to indicate indignation, we sometimes use words with a meaning which is the direct opposite of their usual meaning, e.g. Ty jsi ale hrdina! (about a coward). To se ti povedlo! Such a use of a word in an opposite meaning is called irony.

§225. Words with meanings which are basically (materially) the same are frequently differentiated and variously restricted also in other ways. Words and their meanings are a reflection of a certain segment of social life, of a certain milieu or domain and are tied to these.

Some words or meanings are current everywhere, in all of the linguistic territory, they are *national* in scope, Some ~~others~~ are *restricted* only to a certain area; other words and their meanings are characteristic for certain interest or professional fields (see §213.4 above). -- At other times words and their meanings differ in that they are characteristic of one *age level* (of child language, words like *papat* 'to eat', *spinkat* 'to sleep', the regional children's word *hamat* 'to eat').

Such stratification of words and the relationship of their meanings comes out most clearly when we compare words of basically same or similar meanings from various strata. Often each of them carries with it the stamp of belonging to a certain milieu or area of use and is thereby semantically differentiated. *Technical* or *bookish* words are thus distinguished from colloquial words (*tuberkulóza - suchotiny, lék - medicína, jízdenka - lístek, líce - obličej, žal - smutek, pravit - povídat* etc.), poetic words from words in everyday use (*luna - měsíc, vesna - jaro, mrákava - černé* *mračno, znoj - vedro, kanout - stékat* etc.), loanwords from native words (*matematika - počty, geometrie - měřictví*).

~~In addition~~ Loanwords do not always belong among technical or bookish words in contrast to native words; completely the opposite may be true, the loanwords are colloquial or common, as in the above-mentioned *lék - medicína*, as well as *stonat - marodit*, *vražda - mord, schůzka - rande* or the slang *hoblice - ponk*.

The latter is especially true of words borrowed from German, which begin to decline in the literary language from the period of the National Revival, cf. *špagát* for *provaz*, *hic* for *vedro*, see §247 below. Some of them are rapidly losing ground in current spoken Czech, e.g. *sesle* for *židle*, *piglovat* for *žehlit*, *rynk* for *náměstí* etc.

It is this semantic belonging to a certain milieu which frequently distinguishes synonyms one from the other.

The *literary language* on the one hand strives for precise terms and thereby for delimitation and stabilization of precise meanings, but on the other hand it exploits this rich stratification of the lexicon and the fine meaning distinction especially in the ~~literary creative~~ language of creative expression.

~~It~~ The literary language therefore needs not only a precise and realistic word stock, but also one which is semantically differentiated and stylistically stratified so that the lexicon could fully meet the needs which are placed upon it by the multifaceted, rich life of today's society.

Bibliography. There is no one work devoted to lexicology and semantics among Czech linguistic publications. For dictionaries of Czech see 251 below.

Individual questions are discussed in the various contributions compiled in Lexikografický sborník 1953, these are mostly on lexicography; see especially Horálek 1953a and Isačenko 1953 ; on homonyms and synonyms (from the point of view of the lexicon) Ďurovič 1953, Filipec 1953 and Zima 1953. Contributions on basic problems are found in O vědeckem poznání soudobých jazyku 1958. See especially Isačenko 1958, Dokulil 1958a, Blanár 1958, Zima 1958, Filipec 1958; a more detailed version is in Filipec 1957.

Of older works Získal 1938 is a contribution also for lexicology.

More recently on the question of concept and the word see esp. Trost 1956 where he concludes a controversy with Hrabě; for fundamental contributions to this and other questions see Problémy marxistické jazykovědy 1962.

On questions from the area of designation cf. Isačenko 1956, Helcl 1963, Kuchař 1963 and Machač 1967.

On the question of the nucleus of the word stock see esp. Lamprecht 1952.

Concerning etymology of Czech words, in addition to the fundamental etymological contributions of Zubatý 1945 - 1949 and the contributions of Hujer scattered mainly in LF but also collected in his volume 1961 we have especially the enlightening dictionary by Machek 1957ff and his second corrected edition 1968 which is more significant than Holub and Kopečný 1952 ff.

Analysis of the growth of the lexicon is discussed in appropriate portions of Havránek 1936 and concisely in Helcl 1960ff. A characterization of the lexicon of contemporary literary Czech was given by Jedlička 1965b; its lexical stratification was outlined by Doležel 1955c and Bělič 1964. -- Concerning the rise of new words and especially by borrowing cf. Dokulil 1951/52 and 1955b on words borrowed from Russian, Křístek 1951/52; individual borrowings are discussed in Jazykový koutek... 1951, 1955, 1959 in Daneš 1964 and in issues of Naše Řeč.

For terminology consult Havránek 1943b,

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Sochor 1955, Hausenblas 1962a and 1963c. From 1962 to 1966 this subject was discussed both in general and concrete articles in Československý časopis terminologický.

On personal names cf. Svoboda 1953, Davídek et al. 1941; Beneš 1962, J. Svoboda 1964. On placenames cf. esp. the encyclopedic work of Profous and Svoboda 1947-1960, 2nd printing of Vol. I 1964; see also Šmilauer 1960; a similar work on Moravian placenames is in preparation by Hosák and Šrámek.

A basic discussion of proper nouns is in Trávníček 1958b.

Concerning synonyms cf. Filipec 1961; on expresivity of words cf. Zima 1961; on tabu words see Havránek 1943a.

On word frequency cf. Těšitelová 1961 and the introduction to the frequency dictionary of J. Jelínek et al.

APPENDIX 2.

ON STYLE

§226. Language is the medium of contact between people in society; it is the medium of mutual communication. Thoughts, feelings and desires are expressed and conveyed by means of language. The linguistic expression of people comes about through language acts.

However, the very same thought is not expressed by various people and in various circumstances in the identical manner; the same thing may be expressed in different ways. The selection of words and choice of grammatical devices, especially syntactic and of types of sentences in concrete language acts differs according to the author of the act (speaker or writer), according to the person for whom it is intended (the hearer or addressee), according to the circumstances and intent, also according to the form (oral, written) in which it is realized and so forth. This choice and exploitation of linguistic devices as well as their arrangement into language acts is called the style of the discourse.

The selection and arrangement of linguistic devices in a discourse exhibits according to the conditions under which the discourse comes into being, certain common traits or characteristics. When we uncover these common traits or characteristics in the discourse of one author, we find his personal style (the individual style, the author's style). When we investigate the traits and characteristics which are common to various speakers, but which came into being under similar objective conditions, we discover an objective style.

§227. The style of a discourse is determined by style-determining factors. These may be individual (subjective) or objective.

1. The choice and arrangement of linguistic devices frequently depends on the author of the language act. The style of a discourse reflects the personality, temperament, personal inclinations and predilections of the speaker (writer); individual speakers (writers) also have different expressive capabilities, alacrity etc. The style of the discourse furthermore depends on the general and linguistic education of the speaker, on the linguistic environment from which he came or in which he lives. All these various conditions which stem from the author of the discourse are individual (subjective) factors.

> The effect of individual factors on the style of the discourse is very conspicuous in writers of literary works and in verbal artists. According to his predilections, his education and his linguistic experience,

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one author, for example prefers to use loanwords, another those of native origin. One likes to give preference to rare or newly formed expressions, while another can make do with current words; there are writers who enjoy piling up synonyms (e.g. F.X. Šalda, K. Čapek). Some authors like to create very complex sentences (Vl. Vančura, Vl. Neff), while others string together simple short sentences or join clauses in uncomplicated compound sentences etc. According to such characteristics we recognize the style of individual writers such as that of Vl. Vančura, Karel Čapek, S.K. Neumann, Jiří Wolker, Jaroslav Seifert etc.

2. Differences in choice and exploitation of linguistic devices in discourse are, however, caused primarily by objective factors. Among these are especially the goal, role and direction of the discourse, the situation and environment in which it comes into being, and the form of the language act.

a) The reason for a communication is always important, i.e. what is the goal, aim and direction of the discourse. Either we simply communicate something to someone in order to give information (e.g. an announcement of a meeting, lecture, etc.), or we explain something to someone, communicate something in order to enlighten the other person (e.g. an explanation of new working methods), or we try to convince someone of something, try to win him over for a cause (e.g. a newspaper article on the advantages of mechanization in agriculture), or we communicate in order to attain an esthetic appeal or effect (in verbal art, in literature).

b) The choice of linguistic devices in discourse is also dependent on the situation, on the environment, in which the discourse comes into being, as well as on the audience for which it is intended. A discourse intended for the public (a public discourse) is different from a discourse intended especially for one or several persons ~~especially~~ ~~for~~ intimate friends (a private discourse). A discourse may be public to various extent. Sometimes it is directed to a small group of specialists (e.g. a technical medical lecture or one about digital computers), at other times to a broader professional collective or finally to the public at large (e.g. lectures to the Socialist Academy etc.).

A part of the situation in a discourse is the factor of whether the communication is two sided with the speakers taking turns (a dialog) or whether only one speaker is involved (a monolog).

c) Of further import is whether the discourse is spoken or written.

Spoken discourse may be unprepared, spontaneous, or prepared (thought through, prepared and usually written out and then read or given from memory).

Besides direct speech acts, made in the presence of an audience, there are also indirect speech acts; such as those broadcast over radio.

> In direct speech acts, the hearer can also perceive the accompanying non-linguistic devices (facial movements, gestures etc.). He may even establish contact with the speaker (this is especially true with dialog).
>
> Television is transitional; it provides all the signs of direct speech, however there can be no direct contact between the hearer and speakers. The same is true -- as far as the contact with the hearer -- also of speech acts in a sound motion picture.

§228. The style of spoken and written discourse.

¶1. Stylistic differences between spoken and written discourse stem mostly from the general traits or signs which characterize the speech act in contrast to written discourse.

Speech in contrast to writing has mostly some specific melodic devices, such as stress, intonation, pause, tempo of speech and rhythm. With these devices a speaker can express not only various shades of meaning, but especially his diverse emotional attitudes, emotional involvement, his joy, his passion, surprise, disappointment etc. (the emotional aspect); or he can use these devices to appeal more effectively ~~on~~ to the hearer, ~~on~~ to his emotions, will etc. (the emotive aspect). For example even the simple conventional greeting dobrý den may acquire different shades of meaning with the aid of melodic devices.

Only some of the devices peculiar to speech can be indicated by special writing (printing) devices from the area of graphic symbols. For example the basic intonation of the various kinds of sentences (declarative, interrogative, imperative, exclamatory) are signaled by punctuation marks (period, comma, question mark, exclamation point); also pauses in speech are sometimes approximated in writing by punctuation marks (comma, hyphen, suspension points etc.); these are conventional symbols (cf. about them in §36). Emphasis may be symbolized in printed discourse with the help of various type (spaced, italic etc.) or by various size or thickness of type (garmond borgis,bold), but such usage is sporadic.

Such graphic symbols, which are secondary representations of some specific devices of speech, are not as expressive or as effective as the corresponding melodic devices. And writing cannot directly symbolize all these devices, such as tempo of speech, increase in loudness etc. (cf.

in contrast musical notation where in addition to notes there are symbols and words to indicate tempo and loudness).

2. In spoken discourse use is made also of extra-linguistic devices, such as motions, gestures, body movements, facial expressions etc.

Also the relationship to the whole situation, in the course of which the speech art takes part, is more direct than in written discourse. Various external circumstances influence both speaker and listener; these are usually known both to the speaker and listener and facilitate understanding. In written discourse direct knowledge of the extralinguistic situation is replaced only by description; thus written discourse must in general be more complete than speech.

3. In speech, especially if it is spontaneous, the speaker reacts to reality more directly, the selection of linguistic devices is less conscious. It is usually not possible to replace a chosen expression by another which would be more suitable or more to the point. The speaker, however, may go on to repeat the thought in another clearer, more realistic, more effective way. That is why in speech we sometimes find a repeated expression of the same thought with various changes in the use of linguistic devices.

The demand for intelligibility and regard for his listeners leads a speaker to choose simple sentences which are not too involved as well as relatively simple clause structure in his complex sentences. Spoken discourse from the point of view of the listener continues without interruption, he is not allowed to return to individual stretches and it is because of these characteristics of the speech act that the choice of suitable linguistic devices is mandated.

The speaker must be conscious of all these characteristics of spoken discourse, and must bear them in mind when preparing speeches for which either partial or complete written preparation is possible. The listener must be constantly kept in mind and even formal speeches should maintain, as far as possible, the characteristics of spoken language.

The author of *written discourse* may select words and arrange them in sentences often after considerable deliberation, in order to express his thoughts as precisely, truthfully and accurately as possible. He may change or correct his chosen method of expression, he may replace one expressive device by another; the creation of style is in such a case more conscious, more elaborate.

The author of written discourse is also bound by regard for the reader, just as the speaker is for the listener, but he can count on the fact, that the reader has more time and composure for understanding, that he may return to re-read a passage etc. The writer in view of the abovementioned characteristics of written discourse may create more complicated sentences and expressions and may in contrast be also more compact.

> We know, for example, how our poets and prose writers painstakingly cared about the linguistic and stylistic aspect of their works. The poet Jan Alda points this out very clearly about Jiří Wolker: 'The reader of his clear and natural poetry could think, that Wolker wrote with great ease and shook stanzas out of his sleeve. This was not so. He turned each word over a hundred times before he definitely found it a place in his warm, melodic lines. Diligently he filed stanza after stanza, removing all *šutry*,' as he called them, all unwieldiness and indistinctness.' -- We see from preserved manuscripts that K. J. Erben changed words as many as three times in one manuscript; in several repeatedly corrected manuscripts we have preserved the development of the poems of K.H. Mácha,

> K. Havlíček Borovský, also Tyl's revisions of his Strakovnický dudák etc.

§229. The styles of the literary language. Objective stylistic features determine the common traits, characteristics of the so-called objective styles. The most important of the objective styles are the so-called functional styles (also called language styles). Functional styles are determined by the basic function or direction of the discourse.

According to this function we distinguish the following basic styles of the literary language: colloquial, technical (theoretically technical or scientific, practical technical or professional, working), journalistic and artistic. These basic styles of the literary language are connected to areas in which the literary language is used. Each of them has characteristic linguistic devices peculiar to itself, making use of these along with stylistically neutral devices (e.g. colloquial words, technical terms, poetic words, cf. also §230 below); as well as a manner of exploiting these devices.

> Concerning these basic styles of the literary language cf. in more detail in the introductory chapter §5.

The following must be added to the basic differentiation of the styles of the literary language:

1. An independent journalistic style is usually listed in the newer publications about style. This style has the primary function to propagandize while communicating; the goal of journalistic discourse is to convince and win over the listener or reader. In newspapers and other periodicals where this style is expressly used, it also has an informative and educational function.

Journalistic style is characterized by an inclination toward the use of set phrases, which of course change and become revised in accord with the changing subject matter. In political journalistic discourse, use is made also of mildly bookish devices, nor does this type of discourse avoid colloquial or expressive devices. In the informative and educational function, it also makes use of technical terms. Thus the use of antithetical stylistic devices is a mark of journalistic style.

> Journalistic style has some features in common with older oratorical styles (formerly considered separately), and it has also to some extent taken over its function.

2. *Artistic style* is the individual manner of selecting and arranging linguistic devices in a piece of verbal art, in literature. According to present-day stylistic norm, in artistic style it is possible as the need arises to make use of linguistic devices on the borderline of the literary language both to characterize and typify.

The artistic style of language is in a close relationship to the total structure of the piece of verbal art as an artistic image. The idea aspect of the work of art, its subject matter and composition are manifested by linguistic devices, by the linguistic construction of the artistic work. All the components of the whole structure are mutually closely interrelated. The way in which an artistic work is constructed using all these components is called literary style (and a part of it is also the artistic style of language).

3. From the artistic style of an author (the individual style of the artist), i.e. from the personal way in which the author selects, exploits and arranges linguistic devices in his works, some people distinguish also the language of the author. By the language of the author is understood the totality of the linguistic devices which the author chooses from the devices available to him in literary language, or

from the language of the nation as a whole. Investigation of author language is especially important for the study of the development of the literary norm and for the recognition of the role a given author played in the development of this norm. Thus for example we have investigations of the word stock of outstanding writers, i.e. the inventory of words and lexical devices, which the author chose to select from the lexicon of the national language or himself coined (cf. for example the special dictionaries of the language of Pushkin, Mickiewicz, Botevov or Czech studies on the lexicon of K.H. Mácha, B. Němcová and P. Bezruč).

§230. Stylistic differentiation of linguistic devices.

Besides linguistic devices which are stylistically neutral, i.e. those which are not stylistically marked, there exist also linguistic devices which are stylistically marked, those with special stylistic coloring. Linguistic devices of the same stylistic coloring create a stylistic layer and are peculiar to a certain area of use of the literary language, to a certain literary style. They can usually be used only in discourse where the appropriate stylistic coloring is allowable.

The use of a linguistic device belonging to a certain stylistic level in discourse of a different character may of course be intentional; it may serve to arouse a special effect. Thus one may for example use a stylistic shift to bookish or obsolete devices to arouse a comical, facetious or ironic effect etc. (cf. for example in V. Lacina, K. Poláček etc.).

§231. Linguistic devices, especially lexical ones, are distinguished according to their membership in individual stylistic levels of the literary language. Thus we usually distinguish technical words (such as *vodoměrka, pestík, uhličitan, výdřeva, bronchitis, jarovizace, podstatné jméno* etc.), poetic words -- the so-called poetisms, such as *poryv (větru)*, *polet (sněhu)*, *hlubeň (hlubina)*, *haslý (zrak)*, *modrojas, hvězdojasný, hlédnout* etc., obsolete *oř*, *komoň* etc. -- and sometimes also journalistic lexical devices e.g. *narušitel (hranic), zainteresovanost, platforma, pozice, (z jiných pozic), řídící úloha*, frequent use of set phrases such as *provádět opatření, dovršit výstavbu, zvyšovat produktivitu práce, zajišt'ovat zájmy pracujících, ukovat nerozbornou jednotu, dělníci zakalení tvrdými boji, narůstání výrobních sil* etc.

Conspicuous is the contrast of words and other colloquial or bookish linguistic devices ~~used in colloquial and bookish discourse~~.

Colloquial Czech shares many lexical devices with Common Czech, cf. for example *malinovka, minerálka, levačka,* *montěrky, trvalá, moc peněz, pár korun, naštvat se, dát pokoj*, sometimes also with slang, cf. for example *nervák* etc. On the other hand colloquial style is marked by many conversational words and turns of phrase (sometimes of foreign origin), such as *naklepat* (an article on a typewriter), *brnknout* 'to call up', *navézt se do ňěkoho*, *vytlouct z něčeho kapitál, mít papíry v pořádku, být ve formě, absolutně (to nemohu zvládnout), jednoduše (tam nechod'), pochopitelně, bazírovat na něčem, laborovat (v počtech), distancovat se od někoho* etc. Conversational devices are frequently at the same time expressive, cf. *vymódit se, nápaditý, mít patent na rozum, mít, vědět něco na beton* etc.

> Some colloquial elements of borrowed origin (especially lexical citations) used in an intellectual environment are restricted to certain age groups, cf. for example the older generations use of *faux pas* [fó pa], *být à jour* [a žúr], *už je to pasé, lapsus*, etc. Some colloquial elements are also obsolescent or obsolete, e.g. *zůstal perplex, per pedes, komódní, famós, facírovat* etc.

Devices of 'high' style, usually written, are considered *bookish* (they also frequently include loanwords), cf. for example *jevit se, kojit se (nadějí), svit, siný, jmout se (jal se* 'to oppose'), *jařmo, jho, odvětit, zřít, poplvat, drahná doba, chrabrý, katarze, kontinuita, konsekvence, evokovat* etc.

> All devices characteristic of written discourse are sometimes considered as bookish. At other times the word 'bookish' is used in the narrow sense only for devices which are no longer alive, for paper devices which are rare or exclusive. Today we often consider as paper devices those words which arose through German influence and thus were rejected by the purists, e.g. *obnášet, sestávat (ze tří pokojů), dotyčný, stávající (poměry), obnos* etc.

Devices belonging to non-literary forms or levels of the national language may also be exploited stylistically (cf. §2.2 and §5.2b above). Thus in artistic style, the author's purpose may require *dialectal words* (e.g. *harenda* for *krčma* in Bezruč, *chabdina* for *křoví* in Němcová, *dryčný, dryčné děvče* for *hezké, gágat* for *kejhat, ligotat se* for *třpytit se* in works by the Mrštík brothers etc., *marhule, rež, rýna* (in J. Skácel) or *Common Czech* words (e.g.

koncentrák, chemička for *chemická továrna, hospoda, almara, flek, moc, halabala, drezírovat, huntovat* for *kazit, ničit; být na huntě* for *na mizině* etc.), or *regional* words (Czech regional *drandit, kytka, kytička* for *květina,* Moravian regional *duchna* for *peřina, peřina* for *polštář, líčit* for *bílit, ledek* for *kamenec, morák* for *krocan, palach* for *rákos* etc.) and sometimes also slang words (e.g. mining slang *flec, hunt,* railroad sl. *hytlák,* sport sl. *mičuda, lajna, blafák,* army sl. *brigadýrka, esšálek, marodka,* the obsolete *maník, moník, maršruta,* general sl. *hotovka* for *hotová věc, ohodit se* for *obléci se, filmovat* for *předstírat* etc.).

Special stylistic coloring is usually the accompanying mark of groups of words in synonym pairs or sets. For example some words of *foreign origin* have in comparison to synonymous native words a more bookish tenor (cf. *entuziasmus - nadšení, emoce - vzrušení, evokovat - vybavit, vybavovat, gradovat - stupňovat, glorifikace - oslava, velebení, analogon - obdoba* etc.). -- Less frequently loanwords may on the contrary have a *colloquial* tenor or are outside of what is considered literary (cf. *rádio - rozhlas, medicína - lék, lékařství* etc.; cf. also examples listed above in §225).

Obsolete and obsolescent words have an accompanying bookish meaning (e.g. *drahná doba, půlnoc* for *sever, element* for *prvek* etc.). In addition obsolete words no longer in current use find specific utilization in artistic style as archaisms (cf. §214.2 above). Neologisms or individual new formations are also bookish elements or poetic synonyms, cf. for example *důležitostný* in Šalda, *hýřivec* (next to neutral *hýřil)*, *mukvplný* in Jirásek, *loučivě se smát* in Šrámek, *brčadlo, přítulníček* in Holan etc.

In choosing synonyms for linguistic discourse, the *emotional coloring* of words accompanying the material meaning is also a consideration. (cf. §224). Words with emotional coloring are suitable only for certain styles or for certain stylistic formations. They are almost always excluded from technical discourse. In colloquial discourse, on the other hand, they are frequent (emotional coloring often accompanies specific colloquial lexical devices, cf. above), be they *endearing* and *flattering* words or *pejorative* and *coarse* or even vulgar ones. Artistic style also sometimes makes use of such elements as devices of characterization or as devices to achieve a desired effect (cf. for example the frequent endearing diminutives such as *tatíček, vodička, sluníčko*, the expressive *problémek*,

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vášnička, the pejorative *držgrešle, chlebař, sebranka*, the coarse or vulgar *huba, drška, dožrat někoho, drek* etc.).

§232. We thus frequently find stylistic differences between devices which have the same or similar material meaning, between synonymous devices. Synonyms and synonymy is usually discussed in the area of the lexicon (cf. §223 above), but in a broader sense it is possible also to speak about synonymous grammatical devices (especially morphological and syntactic ones).

Of course not every pair or set of synonyms is differentiated stylistically; there are also synonymous devices belonging to the same stylistic level, or devices which are stylistically neutral; cf. for example the synonymous expressions *příhoda - příběh - událost, hezký - pěkný - krásný, dělat - pracovat, činit - konat, hněvat se - zlobit se, velice - velmi* etc. Similarly synonymous morphological doublets are sometimes not stylistically differentiated, as for example gen. sg. *z trojúhelníku - z trojúhelníka*, loc. sg. *o jazyku - o jazyce*, loc. pl. *ve střediscích - ve střediskách*, 1st. sg. *tešu - tesám,* 3rd. pl. *mizí - mizejí*, past passive participle *zařaděn - zařazen* etc.

In many instances, however, stylistic differences between synonymous devices do exist.

a) Such differences exist between synonymous near-homonyms, cf. for example the pairs *polévka - polívka, zalévat - zalívat, obléknout - oblíknout, lépe - líp, plamínek - plamének, plátýnko - pláténko* etc. The forms with *í* in these cases have a more colloquial tenor, are stylistically simpler, sometimes they are even non-literary, cf. the Common Czech *mlíko* (literary *mléko*), *dýl* (for *déle*) etc. Less frequently the forms with *í* are neutral, while the forms with *e* are bookish or obsolete, cf. *plamínek* both bookish and obsolete for *plamének* etc.

Phonemic shapes with Common Czech *ej* are usually stylistically marked.

They occur along side of forms with *ý*(*í*) sometimes in designations for reality connected to the life of country people (e.g. *vejměnek, vejměnkář* but also *výměnek, výměnkař, vejražka, vejražkový* and *výražka, výražkový* etc.). At other times they occur in emotionally colored expressions, often with a pejorative shading, to underline their expressiveness, cf. for example *rejpat, rejpal, rejpavý* (*věčný rejpal* in Drda; *abyste to věděl a nerejpal, rejpale - rejpavý*, in V. Mrštík), *vejrostek* (*výrostek*; but the technical term is only *výrůstek*), *vejšlap* (*udělat si vejšlap*) etc.

In some isolated words (cf. also §14), also in some conspicuously expressive set phrases, in expressions which are slang or coarse and in insults only the forms with *ej* are current even in literary discourse especially in verbal art. Sporadic pseudo-literary shapes with *ý*(*í*) seem affected, they have an individual tenor, sometimes of intentional hypercorrection.

Cf. for example *kejklat (se)*, only rarely the bookish *kýklat (se)*, in Al. Jirásek; *být, nechat v rejži*, but in Vl. Vančura: *ted' jsme v pěkné rýži*; *dívat se, koukat jako vejr*, and the words derived from it *vejrat, vejřit* and only sporadically *výřit* in *Lidové noviny*; *ty vejre* a swearword in *Káňa;* the slang *nalejvat někoho, ulejt se, ulejvka, ulejvárna, vejtaha* etc.; the coarse *odprejsknout* (or even *vodprejsknout*), but in Vančura *odprýsknout*.

Intellectual and technical words do not have these variants with *ej* even in colloquial discourse, cf. for example *výstavba, výsadba, výsadek, výskyt, výsostný, výšin* etc.

To a lesser extent stylistic use is made of phonemic shapes with Common Czech *ou*- in word initial position (alongside of literary shapes with *u*-, cf. also §14); of course this restriction in itself lowers their frequency. These forms also occur in designations of reality connected with life as it used to be among country people (e.g. *ouvrat'* alongside *úvrat', ouhrabek, ouhrabečný* or *úhrabek, úhrabečný, oukrop* 'a kind of soup' next to *úkrop*; *ouročky* 'a folk term for an illness' etc.). Furthermore we find the forms with *ou-* in some set phrases (especially in expressing comparison) with emotional coloring (in these the forms with *ú-* could have a hypercorrect effect); for example *je, vypadá jako oukropek* (but *seděl jako úkropek* is also current); *nejsem jen tak nějaký oušlapek; třináctiletý ouřezek;* with an underscoring of expressiveness: *vypadá jako ouplněk;* but only *ou-* in the coarse, strongly expressive *ouchcapek, ouchcapky*.

Expressive coloring with pejorative shading stands out in forms such as *ouřad, ouřada, ouřadovat* etc. (along side of *úřad, úřadovat, úřada*). Sporadically we find only this expressive form with *ou-* such as *ouhleda* in Čapek-Chod.

b) Stylistically differentiated are also some derivational doublets; cf. for example pairs of substantives with a meaning of origin or citizenship, formed by various suffixes, as in the words *Pražan - Pražák* (somewhat colloquial and Common Czech), *Moravan - Moravák* (Common Cz., sometimes pejorative) etc. Some adjectives in *-ný* are bookish and

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obsolete (especially those formed with foreign stems) in comparison to the stylistically neutral, or current technical adjectives in -ní, such as absolutný - absolutní, konkretný - konkretní, vizuálny - vizuální etc.

In the area of designation formation we often find stylistic differences between two types of synonymous designations, i.e. between one-word designations and those consisting of several words. One-word designations in such pairs often have a colloquial tenor (a strong tendency toward one-word substitutes for phrases is noted also outside of the literary language, in Common Czech and in slang), as in státnice - státní zkouška, pololetky - pololetní prázdniny, přesilovka - přesilová hra, skrobák - škrobový obvaz, dálkař - posluchač or absolvent dálkového studia etc. The reverse, several word designations arising from single words, forming synonym pairs are a mark of journalistic or technical style, cf. čtenářská obec - čtenáři, manifestačním způsobem - manifestačně, provést důkaz - dokázat, najít uplatnění - uplatnit se etc.

c) Besides frequent instances of stylistic lack of differentiation (noted also above) we find stylistic differences likewise in synonymous morphological pairs. One set in such pairs usually has a stylistically higher level, is more bookish (especially in the case of older forms), the other is stylistically simpler, more colloquial, especially in the more recent forms, often showing agreement with forms of Common Czech, or both forms are stylistically neutral.

Cf. for example:

nom. pl. *mužové - muži, Čechové - Češi; eklektikové - eklektici, mechanikové - mechanici* etc.; *bratří - bratři*; in contrast to the literary *fašisté* we have sub-standard *fašisti*, which may be exploited as an emotionally shaded, pejorative device;

nom. sg. bookish *břímě (povinností), símě (lásky)* - *(těžké) břemeno, (řepné) semeno*;

gen. pl. bookish *hostí - hostů*, acc. pl. *hosti - hosty;*

1st sg. and 3rd pl. of verbs of the type *péci, třít* and *mazat*: bookish *peku, (řeky) tekou; rozprostru; táži se, prokáži, (vzpomínky) se víží - peču, tečou; rozprostřu; vážu, ukážu, pláčou*;

1st. pl. of some types of verbs (ending in -*u*, -*i* in the 1st sg.): *neseme, bereme, pečeme, třeme, řežeme, tiskneme, hrneme, začneme, pijeme, slibujeme* -- more colloquial *nesem, berem, pečem, třem, řežem, tisknem, hrnem, začnem, pijem, slibujem*;

imperative of verbs of the type *péci*: bookish *upec, utec, netlucte - upeč, uteč netlučte;*

past participle (and past tense) in some verbs of the type *začít: sňal - sejmul, připjal - připnul*;

infinitive in -*ti* and -*t*: bookish *prokázati, přísahati, slibovati - prokázat, přísahat, slibovat* (see §135 above).

A bookish tenor is characteristic of nominal forms of adjectives (*mlád, stár*); this is also true of certain set phrases, in which nominal forms are used (e.g. *jsem si tím jist, jsem toho dalek, je patrno, je dlužno, záhodno* etc., see §98.3 and 4 above).

d) Some meanings and the devices used to express them within morphological categories are stylistically marked:

Within the category of case the negative genitive, for example has a bookish tenor in comparison to the spreading accusative; also bookish is the so-called genitive of quality as in *(žena) plavých vlasů*. As a device of mostly spoken, colloquial language may be considered for example the so-called ethical dative as in *(to) vám (byla krása)*. Cf. §64 above.

In synonymous pairs of constructions with the genitive and accusative, the less frequent genitive is often an archaizing device of a bookish nature, cf. for example *potřebuji peněz - potřebuji peníze, vyžádat si pomoci - vyžádat si pomoc, získat si zásluh - získat čas* etc.

In pairs of synonymous constructions with a simple case and one with a preposition, the rarer simple case frequently has a bookish tenor, cf. for example *vzpomínáme hrdinů - vzpomínám na tebe, blížit se hrobu - blížit se ke břehu* etc. (Cf. §194.2 above).

In this connection can be mentioned also the predominantly bookish nature of some *non-original prepositions* and prepositional expressions, such as *díky (přátelům), v rámci (oslav), v důsledku (snížení cen)* etc.

Within verbal meaning categories we find stylistic differences between synonymous devices to express the *passive meaning.* In the synonym pair compound passive -- reflexive passive, the compound (if we disregard the fine meaning distinction between the two) is more bookish, and therefore more current for example in technical and journalistic styles. -- Between a passive and an active way of expressing something there is not in itself any stylistic difference, but in concrete usage, the expression with the active voice is more colloquial, while the expression with the passive is more bookish (cf. §124.1,.2 and.3).

Of synonymous forms for expressing *tense* a special stylistic marking may be pointed out, one that in a concrete context is demonstrated by the so-called historical present, serving to enliven the narration. Another mark of colloquial usage is demonstrated by present forms of imperfective verbs used to mean future as in *zítra jdu* etc. (cf. §132.2).

Stylistically different are also the various devices for expressing *command* or *prohibition*. In contrast to stylistically neutral forms of the imperative mood stands the stylistically marked expression of strengthened command or prohibition with the infinitive (nekouřit!) or forms of the present indicative or future (mlčíš! budeš mlčet!, cf. §134.2 above).

e) The selection of word classes also has a stylistic significance. Expression based on a noun (substantives or adjectives), has a different tenor from expression formed with a verb. ~~Nouns~~ Substantives indicate objects, things, adjectives their qualities. Expressions based on these (the so-called nominal expressions) are for the most part conceptual, static. Verbs express actions and expressions based on them (verbal expression) are more dynamic, lively.

Besides strictly verbal expression (with a purely verbal predicate) we sometimes also use the so-called expanded verbally nominal expression, i.e. the combination of a verb of more common meaning with a rather formal value and a noun with a real meaning, e.g. vykonat návštěvu - navštívit, provést, provádět průzkum - prozkoumat, zkoumat, najít uplatnění - uplatnit se etc. Verbally nominal expression as a device alongside with a purely verbal one is usually suitable only for the expression of more complex reality, for example organized acts, actions and deliberations of an official nature etc., and has a stylistically higher tone, sometimes more ceremonial cf. (chlapci) sbírají (poházené papíry) - provádíme sběr (surovin); navštívil jsem (přítele) - (vyslanec) vykonal návštěvu (u presidenta republiky) etc.

f) In the area of syntax we find rich expressive possibilities and also some stylistic differentiation among them. The same content can be expressed for example by a sentence ~~part~~ member, or by the so-called semi-sentence construction, or by a clause, usually a subordinate one. In this synonymous triad the expression which is a semi-sentence is marked. Gerundial phrases especially in comparison with other sentence part devices or with (subordinate) clauses have a bookish tenor. Similarly infinitive phrases, loose attributive phrases and some types of apposition (esp. those which are a matter of summarizing, specifying or including in a superordinate conceptual category) are marked for bookish expression, for the style of technical discourse (about semi-sentence constructions cf. §199 and 200 above).

Also in the choice of sentence types, one must consider stylistic suitability and preciseness. The basic and current sentence type in present-day literary Czech is the ~~two~~ binary ~~part~~ sentence. Mononuclear nominal and interjectory sentences have lower communicative precision and are less clear. They are thus limited in their use to certain areas of expression; some nominal and interjectory sentences are marked for expression of frame of mind or of excitement and are frequent in spoken discourse, in colloquial style (cf. §180 above).

Some ways of expressing sentence parts are stylistically marked. For example in some instances the pronominal subject has a colloquial tenor as in *já vím*, *já to tušil*, *ten je opálený*, the excessive use of attributive *ten* cf. its literary exploitation in the stories of K. Čapek: *dnes si ti taškáři v Orientě nedají tu práci, aby barvili vlnu červcem* etc.). Both of these ways are marked also for Common Czech (cf. §188.2 and §102.1). The particles *to, ono* in mononuclear ~~one part~~ verbal sentences (*to dnes prší, ono už zase hřmí* etc., cf. §170), are also typical of colloquial style (and of Common Czech)

Some deviations from regular sentence structure have a special stylistic significance, e.g. the independent sentence part, elliptical sentences etc. (see §182 above); they are usual especially in colloquial style.

As far as individual kinds of sentences classified by content and the posture of the speaker, other types than declarative (i.e. interrogative, imperative and exclamatory) are typical of spoken discourse. These are of course used secondarily also in artistic style (in the speech of characters and in dramatic dialog) and they are likewise used in journalistic style as effective devices for influencing the listener or reader (especially rhetorical questions cf. §173(2)).

Individual types of sentences classified according to complexity (simple, compound, complex) do not in themselves have stylistic coloring. From the point of view of concrete usage it can be said that simple sentences and uncomplicated compound sentences or relatively uninvolved complex sentences are more frequent in speech than in writing; on the contrary the more involved complex sentences, with various kinds of subordinate clauses expressing more complicated thought dependences, are characteristic of written technical styles etc. and the more complicated compound sentences as well as the piling up of many compound sentence parts is more frequent in artistic style.

The synonymy of conjunctions and other connecting expressions with fine distinctions in meaning or syntax is quite rich. Only some of these, however have special stylistic coloring. Thus some connecting expressions compared to neutral ones synonymous to them have a bookish tenor (some of them are also obsolete), cf. for example the causal *jelikož, ježto*, the temporal *jedva*, the temporal and causal *an, ana,...*, some forms of the relative pronoun *jenž* (especially acc. sg. fem. and nom. pl. ma. *již*), the adversative *leč* etc. -- Some other connecting expressions tend to be colloquial (often these are also devices used in Common Czech), cf. for example the causal *že*, the conditional *jestli*, the conditional *když*, the relative absolute *co*, also *jak* as a causal, conditional and conceding conjunction, correlative *to* in a head clause following a conditional clause etc.

Certain deviations from the regular, normal word order also have stylistic significance. For example the agreeing attribute, which usually precedes its head noun, is sometimes placed following the noun in a more ceremonial style. A non-agreeing attribute sometimes stands before its head noun in artistic style, especially in poetry. (Cf. §184.2 above).

It is from among these many stylistically colored synonymous linguistic devices that a speaker (writer) in a concrete linguistic discourse is able to choose the devices which are suitable and fitting to his goal and intent and to the situation as well as to the form of the discourse (sometimes also with the application of individual experiences, likes and inclinations).

The stylistic characteristic of lexical and grammatical devices of the national language is usually included in the commentaries to detailed dictionaries of the literary language and in descriptive and normative grammars (cf. for example the practice in the new four volume *Slovník spisovného jazyka českého* or in Trávníček's *Mluvnice spisovné češtiny* as well as of this grammar). Recently attempts are sometimes made (e.g. in French and Russian linguistics) to compile a description of stylistic devices structurally and independently.

§233. Individual *style forms* are distinguished according to the way in which the theme is executed, according to the relationship to the theme and according to the objective choice of linguistic devices. These forms are especially short and simply communicative (with an informative function), such as various reports and announcements, notices, advertisements, requests and other public documents, letters etc.

In technical and artistic discourse, two basic style forms are frequent, *description* and *narration*. In description we give a picture of the marks and characteristics of living beings, objects and phenomena, we distinguish basic and less important characteristics and arrange them with a certain selectivity and in a certain order. In narration we give an account of the action in an arranged order of action components , which are so interrelated that one is the cause of another.

Clean cut forms of technical and journalistic style are the treatise and the essay (the essay of course exists also in artistic writing). In a treatise we grasp the relationships and regularities between things, in an essay we give a picture of and evaluate the meaning of significance of a phenomenon.

Some spoken forms do not basically differ (except for general differences between the style of oral and written discourse, as outlined above, cf. §228) from written forms (e.g. a description may be oral or written). There are however some spoken forms which do not have analogous written forms: they are oratorical forms (addresses or speeches). A special typically oral form is the discussion, but a discussion may also be written.

The individual stylistic forms also make different use of linguistic devices; every linguistic form places to some extent different demands on the choice of linguistic devices.

§234. In evaluating the style of discourse the various common characteristics of style are often mentioned. Emphasis is placed for example on clarity, intelligibility, and fluency in the case of narration, or on liveliness, vividness, and objectivity of a style, or of its appropriateness, realism and accuracy; in artistic discourse on the effectiveness and appeal of the style is also stressed. All of these characteristics cannot be generally required of every discourse, one must instead take into account the general, objective factors which determine the stylistic manifestations, while at the same time not failing to overlook the subjective ones.

The devices by which these style characteristics are achieved cannot be determined and selected mechanically. One and the same device may under different circumstances serve to achieve different style characteristics, just as different linguistic and stylistic devices may have the same resulting effect (their stylistic differentiation may be just as appealing, effective as the intentional piling up or repetition of the same linguistic devices).

§235. Style as a subject of study is covered by stylistics. Stylistics investigates the regularity in the choice of linguistic devices and their arrangement in the discourse of one writer (individual style) or in discourse arising under certain objective conditions or requirements of expression (objective styles). Other subjects of stylistics are the word (both its lexical and grammatical aspect) and the sentence, i.e. elements which are covered by grammar,

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lexicon and by semantics. Stylistics, however, approaches these elements of linguistic expression from a different standpoint. It ascertains and presents the qualities of linguistic devices (words, sentences etc.) with regard to a choice, an exploitation and arrangement in language discourse. The subject of stylistics is also a higher unit than the sentence; it deals with suprasentential forms. Stylistics investigates these higher units, especially paragraphs and chapters and their structure. Further stylistics treats the classification and characteristics of style types and forms.

Bibliography. On general questions of style cf. the older discussion in SaS 1941 with contributions of Kořínek 1941, Trnka 1941 and Skalička 1941; see also the survey presented in Havránek 1940

(reprinted also in Havránek 1963b); cf. also Doležel 1954, Hausenblas 1955 (in the same issue of SaS, are contributions to a 1954 symposium by Trost 1955a, Pauliny 1955, Horálek 1955b, Doležel 1955a, M. Jelínek 1955 and Filipec 1955). The booklet by Trávníček 1953 is also in the nature of a discussion. Recent contributions of a general nature are those of Hausenblas 1963d, M. Jelínek 1965 and Doležel 1965a (with critical comments in Novák 1966.

On stylistic differentiation of the literary language cf. Havránek 1932 and 1942 (reprinted in 1963a), Hausenblas 1962c and Jedlička 1963c; on colloquial style cf. M. Jelínek 1966 (cf. also the bibliography in this volume following §7); on technical style M. Jelínek 1955, Filipec 1955 and Jelínek 1963b (cf. also bibliography on terminology here following 225); on journalistic style

M.Jelínek 1957, Váhala et. al. 1966, cf. also Stich 1965, Jedlička 1965a, Kraus 1965b and 1966. On artistic style cf. Horálek 1955b, Doležel 1955a, recently Doležel 1964, 1965b and 1963, M.Jelínek 1967, 1963a, Jedlička 1963b-- cf. also the monograph by Doležel 1960 and the popularized Doležel and Kuchař eds 1961 ff. On literary artistic style cf. especially Mukařovský 1941-1948, 1966, Vodička 1948 and the popularized O básnickém jazyce 1947 (with contributions by Mukařovský, Vodička and Havránek), Kožmín 1967 and Jan Kovič et al. eds 1966.

A popularized technical exposition on style of linguistic devices is found in Mathesius 1942 (reprinted separately in 1966) more broadly in Daneš et. al. 1955 ff.

On stylistic processes and forms see Bečka 1957 and 1960, Darovec 1965, and Mistrík 1964.

Composite works on Czech stylistics are the older Bečka 1938 and 1948 as well as Hodura 1953 ff. Recently there is a new text for pedagogical institutions by Jedlička et al. 1970 On Slovak stylistics cf. Mistrík 1965, 1970 and Ivanová-Šalingová 1965.

APPENDIX 3

ON THE HISTORY OF THE CZECH LANGUAGE

§236. If we happen to read in the oldest chronicle written in Czech and composed at the beginning of the 14th century (*Dalimil Chronicle*) the well known stanza *Vřet' každému srdce po jazyku svému* or when we recognize in its original version the one century younger statement of Mistr Jan Hus (1412) *Hledaj pravdy, slyš pravdu, uč se pravdě, miluj pravdu, prav pravdu, drž pravdu, braň pravdy až do smrti,* we understand them at once, without difficulty; it may even seem to someone reading these lines, that the Czech language has not, in the long period of more than five or even six centuries, changed much at all. And it is true that language changes slowly.

It suffices, however, to compare a longer section from the same Dalimil chronicle, e.g. the well known explanation of the mythical Libuše about the meaning of *obec* 'municipality, community':

Zlý člověk to drbi býti
kterýž pro své dobré dá obci zlým toho užiti.
Obec jest každého ohrada,
ktož ju tupí, minulat' jej rada.
Ztratě obcu, neúfaj do hrada.
bez obcě dobude tebe všeliká sváda.

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We clearly see from the above passage that the Czech language has, during this period of more than six hundred years, changed after all.

It changed in its sound system (ju became jí, neúfaj, hledaj became nedoufej, hledej, obcě, všeliká became obce, všeliká, ktož became kdož etc., y, ý were different sounds from i, í); it changed also in its grammatical structure (ztratě obcu, the so-called future ~~participle~~ gerund 'when you lose your community,' obcu acc. sg., po jazyku svému now po svém jazyce (i.e. 'nationality' with the preposition po governing the dat.); especially however, has the lexicon changed (drbí now musí, ohrada now ochrana, neúfaj do..., now nedoufej v..., or nespoléhej se na...; it is now unusual to use the word jazyk for národ or the words užiti, minulat', dobude, sváda).

The Czech language has over the centuries undergone development, and thus changed in its individual components.

The functions of the language also changed during its development; especially, they increased; likewise, the number of its users grew; and the relationship of the language to the nation as a whole changed. The language of one dialectal type, the central Bohemian (originally that of the tribe called Czech), which then in its special roles was restricted to a small circle of speakers, gradually became dominant over the whole territory and became both the universal national language (literary as well as common), and the language used by all the people, shared by the whole nation.

§237. Why and how language changes in all these various ways has been explained recently by the Marxist doctrine of language.

Language is a social phenomenon. One may state in brief, that outside of society there is no language and that without language, society would cease to exist; it would disintegrate. All social phenomena serve society and this is true especially of language.

We can deduce from this the close tie of language to every human activity and to every change in human activity. Language must reflect activity and its character without delay, and thus its lexicon is constantly changing. It cannot of course change as a whole if language as a social phenomenon is to remain the instrument of communication, nor does it need to change as a whole. A portion of the words and word stems remains unchanged over long periods of time (cf. §213.1). The grammatical structure in which the thought categories are dialectially reflected, their relationships and the process of thought, develop even more slowly, in some of their components almost imperceptibly over long periods of time.

Furthermore, from this tie with human activity and from the basic role of language, it follows that language evolves closely with the evolution of the society which it serves, with the history of the people who are the creators and carriers of the language.

With the gradual development of society from clans to tribes, tribal federations, nationalities and nations language evolves from clan and tribal language to that of tribal federations, to languages of nationalities, and finally to languages of modern nations.

§238. The origin of human language goes back to remote antiquity, to the very beginning of human existence. As soon as people began to form society, i.e. come to realize, that it is better to work, to fight for existence, to get food and to protect oneself together with others, the need arose to communicate, as had previously been pointed out by Engels. This mutual interest in cooperation developed a better means of communication than were motions, gestures and primitive direct urging sounds etc. (the first systems of signaling); with this improved means as a tool of communication, were articulated sounds which were systematically connected to the same content (thus belonging to a second signaling system) to human speech.

Through the process of cooperation in a primitive community, human speech was perfected together with the human brain and the sense organs. Only with the help of the expressive devices of speech did it become possible to get to know nature and to realize experiences fully, to preserve them and communicate; thus human knowledge, especially thought and recognition began to expand. Through all of human development down to the present day the mutual interrelation of speech and all of human thought is clearly manifested.

Of course the early language had a very meager lexicon and a quite primitive grammatical structure; likewise the social unit which used the same linguistic devices was quite small. From these beginnings of language, present-day languages such as e.g. contemporary Czech, are characterized by a very long period of development lasting hundreds of thousands of years.

The period of development of Czech, i.e. the period from which we can safely speak about Czech according to real evidence as one of the Slavic languages -- not yet of course as a Czech national language --, is a little over a thousand years; this period is thus imperceptible in length when compared to the total period of linguistic development. During these thousand years of development, the basic lexical and grammatical structures -- despite the many changes which we will discuss below, -- remained essentially the same.

§239. We know the Czech language incontestibly as one of the Slavic languages from the 9th century, i.e. from the time of the Great Moravian Empire, when during the final period of the tribal structure with undoubted supratribal formation (tribal federations) we come to the threshold of deep changes in production caused by the basic change in land ownership, to the threshold of the feudal period, this in our area lasted to the end of the 18th century. This long period of feudalism is a time of change from Czech tribes to a Czech nation. Along with this gradual social development of the nation went also the formation of the Czech national language, from the language of a tribal federation to the Czech national language.

In comparison to the other Slavic languages, the mutual relationship of which is today obvious to everyone, we can reconstruct even the preceding development of this 'Czech' linguistic unit, its prehistoric development. There is no doubt that like the other Slavic languages Czech originates from the starting point common to all Slavic languages, the language usually called Proto-Slavic. Its beginnings,

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accompanied by the expansion of agriculture and the raising of cattle, may be placed long before the Christian era; one may roughly speak of 2000 B.C. Its end can be seen approximately around the 7th Century A.D. At that time this linguistic unit had quite extensive dialectal differences, connected undoubtedly to the division into tribes, yet it was sufficiently uniform to indicate that these tribes undoubtedly lived in a common tribal federation for a considerable period of time. With the gradual migration of the Slavic tribes to their present settlements and with the great expansion of their territory, the individual tribes were becoming independent and tribal units were being established roughly during the course of the first thousand years A.D. The languages of these tribal units again became dialectally differentiated; these can for that period be hypothetically correlated on our territory with the attested tribal principalities, liquidated between the 10th and 11th centuries (these assumed proto-dialectal differences cannot however be equated with today's dialect divisions).

> If we call the language of the tribal unit (the tribal federation) on our territory before that time also 'Czech language', it is a designation according to the result; for that period it is premature.

We can safely trace an independent Czech language -- if we disregard the Bohemisms in the Old Church Slavic monuments of the 10th and 11th centureis -- from individual words inserted or written in the margins of Latin manuscripts from the 11th century and then from Czech linguistic and literary monuments from the end of the 13th century. It is a language of a decidedly feudal period with a cultural function and an undeniable supra-dialectal character. From the very beginning of the 14th century it has the appearance of a relatively developed literary and cultural language which is significantly uniform, into which the dialectal differences of that time penetrate only imperceptibly.

One must not at the same time overlook another important fact for the development of the Czech language. From the 9th century on the role of a 'cultural language', that is of the liturgical language, the language of the beginning of Christianity, of religious literature and of legal language was the Slavic language called Old Church Slavic. It was the language of which Constantine and Methodius made use for the missionary purpose of Christianizing the Great Moravian Empire begun in 836; it then continued in use in our territory to the end of the 11th century. Its basis was a South Slavic language, a tribal variety of the Macedonian-Bulgarian type, but from the beginning there was also penetration of Czech elements which with the passage of time were strengthened; it was beyond any doubt accepted in our area as a native (national) language in contrast to Latin which was foreign. This Slavic language in its liturgical, literary and legal roles was from the end of the 11th century completely forced out by Latin, but despite this fact it contributed to the early awakening of the consciousness of nationality and to the realization that the use of a native language is possible and useful for contemporary cultural needs; it left behind it also an elaborate religious terminology, which later was almost all taken over into Czech (and from Czech into Polish). The consciousness of this language contributed undoubtedly to the rapid rise of a supra-dialectal 'cultural' Czech language later in the 12th and 13th centuries, to its penetration into religious and secular poetry between the 13th and 14th centuries, to the great upsurge in the use of Czech in poetic literature, in narrative prose and in the role of legal and administrative language in the 14th century.

§240. Hand in hand with this gradual creation of the Czech national language in the period of feudalism went a relatively rapid development of Czech in the period from the end of the 12th to the end of the 16th centuries in all of its components, in the sound system, in grammar and especially a considerable expansion of the lexicon.

1. In its sound system Czech had at the latest from the beginning of this period at the latest, stress on the first syllable and early in this period we ~~obtain~~ find the Czech sound h (for Common Slavic g, cf. Czech hrad with Rus. город, Pol. gród pron. [-u-]) and ř. The sound h is also shared by Slovak and High Sorbian of the West Slavic languages; in this way Czech is clearly distinguished from Polish and by the sound ř also from the language closest to it, Slovak.

> Cf. these changes in the framework of loan-words: words borrowed at the beginning of Christianity and during the first contacts with their neighbors, before the change g to h, the foreign g undergoes the same change to h as native words: Graecus to Gřekъ, then to Hřěk (then Řek), Gregorius Řehoř, Ungari Uhři, Old High German grave ~~to~~ hrabě; also Germ. Gratz came from Czech Gradec before this change took place. -- But in words taken over after this

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> change the *g* is preserved: in the 14th century *galejě* from Middle Latin *galeae*, *granátové jablko* from Lat. *(malum) granatum*, but also *groš* from Lat. *grossus (denarius)* already at the end of the 13th cent., a word which came into use during the great financial reform of Václav II. ~~(in 1300)~~.

Even before this time Czech changed the old nasal vowels *ę* and *ǫ* -- analogous to today's Polish nasals (in quality but not in distribution) -- into oral vowels: *ę* to *a* with the softening of the preceding consonant and *ǫ* to *u* (*a* and *u* then partially underwent further changes). The special short medial sounds *ь, ъ* (the soft and hard jers) partially were lost and partially changed into *e* in accordance to precise rules (*den*, *sen* from old *dьnь*, *sъnъ*, *ve dne*, *ve snu* from *vъ dьne*, *vъ sъnu*). In addition, Czech to a greater extent than other Slavic languages carried out contraction such as *pás, dobrá, dobré, děláš, rozumieš* (later *rozumíš*) compared to Rus. пояс, добрая, доброе, делаешь, разумеешь, etc. (cf. also §20).

> Nasal vowels are vowels in which during articulation, the air stream passes not just through the mouth but also through the nose. -- ~~as~~ The fact that Czech had these vowels still in the 10th cent. is clearly attest~~s~~ed by the Latin form

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of the name Václav (Vácslav): Venceslaus from the old vęceslavъ (vęce 'more'); on the other hand the foreign Ungari gave Czech Uhři through Ǫgri (cf. Pol. Węgrzy and from it the Russian венгерский, etc.

2. Besides these early changes, further sound development took place on two sectors: first was a matter of the relationship of soft and hard sounds, the second involved changes in long vowels and the rise of some and fall of other diphthongs. The changes in the first ~~set~~ sector are older and end roughly with the 14th century, the second is more recent ending with the 16th century.

a) After soft consonants -- the ones after which the orthography spells i to the present day, i.e. d', t', ň, š, ž, č, c, ř, l', p', b', m', v', s', z', -- a, á . (also a, á from the nasal ę) changed to ě, ie, i.e. a short and long dipthong ie, for example ovca to ovcě, zem'a to země, koňa to koně, the 3rd pl. trp'á, vid'á, pros'á to trpie, vidie, prosie; in word medial position a, á changed only when a hard consonant followed: pět - pátý, Jene - Jan, světější - svatý, viece - Václav, začieti - začal, etc., Old Czech had začal, začala - začěli, začaly, běžal - běžěli, čas - v čěsě etc.

Later in the 14th century -- following the same soft consonants *u* changed to *i* and *ú* to *í*, for example *l'ud* to *lid, zem'u* to *zemi, píšu* to *píši, sl'úbil* to *slíbil, píšú* to *píší*...

Through these vowel changes the declension of hard and soft paradigms was significantly ~~expanded~~ diversified (*město - moře, žena - nůše, hrad - stroj, pán - muž,* see §66), to a greater extent than is the case in other Slavic languages, even in the closest, Slovak. Many changes also took place in conjugation; a new type was formed *sázěti, sázieš, sázie...* for the older *sáz'ati, sáz'áš, sáz'á...* agreeing with the type *dělati, dělás, dělá...* (cf. §144.3 above).

> These vowel changes of *a* to *ě* and *u* to *i* from the 12th to the 14th cent. culminate a series of vowel changes beginning already in the Protoslavic period with the change of *o* to *e* after soft consonants: *město - mor'e, srdce, o tom - o čem*. The forms like *moře* (older *mor'e*), *srdce* are common to the Slavic languages (cf. Rus. море, сердце but the gen. of *moře, srdce* (Old Czech *mořě, srdcě* with *ě* for old *a*) are only Czech (cf. Rus. моря, сердца).

The sound which came from the nasal *ę* was apparently different from the old *a*; it was probably more like the Slovak *ä*.

In the 14th century the new *o* after soft consonants changed to *ě* cf. *ciesařěvi, tancěvati, kralevati, kralevič*; by analogy with the dat. ending -*ovi* in other words and by analogy with other verbs in -*ovati* the -*o*- again came back (*císařovi, tancovati* etc.)

From the end of the 14th century hard *y, ý* and soft *i, í* began to merge into one phoneme (the beginning of the process is attested by Mistr Jan Hus' opposition to the change). -- Later the sequence *aj* if in the same syllable changed to *ej* (*hledej, vejce, nej*- for *hledaj, vajce, naj*-), but *hleda-jí, va-jec* etc. remained unchanged because the *aj* belonged to two syllables.

These vowel changes did not spread over the whole Czech speaking territory; different changes spread different distances and especially the eastern boundaries of these changes vary.

The vowel change *u* to *i* covered only the geographical area of Bohemia, but the change *a* to *ě* penetrated deep into

Moravia; there are apparently unchanged forms like *ulíca* beyond the Bohemian-Moravian border, but these are newly formed by analogy with the hard paradigm.

Similarly over the territory of Bohemia the conjugational endings with *i* and *í* (*píši, píší*) were again replaced by forms with *u*, *ú* by analogy with the other verbs ending in *u*, *ú* (*nesu, nesú*). This, however, happened only where there occurs a 3rd pl. *í* parallel to *í* from *u* in the 1st sg.; wherever this *í* is isolated we have it remaining *dělají, umějí*, because the form with the parallel *i* from *u* in the 1st sg. changed to *dělám, umiem* (older *dělaji, uměji*), where in the forms *děláš, umieš*... the parallelism with the forms *nesu, neseš*... was lost by contraction.

Also the vowel change *a* to *ě*, *á* to *ie* in word medial position was partially removed: Old Czech *začal,začalo*... *začěli, začaly, začala, přál..., prieli..., běžal*..., *běžěli* was leveled according to ~~the~~ one type either to *začali, přáli* or the opposite into *běžel, běžela* according to *běželi* (in some dialects *příl, příli, smíl se* and in others the opposite also *běžal, běžali*... like *přál, přáli*), *v čěsě* etc. became *v čase*, instead of *Jene* we ~~often~~ usually find *Jane* etc.

There were changes also in the composition of the *soft consonants*. In old Czech there existed the soft consonants *č, ž, š, c', z', ň, l', r'* and soft labials *(m'...)*. Of these *č, ž, š, c', z'* came from the consonants k, g, (long before the change of g to h), ch before soft, front vowels (the so-called palatal vowels, see §12.1) -- before i, e, ě, ь, ę (cf. peku - pečeš - peç, mohu - móže - pomoz, ucho - uši); the others arose from consonant plus -j-: c, z from tj, dj (ztracen, ohrazen), š, ž from sj, zj (píšu, mažu), ń, l', r' and the soft labials m'... from nj, lj, rj, mj... (stóňu, pošl'u, mór'e, zem'a ~~then~~ later to stůňu, pošlu, moře, země).

Somewhat later was the origin of the palatalized consonants (t', d', n', s', z', l', r' and soft labials) also before front, soft vowels; ~~these later~~ the former again became hard over most of the territory; only the consonants d', t', ň became hard only before e, ь (budete, kost), but remained soft before i, ě, 'a (dítě, t'al) and ř which originated from r' remained everywhere distinguished from r (umře, stařec like čtyři, řeka from older řěka). This hardening is an old change, but it occured only after the change a to ě; the consonants which did not harden, fell together with the former soft ones (d', t', ň, r').

Two l consonants were preserved for a long time: l' soft (later central l) and hard l [ł]; in some peripheral dialects this hard ł is preserved to the present day. Furthermore the soft labials (p', b'...) occur to the present day in dialects in the extreme south of Bohemia and soft t', d', ň are soft even before e in the Lach dialects (see §245 below).

b) Diphthongs underwent drastic change. Short and long ě, ie (also if origination from a, á) were lost; ě gradually merged with e (the merger being completed by the end of the 14th century) and was distinguished only after the labial consonants (b, p...: pět, svět, město, but with a new late pronunciation [-je] as in běs after m' [-ně] as in mě. Long ie underwent gradual change until the end of the 14th cent. to í (svítiti, místo, 3rd pl. trpí..., více, začíti etc.). -- Also long uó (arising from long ó at the end of the 14th century) changed in the 15th century to long ú (spelled ů: dům, hradův, hradům...).

> The diphthong ě, ie changed by degrees; lě, lie became l'e, l'é already in the pre-Czech (prehistoric) period, then in the 14th century first ě became e after j, then after d', t', n', later after sibilants; after labials this change took place only in dialects (this change of ě to e is called loss of jotation). We however still spell ně- (některý), where ě actually used to be pronounced, but we pronounce the sequence [ňe] the same way as in words with

original *n'e* cf. *němu* (in Old Czech there was a difference in spelling between *ňe* and *ně*, pron. [ně]: *k němu, k některému* etc.).

c) The change *ó* to *uó* is not the only change of long vowel to diphthong. A parallel change was that of *ý* (and in part also *í* after *c, z, s*) to *ej*, *ú* to *ou*, for example *mlejn, dobrej, cejcha, vozejk, sejto; ouvoz* and the literary *mouka, nesou*. Long *é* also changes this time to another long vowel *í*, for example *dřéve* to *dříve*, *řéci* to *říci, obilé* to *obilí, dobrýho, mlíko*. These changes in long vowels taking place in the 15th and 16th centuries covered a significant part of the Czech speaking territory, but did not penetrate to an equal extent into the standard language: literary Czech does not reflect the change *ý(í)* to *ej*; the change *ú* to *ou* is not reflected in word initial position and *é* to *í* appears only after soft consonants; of course this preservation of *ý, ú* and *é* has in part a new status in the literary language.

> Even these changes *ý* to *ej*, *é* to *í*, *ú* to *ou*, to a great extent accomplished in Common Czech are penetrating into the literary language in the area of emotionally colored words: for example *husy kejhají, děvče se upejpá, má hejla na nose*, in the diminutives *kamínek, srdíčko, ouško*, etc., or they are used for the differentiation of stylistic shades: the

pejorative ouřad, vejbor etc. (cf. §14.1 and 2 and §232a).

While long vowels and diphthongs underwent extensive changes, short vowels remained in all of the period of existence of the Czech language as a whole without change -- only the frequency of the sounds e and i was greater (of e because of the change of a to ě and of this ě and the original ě to e, of i because of the change of u to i and because of the merger of y and i in pronunciation).

§241. The grammatical structure during this period underwent only minor changes, and only from the 14th century on.

1. Old Czech, like all the other old Slavic languages had three past tenses with varying meanings and forms: there were two simple past tenses (the so-called aorist by, nese, bychu, nesechu and the imperfect bieše, nesieše, bichu, nesiechu... 3rd sg. and pl.) and one compound past tense (byl jsem, nesl jsem). From the end of the 14th century the simple past tenses begin to go out of use and only the compound past remains (see §129.2) with only one undifferentiated past meaning.

Besides the singular and plural number, Old Czech had a *dual number* in nouns and verbs to indicate two of both people and objects, usually paired ones, or for expressing agreement (for example *těto dvě Maří byle sta tetcě*, 'these two Marys... were aunts'). In the course of the 15th century the dual is lost with only some traces in the declension of the numerals *dva, oba* and in substantives such as *ruce, rukou, nohou*, (with a plural meaning) remaining, see §60.

Gradually the masculine animate and inanimate nouns became more consistently differentiated in relation to the nominative and accusative cases: in the animates these cases are distinguished, in the inanimates they are identical (in the older language both the ma. and mi. sg. had identical nom. and acc. cases and in the pl. different). The inanimates in both sg. and pl. have identical forms of the nom. and acc., the animates have different forms: in the ma. sg. the accusative has been replaced by the genitive (in some eastern Czech dialects the same happened also in the plural), in the plural the old difference between nom. and acc. was preserved by the animates, in the inanimates, however the accusative form was carried over into the nominative and thus caused the difference between animates and inanimates to be valid also in the plural (nom. and acc. sg. ma.: *pán - pána, muž - muže,* but mi. both *hrad, stroj*, nom. and acc. pl. ma.: *páni - pány, muži - muže,* but mi. both *hrady, stroje* without differentiation). -- Names for animals only gradually started to become animates cf. *ty koně* unchanged to the present day.

In Old Czech in the ma. acc. sg., the old form equalling the nom. is only an archaism, esp. in phrasal constructions following a preposition, such as *jíti za muž, na kóň* etc. But the old nom. pl. mi., differing from the acc. is current: *Hradi, stromi, potoci, luzi, rybníci* etc., thus we also have *čěsi* to go with *čas.* -- In Slovak (as well as in the rest of the West Slavic languages) the names of animals still belong to the inanimate category (it is really a difference between 'personal' and 'non-personal' -- as in *kdo - co*).

2. The other changes involve only the loss of some paradigms, the movement of individual words to a different paradigm or changes in endings. In this way we have the fading out of special paradigms with small

membership, such as *břímě, rámě, host - hosti* etc..., and their transfer to a different declension (*břemeno, rameno, host - hosta* etc.); many substantives of the *kost* type went partially over to the *nůše* type, so that a new paradigm, *píseň*, was formed. -- Through the influence of sound changes, gradually the differentiation of soft and hard paradigms was strengthened (see §240.2 above.

Over a period of time the case endings in the plural become partially identical, esp. for the instr.: *domama, městama* (for older *domami, městami*) like *ženama* (older *ženami*) - in the literary language the old forms (*domy, městy - ženami*) are preserved. There is a partial merger of the loc. pl. between the feminines and neuters (*v městečkách*...) and the ending -*ách* (fem.) is found even in masculines (*na hříbkách*...). Still the endings remain basically differentiated by gender and paradigm, especially in the literary language.

3. Among the *adjectives* the use of *nominal* forms in the predicate receded in practice to a significant extent, especially from the 16th century on; such use was still current in Czech before that time (sporadically also in the attribute, see §98).

4. In the use of cases, the locative and instrumental and partially dative are declining when not preceded by a preposition: the locative from the 14th century on is used predominantly only in prepositional phrases (there are only sporadic examples of locative without a preposition). In the instrumental the tendency toward use mostly with prepositions — *se stromem* — begins to spread much later and to a different extent. This usage did not become established in the literary language. In some instances the old objective dative becomes a prepositional phrase (*ke komu, k čemu*): *jde tobě, přiblížil se městu* become *jde k tobě, přiblížil se k městu*, later also *blížiti se čemu* becomes *blížiti se k čemu* etc.

The genitive receded considerably as a simple object case:

a) It is replaced by the accusative; the accusative replaced the older genitive of negation from the 17th century on, except for small remnants of the genitive in clearly phraseological constructions or in semantically (partitive) or stylistically motivated roles (see §64); the accusative furthermore also gradually begins to replace the object genitive after many verbs, such as *přát si, žádat, hledat, hájit co* instead of the older *čeho*, and this development is still continuing (see §194.2).

Less frequently the objective genitive is replaced by the dative; instead of *došly nás peníze* we get *nám* etc.

b) The genitive is also being replaced by a prepositional phrase: the Old Czech double type *otstúpiti čeho - otstúpiti ot čeho* to express concrete situations is changing into only one, the prepositional phrase *odstoupit od něčeho, sejít s něčeho* etc. (the simple genitive remains only in abstract usage, and even there to a limited extent: *dojít cíle, dojít do města* etc., but *odstoupit od úmyslu* etc.).

c) Finally the use of the genitive to express comparison (*starší bratra* etc.) is being replaced by phrases with *než* (*starší než bratr*).

> On the whole the accusative is gradually becoming the clear cut object case (the case on which the action falls). Next to the dative as a personal object (for whose sake the action is taking place), it has the role of completing the verb (adverbial). The genitive then is gradually being restricted to the role of attribute (adnominal), where it is spreading also at the expense of adjectives, especially possessive.

This development as well as the above-mentioned spread of prepositional phrases in place of simple case forms (in the role of adverbial determiners) are signs of more precise differentiation of cases in a syntactic use (nominative = subject, accusative = object etc.) from cases used for semantic differentiation (in adverbial determination).

5. In *verbs* the greatest change was the simplification of the *past tense* forms (as was mentioned above) toward the end of the 14th and the beginning of the 15th centuries.

From the beginning of the 15th century we have the penetration of 1st sg. ending -*ím* (-*iem*), -*ám* -- by analogy with *viem, jiem, dám* -- in verbs of the fourth and fifth class: *prosím, trpím, sáziem (sázím), dělám* instead of the older: *prošu/proší, trp'u/trpi, sázěju/sázěji, dělaju/dělaji*.

Sound changes also affected conjugation, but to a lesser extent than declension: they distinguished *dělati* and *sázeti*, they split the ending -*u*, -*ú* into two endings -*u*, -*ú(-ou)* and *i*, *í*, but this separation was partially again leveled out (see §240.2 above)

In verbs the main change was in the use of *gerunds*, to a lesser extent in their forms. Gerundial phrases used to be much more independent; from the 16th century on they become incorporated into the basic clause, often creating a complex unit. In Old Czech the forms *nesa*, *miluje* were used also for neuter, *nesouc* for the feminine arose from the older *nesúci*. Gradually the forms came to be undifferentiated for number and in the sg. also for gender (the new literary language in the time of the national revival returned to the differentiated forms through the influence of J. Dobrovský).

6. Otherwise in *sentence structure* there is a gradual development of more complex types of sentences, especially in elaboration and more clear differentiation of subordinate clauses and the working out of a complex period. Even this greater involvement of the complex sentence and greater complexity of the simple sentence with gerundial phrases, loose attributes, with appositions concerns especially the literary language; the spoken and folk language preserves to a greater extent the older and more primitive sentence types (one part clauses, simple stringing of coordinate clauses etc.).

On the whole the changes in the role of the case, the use of gerunds, in the structure of complex sentences are manifestations of progressive rationalization (intellictualization) of the language, changes which are not without relation to the development of more precise thinking.

§242. This long feudal period in the development of the Czech language up to the end of the 16th century is clearly divided into two parts: into the period before the Hussite revolutionary movement and into the period beginning with this movement.

In the first phase to the end of the 14th century there was a rapid change in the sound system -- roughly that described in §240.2. Its consequences intervened also in morphology. Otherwise, however, the grammatical structure and its devices preserved their old state without change, all the abovementioned changes (in §241) are basically from the period following.

The development of the lexicon was significant and rapid in that period, the phenomenon being connected with the fact that Czech from the 12th century on became the language of domestic culture in religious function and sensitive to social change and from the 13th century on, a literary language as well as the language of literature.

This development took place together with a rapid rise in the productivity of agriculture and crafts and from the end of the 13th century with the change of natural economy into a monetary one.

This development in the lexicon concerned various areas of human activity. Even before the period of formation of the Czech literary language we find the development of a complete Czech Christian religious terminology: It was created for the most part on the base of Old Church Slavic terminology (*div, duch, hospodin, hřiech, modliti sě*...), only a lesser portion, one concerning the ecclesiastical system as a part of the feudal order, did arise under the influence of Latin and German (*kostel, fora, klášter* etc.). Furthermore already at that time did terms directly reflecting the social and economic phenomena of the feudal order, both in the life of the nobility (*hrabě, markrabě, rytieř, šlechta, léno, lán*...), and in the life of the cities and craftsmanship (*rychtář, rada, rathúz, plac, bervieř, hamr, halda*...) penetrate into Czech. -- Finally came the gradual formation of terms for legal relationships and judicial deliberation (oral); this terminology contains both very old terms (*hlava* 'murder', *kmet* 'member of the prince's retinue'), and later innovations (*otpověd', póvod*...).

The literary use of the language begins at the end of the 13th century, from which time there is a rapid development of poetry, first religious and then also secular; in this role the meaning of words becomes more precise, the figurative use of words and employment of synonyms increases. Poetic language, especially in the last third of the century was greatly stylistically enriched and attained high artistic effectiveness. Sentence structure is stabilized through the beginning of narrative prose both historical and legendary, and especially from the second half of the 14th century accompanying the development of technical, legal and contemplative prose, culminating in the philosophical writings of Tomáš Štítný and in the legal work of Ondřej from Dubá.

This literature contributes Czech forms for abstract terms of the philosophy of that time such as for the concept 'substance', after a certain amount of vacillation we get the term podstata; for 'form' we gradually get the term spósoba, spósob, qualities which are případné (accidentia) are distinguished from (specialia) vláščí (vlástní) etc.

A daring and for its time revolutionary act was the successful attempt of Štítný to write about all questions of medieval philosophy and religion in Czech instead of the customary Latin; similarly daring was the attempt of Klaret to create a Czech terminology for all the fields of his time in rhyming dictionaries in the middle of the 14th century. (Karl Marx does not in vain remind us of Czech from the end of the 14th century: 'The Czech people's language was at that time more developed than German, as is clear from the writings of Tomáš Štítný etc.')

In the last quarter of that century we also have the beginning of the use of Czech in the writing of legal documents. ~~also in Czech.~~

The Old Czech literary language, which has as its basis the Central Bohemian speech type with insignificantly small differences, obviously reflects the progressing unity of the language of the nationality belonging to a state of the middle ages, namely within the boundaries of Bohemia. But on the other hand the great upsurge of its lexicon, just as all of the literature of the 14th century, touched only the ~~not numerous~~ relatively small number of members of the feudal classes; both religious and secular. The language which served the needs of this class became cut off from that of the nation as a whole and became difficult to understand (tied to this is also the preservation of obsolete grammatical forms e.g. the simple past tenses, aorists and imperfects -- cf. §241 above -- until the beginning of the 15th century when they clearly were no longer in the spoken language).

Another factor contributing to this cleavage of the language was the extensive use of words borrowed especially from German both by the ruling classes and by the leading burghers.

§243.1 The second phase in the development of Czech, i.e. the literary Czech in the period of feudalism, goes obviously hand in hand with the Hussite revolutionary movement, attacking the strongest component of the feudal structure, the church. The fighting words of Hus' sermons are addressed to the people of Prague, later also of the countryside, mainly in Southern Bohemia, and therefore the language of Mistr Jan Hus and of his followers, who ~~even though they~~ used the literary Czech basically developed in the 14th century, steps out of its closed circle and becomes an instrument of the fight and of the communication of all of society, of all of the Czech people of that time. The spoken form of the discourses and their fighting aim has an effect on the inherited literary language; suddenly there is a mass exodus of obsolete phenomena of the grammatical structure (especially the simple past tenses etc.), obsolete words (e.g. the old words vrah, nádobie, ostatí, hospodin are replaced by the words nepřietel, věci, opustiti, Pán), borrowed words are replaced by Czech (for mordéř, sak, šorc etc. Hus suggests zabiječ, nevod, zástěrka etc.).

There is, however, no break in the development of the grammatical structure of the Czech of that day, it is only a matter of the changes which gradually took place in the spoken language earlier -- in the middle of the 14th century -- being rapidly taken over into the literary language i.e. into the language of literature and ~~the~~ of cul~~tural spoken language~~ivated speech for of the whole nation, because the literary language became consciously closer to the currently spoken language. (Hus himself said 'I wrote [this], as I usually speak').

This was not just a matter of bringing the literary language closer to the spoken one, but also one of a basic widening of the use of the cultural and literary language. It isn't so much a matter of the widening of the roles of the literary language, of its function as a liturgical language, a function it gained during the Hussite period, as it is a matter of cities becoming Czech, so that words of sermons admittedly religious, but with a deep revolutionary social import affected the broad masses and that the knowledge of the Czech Bible, and through it of its language, spread to such an unusual extent. From the 15th century we have preserved 20 complete manuscripts of the whole Czech bible and more than 100 incomplete manuscripts (or parts of them) -- that is, when we consider the cost of having a manuscript written as well as the understandable loss of other manuscripts, an enormous number for that time; thus we cannot consider ~~literarily very extravagant~~ the statement of the Italian humanist Aeneas Vilvius, an opponent of the Hussite movement (later Pope Pius II, the opponent of George of Poděbradý), who in his History of Bohemia makes the Tabor women in their knowledge of the bible models for the priests of Italy as very extravagant.

2. For that reason at the time the creation of a single language for the whole nation proceeded rapidly, even though the results do not fully appear until the 15th and especially 16th century during the period of humanism and of the Czech Brethren.

In the 15th century we have a permanent penetration into literary Czech changes in the morphological structure which took place at the end of the 14th and the beginning of the 15th century (not just the loss of the simple past tenses, but also of the dual number, furthermore the new endings -ím, -iem, -ám for the 1st sg., see §241) ~~2~~ ~~and 4)~~. -- Only a few morphological changes, limited to the literary language, such as the creation of the periphrastic passive (bývá chválen, present, jest chválen, preterite) and the re-formation of gerundial phrases penetrates only in the 16th century, during the period of humanism, as a result of influences of Latin. -- In the 15th and 16th century we also find the culmination of the development of the sound system of a unitary Czech language. The changes affecting especially the long vowels (see §240.2c) penetrate into the literary language only slowly and to varying degrees, because the written language with its changes in the grammatical structure and with its rapid growth in the lexicon, remains conservative in the sound system and from the end of the 15th century the influence of printing also helps to keep a check on sound changes.

By the end of the 16th century Czech attains a surprising degree of stability and unity in written discourse of almost all classes and states and this language is clearly reflected also in private written discourse e.g. also in correspondence.

This unifying tendency caught up also with the spoken ~~variety~~ form of the supradialectal variety of the national language. This is attested by the evidence that even the sound changes of that time, i.e. the change of long vowels, which we have just mentioned as penetrating into the written and printed language only slowly and to varying degrees, still spread rapidly over nearly all of the Czech language territory, and to a significantly greater extent than some of the 14th century changes (the change u-i barely crossed the border between Bohemia and Moravia). The diphthongs ej, ou which arose from ý(í) and ú in the

15th century reached as far as the border of the Lach and Moravian-Slovak dialects, i.e. deep into eastern Moravia, and the change of *uó*, *ie* to *ů* and *í* spread even further and in extent and time preceded the rise and spread of the diphthongs *ej*, *ou* (see §240.2 and §245).

This clearly unifying development of the Czech linguistic whole continues still in the 16th century, that is in a period when the toughening forms of feudalism of the following period were in their inception; this worsening of conditions ~~development~~ then really in a later period, in the 17th and 18th centuries, through the completed formation of dialectal units caused a new linguistic fragmentation, especially in Moravia, of course under different political conditions.

The development of language in the 16th century clearly testifies to the fact that the results arising out of the connection between the development of language and the development of society are as a whole regularly delayed. Besides this even in the 16th century itself there are many factors acting to support the unifying linguistic development: it is the rising importance of the burgher class, becoming more Czech through the Hussite movement and the greater influence of the intelligencia of the cities together with the influence of schools and conscious ~~care~~ cultivation of the language. Cultivation ~~Care~~ of the Czech language was consciously practiced by Czech humanism, which valued it greatly, even if it measured Czech by the ideals of Ciceronian Latin, but also by the Unity of the Czech Brethren, which preserved John Hus' heritage of conscious care for ~~about~~ the language; the model for a stable and perfected language thus became the text of the bible of the Brethren, the well-known Kralice Bible (1579-1593). Between the 16th and 17th centuries and at the very beginning of the 17th, Czech attained a comprehensive grammatical description in the Grammar of Benedikt Nudožerský (1603), already based on the language of the Kralice Bible, and a lexical description in the dictionaries of Adam of Veleslavín, published toward the end of the 16th century.

3. Humanism itself, however -- beside the conscious and useful caring for the language -- carried into the language a significantly intensive effort to follow Latin as a model, especially for sentence structure, to ~~copious~~ quotation of Latin words and constructions, copiously and to borrow excessively ~~an excess of words~~ from its lexicon ~~borrowed from Latin~~. Besides Latin words, Czech took over Romance words (Spanish or Italian, especially in military terminology, such as armáda, admirál, jenerál, kapitán...) and numerous German words; these penetrated on the one hand current conversation (fedrovat, forcúg, fortel, foch, z gruntu etc.), on the other into administrative and

military language (*cajghaus* 'armory', *fechtovat* 'to fight' etc.) These extensive foreign influences on the Czech of the 16th century go hand in hand with increasing cosmopolitanism, especially among the higher nobility and with a strong Spanish component at the Habsburg court. Many Latin and German words or phrases are translated; that is the origin of current expressions such as *záviseti, podpis, vzdělání, přehánět* etc.

In this period Czech because of its great stability and elaboration comes out a victor in the battle with foreign influences; foreign influences did not unsettle it, but for the most part only strengthened and enriched its expressive potential. A graphic witness to this is the maturity and perfection of the language of Jan Amos Komenský (Comenius) who both in his extensive care for the language and in his literary output is a culmination of this period.

§244. The promising development of Czech, together with the beginnings of the formation of the Czech nation being a parallel preparation for a real national language, was forcibly interrupted in the fourth phase of the feudal development of Czech society. This period begins with the defeat at the Battle of the White Mountain, with the rebellion of the non-Catholic Czech feudal lords against the Catholic Habsburgs in the year 1618 and ends with the abolition of serfdom in 1781. This period means a toughening of the feudal oppression both economic and political, by which the deep internal crisis of the feudal order comes to light, in our area by the culmination of the so-called second serfdom (the cost of operating large estates needed a large work force and thus created even a personal bondage for the serfs). This oppression was manifested in our area in a form progressively more severe and ruthless, ~~that~~ After the executions and the forced exile of a significant number of the smaller nobility to foreign countries, the ruling class which owned the significantly concentrated property, became foreign adventurers and Czech turncoats contemptuous of the Czech people. The use of Czech in the role of a cultural and literary language was greatly restricted; it was forced out of technical literature, gradually from administrative and public life, and despite certain success of poetic writing in the 17th century, gradually also from belles lettres.

This state of affairs and the ~~lesser~~ poorer knowledge of Czech gradually weakened the stability of the literary linguistic norm and the norm ~~becomes~~ became unsteady. Into the poor literature, mostly religiously propagandizing, ~~there~~ penetrated from the end of the 17th century features of the spoken language, inconsistently scattered with local variations (even outside the stylistic use of folk elements for contrastive purposes), and many foreign influences.

Individuals did try to oppose this excessive foreign influence by ~~making~~ coining Czech words, often encouraging words already in use, but these people were unskilled and insufficiently knowlegeable about word formation as well as without a living contact with the language; for that reason they were unable to attain positive results. Also there was no literature which would perfect their suggestions in use and take into the language the acceptable ones.

The people themselves, especially in the country, preserved their language, but the fragmentation of the economic life into feudal estates and the weakening influence of a unified national language strengthens dialectal diversification and completes, especially in Moravia, boundaries of local dialects which can be heard to the present day.

§245. The Czech dialects in Bohemia, Moravia and Silesia completed their development in the 17th and 18th centuries; it is then they assumed the form which we know it to have had in the 19th century and in part to the present day. From the middle of the 19th century with the coming of the capitalist period their differing characteristics were slowly being erased and larger supra-dialectal units were being formed, a process which is ~~being~~ continu~~ed~~ing and being strengthened in the period of socialism (see below). That does not mean, of course, that all the differences between our dialects arose only at that time; it was only the period in which the development was finished. The majority of the differences are significantly older; we pointed out quite old dialectal differences already in our discussion of the spread of the vowel change a to ě and u to i (see §240.2a); there are of course also more recent differences, concerning the result of the development of the long vowels (see §240.2c).

The basic dialect groups according to their status in the 19th century and which can still be observed to a certain extent, are the following: the Czech dialects in the narrow sense, which cover also the western strip of Moravia (roughly to the line from Bítkov to Jihlava, to Bystřice nad Perštýnem, to Olešnice and from there along the former Czech-Moravian border), the Hanák dialects in central Moravia (to the east roughly along the border to Hustopeč on the south to Hranice) and Moravian-Slovak dialects from there to the east and finally the Lach dialects to the northeast (the boundary between them is the ridge of the Beskydy mountains).

These groups differ from each other most conspicuously in the long vowels. The Czech dialects have á, í, ú comple~~ted~~mented by diphthongs ej [ei̯], ou which came from ý(í) and ú (see

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§240.2b): strejc, vozejk, mouka. The Hanák dialects instead of ej, ou have é, ó: stréc, vozék, móka and they have a partial ~~loss~~ shortening of í, ú. The Moravian-Slovak dialects have preserved the old long vowels í, ú (ý and í merged): stríc, vozík, múka and the Lach dialects have the same vowels, but shortened (all long vowels were shortened in these dialects): stryc, muka.

The Czech dialects are also distinguished from literary Czech in having initial vo- instead of o- (voko) and ou- instead of ú- (ouvoz); vo- reaches deep into Moravia but does not cover all of the territory of the Czech dialects (the southernmost part of Bohemia has oko etc.), but even the change ú to uo- did not take place on the periphery: the extreme west and south still has remnants of ú (sú, súsed etc.).

Otherwise the Czech dialects are relatively uniform (they are roughly equal to Common Czech). We still, however differentiate them into Central, Southwestern and Northeastern, but the differences between them are not great and the boundaries are not precise, so that it is almost easier to speak of features of individual dialects than about real dialect groups; the number of differing features always increases at the periphery of the whole area.

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The Southwestern group is characterized -- to a, differing regional extent -- by the type vzel, smíl (see §240.2), by dissimilation like bej sebe, bujte for bez sebe, bud'te, by a reduction of the sequence -il- (bъl, bъla, sъlnej) and by the pronunciation mje in such words as město etc. and by some morphological differences, especially -í in the 3rd pl. (prosí, sází), and in a part of the area by a petrified form of the possessive adjective: dědečkovo zahrada. The number of features increases toward the periphery, these are especially numerous in the Chod area ~~of Chodsko~~ and in the extreme south in Doudlebsko with a large number of archaisms (nabjít, holoubjat, oko, neuter acc. of the 3rd person pronoun je etc.).

The Northeastern group is to the present day characterized by the non-syllabic [u̯] instead of -v-, when it occurs after a vowel in the same syllable (prauda, dřiu, kreu), by the ending -oj in the dat. sg. (instead of -ovi): tatínkoj, and -ej (instead of í) in the instr. pl. of the soft feminine paradigm: ulicej, pracej. A significant portion of the area has i-, í- in word initial position instead of ji-, jí- (ich, ídlo). Here too there are more features in the periphery, esp. in Podještědí and Podkrkonoší (such as držal, see §240.2, er, el instead of syllabic *r*, *l*: *veršek, pelná*), in the Litomyšl and Česká Třebová area (remnants of loss of jotation also after *pet, mel*) as well as in the peripheral border area between Bohemia and Moravia.

The *Hanák dialects* as a group are characterized by *é*, *ó* for Czech *ej*, *ou*; in the central portion even short *y*, *u* changed to *ê*, *ô* (concerning the pronunciation see the note in §2): [bêl] for *byl* differentiated from *bil*, [mê] for *my*; [bôk] for *buk* differing from *bok* etc. A whole group of features gradually differentiates the Hanák group of dialects from the Czech group; their number increases toward the east and some are common with the further groups of Moravian dialects. It is especially *šč* for *šť* (*ešče*), the pronunciation of the *zh* cluster [zh- zhořet] in contrast to Czech [sch-], the type *ulica*, *ulicu* (see §240.2a), the preserved distinction *dobří lidi* (in the nom.) and *dobrý lidi* (in the acc.), *dobrý ženy*, *o-* in word initial position (*oko*) etc.

Internally this group is quite diversified, both in the Zábřeží area as well as in the extreme South and East, where the especially interesting Delské and Kalečské dialects serve as transitions to the Moravian-Slovak dialects (with *ej*, *ou* for the late *í*, *ů*: e.g. *třejska*, *roužená*, i.e. the *í* and *ů* from *ie* and *ou* ran ahead of

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the development of the diphthongs ej, ou from ý(í) and ú and thus even the new í, ů underwent the change to ej, ou).

The Moravian-Slovak dialects besides preserving í (also for ý) and ú (stríc, múka) preserved also the unnarrowed é (mléko), and the unchanged a even in word medial position (jačmeň, jahňa, kuřa, leží), the unchanged ej (vajce), two l's [košuḷa - šła] -- al~~together~~ this in agreement with the Lach dialects. In contrast to the Lach dialects they have long and short syllabic r [vrch, vŕšek], syllabic r also after č, ž (ščrk for štěrk). Generally in phonology these dialects merely preserved the old state of affairs and did not create its own new phenomena, nor did it take over the new Common Czech features.

Within the dialects there are many notable differences, especially in the Valach dialects, also in the southeast on the very Slovak border, where in places because of a late colonization from Slovakia there is no ř and the 1st person sg. ending is -em as in Slovak.

The Lach dialects are noted especially for not having long vowels; they have stress on the penultimate syllable (as is the case in neighboring Polish). Furthermore, similarly to the state in Old Czech d, t, n are softened also before e [ňeset'e, bud'et'e, t'etka] etc. -- in the easternmost part of the area d', t' are pronounced [ďz', c', c'etce] -- and s, z are softened before ě, i and a coming from nasal ę (but not before e as d, t, n are generally softened in Czech), thus [z'ima, s'eno, s'ahac', vz'ała] etc., but [ňesecě] etc. (cf. §240.2a).

By these features the Lach dialects differ from the Moravian-Slovak, with which they share many old features (see above). The Lach dialects also are not completely homogeneous but consist of several different types.

The main differences in the dialects of the Czech language thus lie especially in the sound system (these include also differences in sentence intonation), but there are also morphological differences (e.g. the 3rd pl. in the dialects has the following forms from east to west: mlátí, mlátěj, mlátijó, mlátijá, młát'á, młac'a), as well as quite numerous lexical differences.

§246. The considerable dialectal differentiation is gradually weakened with the onset of capitalism, i.e. from the beginning of the 19th century, ~~from~~ the time of the national revival, and especially during the recent period is it being erased, mostly the divergent features of smaller groups are receding and larger supradialectal units are being created (interdialects): the South Czech (not very outstanding) a common Hanák, common Lach (Ostrava type) and common Moravian-Slovak, which are quite clearly characterized and maintained partially also in cities. Their features penetrate into the spreading Common Czech (which is gradually taking on the rôle of a national type of spoken Czech) and form its local variants.

Common Czech in its origin is a Czech interdialect; it arose on the base of the central Czech dialect group (see § 245 above), -- to which belonged also the speech of the Prague area, the center of Czech economic, political and cultural life for centuries --, but this interdialect has long since crossed its original local boundaries. Common Czech evolved from this foundation in mutual contacts with other Czech dialect groups (later interdialects) as the current spoken form of Czech without exact local restriction; its beginnings go back to the 15th and 16th centuries (see § 243.2 above).

The main features of *Common Czech*, which until recently distinguished it quite clearly from the literary language, are not just common features of colloquial language as such, for example a simpler word stock, uncomplicated sentence structure, especially of complex sentences, together with its predominantly spoken form and single role-- communication, but also some features of the sound system and morphology.

The Central Czech development of the sound system, especially of long vowels, stopped in the literary language, continued here freely. Every *ý* (and *í* after *c*, *s*, *z*) became *ej* both in the word stem and in endings, e.g. *mlejn, bejt, dobrej, malejch dětí* etc. (if -*ým* didn't become -*ejm* in the instr. sg. -- *před ňákým rokem* etc. -- the reason lies in the shortening of this -*ým*), long *ú*- became *ou*- in word initial position, as in *ouvoz, oujezd* etc., and every long *é* became *í*, as in *mlíko, píct, z každýho slova* etc. (except for new words such as *šéf*, *montérky*, and sporadic new *é* as in *céra* etc.).

Common Czech has some changes which are positionally ~~conditioned~~ determined especially involving hiatus -- the insertion of *v* before an initial *o*-, as in *vokno, voheň, vokolo*, and the loss of syllabic *l* in consonant clusters, such as *jabka*, *mha*, the participles *nes, vykřik* etc.

Finally the pronunciation of many word initial consonant clusters is simplified, as in *sem, du, dycky*, *kadlec* instead of *jsem, jdu, vždycky, tkadlec* etc., as well as of some in medial position, as in *přídu veme*, *vem* etc., and especially when the cluster contains three consonants, as in *prázný, práznej, vlasní, jesliže* instead of *prázdný, vlastní, jestliže*); sometimes a consonant in a cluster changes, as in *loncký, štyry, počta* etc. (cf. §26.3 and 2).

There are also some differences in vowel length, as in *céra, nåděje, příde* etc. (cf §24.2).

In verbal *forms* 3rd pl. is consistently different from singular and the difference *trpí - trpějí* is carried over into the type *prosí*, the 3rd pl. is then *proseji*, *mluvějí* etc.

In past tense forms the ~~already~~ above mentioned sound changes are in force(*nes* etc.), but also for greater clarity we get new forms such as *zamknul, stisknul, přijmul, najmul* etc.

The infinitive ends consistently in -*t*, as in *dělat, mít, nýst* etc. but also *píct, moct* etc. -- The conditional is becoming assimilated to forms of the past tense and *by* is becoming a particle; we find *aby sme*, *kdyby sme*, and then also *aby sem, kdyby sem* (like *šli sme, šel sem*). -- Some individual forms also differ, for example *seš, nejseš doma* for *jsi, nejsi* etc.

In declension we find the leveling of some gender differences in the pl. The instr. pl. case ending is -*ama* (-*ma*), as in *domama, rybama, městama, polma* etc., partially the loc. pl. also has one ending -*ách* (*v zimníkách, na prknách* just like *o rybách* etc.).

In the plural of adjectives the forms of the neuter are not distinguished from the masc. and fem. forms, as in *veliký města, vokna byly zavřený* etc., and a single form of the adjective for all genders is being created, as in *ty mladý lidi, mladý stromy, mladý ženy, mladý děvčata* etc. The same is true also of the nominal forms of verbs, as seen in the examples *(vokna) byly zavřený*, *(lidi, stromy, ženy, děvčata) stály* (for all genders).

In adjectives, the nominal forms have almost completely receded and even in the predicate we get *je zdravej, je schopnej, to bylo napsaný* etc., also in possessive adjectives *z bratrovýho domu, k bratrovýmu domu, v Libušiný ulici* etc.

In the declension of pronouns the forms of the 1st person pronoun have become to a great extent unified and a single oblique case *mně* developed for the gen. dat. acc. and loc. (with a partial preservation of the dat. *mi*) and the forms of the 3rd person pronoun were levelled: *ho* for gen. and acc. masc. and neuter, but after a preposition we find *něj* even in the gen. (*bez něj, do něj* etc.).

There are also some individual changes in the forms of numerals such as *do třech, štyry, štyrem* and others.

In *word formation* there is a significant tendency to use a one-word expression and new words (sometimes of a slang nature) such as the following come into being: *vlečňák, baloňák, byťák, osobák, kablovka,* older forms *Škodovka, Kolbenka* etc. Certain suffixes also come into current use, especially the suffix *-ák* (*Brňák, Karlák* etc.).

Common Czech also has some *lexical expressions* of its own, such as *koukat, moc* etc. for *mnoho, příliš* and of course also slang expressions, see §213.4.

We of course did not ~~her~~. exhaust all the charactersitics of Common Czech ~~and it~~ here is ~~also not~~ it possible to characterize it here fully. Still we must point out that the noted phenomena, especially the phonetic ones, do not occur in words which are being borrowed or are already loanwords from the literary language in Common Czech, such as *výborný, výstavba, národní výbor, otec*, etc.; on the other hand words which by their content concern simple life and are infrequent in the literary language, maintain even in the latter its common shape, for example *voj, keyhat* etc. (Concerning the stylistic use of Common Czech sound features see §232a).

Such a penetration of literary phenomena into Common Czech and also the penetration of some interdialect phenomena into Common Czech causes a certain amount of fluctuation.

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This *fluctuation*, the variability of Common Czech is considerably intensified by the fact that Common Czech at the present time is not only spreading over all of the Czech speaking territory, but is also to a significant degree approaching the spoken form of the literary language. By this process some strictly local Czech features are receding and individual Common Czech phenomena have a varied spread. For example of the individual sound features, obviously the most tenacious is the narrowed *í* (*mlíko* etc.), somewhat more on the decline is *ej*, especially in word stems, so that we have probably a higher frequency for *starej mlýn* than for *starej mlejn* (but of course *mlejnek*), *ou*- and *vo*- in word initial position have decreased significantly. -- On the other hand the current spoken variety of literary Czech is experiencing the penetration of the simplification of consonant clusters both in initial and medial position, for example *sem, du* for *jsem, jdu* etc.; in some instances such simplified forms are found even in the completely literary pronunciation, for example *sem, cnost, cera* etc. Quite extensive is the loss of syllabic *l* in consonant clusters, less extensive at the end of past tense forms (*jabko, řek*).

Of the morphological features of Common Czech, some are quite current in the *spoken variety* of *literary Czech*, such as the infinitive in *t*, infinitive forms such as *říct*, individual forms such as *mně (mě), ho*, partially *bez něj* etc., and they are penetrating also into the written form of the literary language; infinitives in *-ti* are already bookish as is the form *mne*).

Also in the colloquial variety of the literary language -- just as in Common Czech -- the past conditional is usually being replaced by the present conditional (see §134.3), there is a spread of perfective forms of the *mám zatopeno* type (see §132.3), the genitive object is receding (see §194 and §64 and elsewhere), there is a penetration of constructions of the type *je vidět Sněžka* ~~(see §226)~~.

On the other hand the 3rd pl. forms in *-ejí*, as in *prosejí, mluvějí* seem to be losing ground and have not penetrated into the Colloquial form of the literary language.

There is a great deal of vacillation in all this and only further development may bring a partial stability, but there always will be a certain amount of regional differentiation in addition to the inevitable variation of every spoken form of a language.

§247. During the time of the abolition of serfdom (1781) at the beginning of the National Revival the main carriers of the Czech language were the serfs. With the abolition of serfdom, which was to free the necessary labor for industrial production, we have not only the last phase of feudalism, ending roughly in 1848, but also the period of transition to the capitalist order. The moving of the freed Czech labor force from the ranks of the serfs into the cities, which were partially Germanized or at least being Germanized, furnished the necessary prerequisite for ~~their~~ the latter's new Bohemization and for the establishment of a new Czech bourgeoisie, and thus also for the creation of the modern Czech nation, which was manifested in its first period especially by a cultural and linguistic component.

The first battlefield became no other than the Czech literary language. It became necessary to return to the place where its development was interrupted by force. By contrast with the instability and lack of refinement of the literary language of the period of darkness, the time of the second half of the 17th century and all of the 18th century, stood the stable and refined language of the period between the 16th and 17th centuries, which reached even deep into the 17th century. Also at this time there was not a homogeneous spoken variety of the national language, because in its natural centers, especially in Prague, there was besides the significant Germanization of the cities the fact that city Czech was so mixed with foreign elements, that it was losing its own character; in this form it was therefore not capable of being the basis for bringing together the older literary language and the contemporary spoken language for supra-dialectal purposes. It is therefore no accident, but given the circumstances necessary that all of the new grammars written at that time (those by Toms, Pelcl, Nejedlý and Dobrovský) turn to the older refined literary language from the period between the 16th and 17th centuries, to the language of the Kralice Bible and to the language of Komenský.

Of all of these grammars by far the most outstanding is that of Josef Dobrovský, both for his knowledge of the material, and for his clear classification and mastery of the subject. Dobrovsky's grammar (Ausführliches Lehrgebäude der böhmischen Sprache, 1809, 2nd ed. 1819) furnishes a grammatical codification for the new Czech literary language and helps to create a norm for it, one which in its substance is in effect to the present day. Dobrovský perspicatiously shed light also on the rules of Czech word formation and thus laid a firm foundation for future formation of words. He, himself, however, in this beginning of the Czech National Revival still fought ~~with~~ against the past poor attempts at 'enriching' the Czech lexicon and thus was to a certain extent the enemy of creation of new words.

However the radical changes in economic, political, social and cultural conditions of the newly rising Czech bourgeoisie intensified the demand for a language and soon imposed the need to substantially fill in the gaps in the *lexicon* of the past, if a new Czech culture were really to come into existence. This need was filled with creative pathos by *Josef Jungmann* and his followers. They created new terminology for various branches of science; they bohemized many words of current need which were formerly German loanwords; they cared about poetic synonyms. Besides forming new words, often by translating international and German words (*životopis, zeměpis, proslov*... according to Graeco-latin *biographia, geographia, prologus; cestopis, chvalořeč, názor*... according to German *Reisebeschreibung, Lobrede, Anschauung*), they take many words over from other Slavic languages, especially from Russian (*příroda, vzduch, obzor, promysl*, later *průmysl, nápěv* and many others), from Polish (*předmět, okres, výraz* etc.) also from Slovak (*znoj, zástava* etc.). All of the

Czech word stock, both old and newly created during the National Revival, was compiled by Jungmann in his large five volume dictionary Česko-německý slovník (1835-1839).

§248. The foundations of a new literary Czech, of a new Czech national language, both in its grammatical structure and in its lexicon were laid with foresight and enthusiastic swing in this closing phase of feudalism and the first ascension of bourgeois capitalism.

Professedly these foundations were merely laid, because a full application of a new literary Czech could come only after the final fall of feudalism in 1848 and with the subsequent rise of Czech bourgeoisie. Soon this new Czech bourgeoisie started to carry on a fierce economic battle with the German bourgeoisie, accompanied by the growth of bourgeois nationalism; however, this nationalism in its initial still progressive phases of a young bourgeoisie creates favorable conditions for completing the making of a Czech nation and of a new literary Czech to become a part of its life. There arose a Czech journalism (Tyl, Havlíček); Czech gradually began to penetrate into administrative, public and economic life and into the schools. The National Revival's creation of technical terminology now has a real import; it is being completed and stabilized and in 1848 and the years following, with the outstanding help of P. J. Šafařík and K. J. Erben. The process continues even with the gradual differentiation of Czech society to the end of the 19th century and after the creation of our independent state in 1918 the need for terminology is significantly widened by other areas; especially reworked was the area of military and railroad terminology etc. where before this time German ruled.

The upsurge in Czech lexicon and phrasiology in the 19th century aroused from the seventies on the criticism of the purists who clung to the old language or to the folk lexicon of the last feudal period. Toward the end of the century Jan Gebauer with his knowledge and authority was able to cope with these irresponsible interventions.

Toward the end of the first World War and after it came along a new puristic wave, damning many new words which were required by progress in manufacture, technology and science. In the battles of the thirties, led then by a young progressive generation of linguists with a view toward the needs of a language and its understandability, the uselessness and wrongness of this new purism was demonstrated and a need to aim the codification of the literary language toward the contemporary usage and its rules was shown, but the wholly national character of the literary language and language tradition was not duly appraised and a too open road was left for cosmopolitan

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revel in foreign words and for formalistic experimentation in literature.

The grammatical structure of literary Czech, especially morphological, did not change during all that time if we disregard some details. Its norm, based on the foundation laid by Dobrovský was elaborated and confirmed in the 90's by Jan Gebauer in his grammars.

> These were especially Gebauer's school grammar Mluvnice česká which beginning with 1890 came out in several editions, and the Příruční mluvnice jazyka českého (1900, 2nd ed. 1904), based on his monumental Historická mluvnice jazyka českého published beginning in 1894 (cf. §251, both volumes of morphology with addenda by Fr. Ryšánek were reprinted in 1958 and 1960).

Changes do take place, however, especially from the second half of the 19th century in syntax, i.e. in the structure of the more involved simple and complex sentences, changes going hand in hand with the progressive widening of knowledge and in the use of the literary language: from literature there rises a literary Czech for offices, schools, all of life. This respect is strengthened, when the expansion of capitalism in the 19th century brings class division even into the young national society and brings the rise of the working class. The national language is not a class language, it serves all of society, and must of course serve it well. For that reason at this time the remnants of the obsolete lexicon and especially the humanistic complicated sentence structure, still frequent in the prose of the National Revival (in Palacký etc.), yield to a new lexicon and a simpler syntax, closer to the spoken language. Tyl, Havlíček and Němcová represent this phraseological and syntactic change in the language on the basis of the common language of the people. Their language is basically already the language of today.

In the later phases of capitalism, from the end of the 19th century to the end of the first republic, we find short lived predilections for French words, later English, and also translations of foreign phraseology. The literary language acquires great stylistic diversification from the exclusiveness of modernism to the experiment in surrealism. In prose we find the abandonment of the narrow boundaries of the standard and increased usage of sub-literary elements, initially for characterizing the settings or characters, later for stylistic reasons, but the trend is the bringing closer of the literary language to the spoken and most recently often leading to a breakdown of the traditional hierarchy of linguistic and stylistic devices.

The fragmentation of the folk language into local dialects slowly in the 19th and especially 20th century recedes, there is a rise in supradialectal regional interdialects; Common Czech is confirmed and spreads and a spoken variety of the literary language called colloquial comes into being; the mutual boundaries of these are not very clean cut (see §246).

§249. The ascension of socialist society from 1945 and especially from February of 1948 does not mean, nor can it mean a break in the development of the Czech language. A national language common to all of the national society is basically complete. It is of course clear, that today, when the literary language just like all of the culture is truly becoming the property and instrument of all, the literary language cannot persist with useless and obsolete devices whether grammatical or lexical. Also the colloquial variety of the literary language and Common Czech (in which the local Central Czech elements are receding) are coming closer together and are beginning to acquire the character of an integrated spoken form with an all-national function.

The needs of the new society, the complete rebuilding of the political, economic and cultural life is and will of course be accompanied by a marked filling in of the lexicon the completion and re-formation of the terminology of many fields. We see how rapidly new words such as the following come into being and catch on: mládežník, úderka, brigádá, zpevněné normy, prověrka etc. (see §215). The rise of the first socialist society in the Soviet Union makes it understandable that this reality is reflected also in this new terminology, in which there are quite a few words borrowed from Russian (úderník, prověrka etc.); international words also now come to us frequently, just as into other people's democratic and socialistic states through the medium of Russian (brigáda, kombajn, dispečer, dispečnik etc.).

New forms of all the components of life and new concepts ~~of~~ in all areas of knowledge and rapid expansion demand also a reevaluation and greater precision of many areas of technical and scientific terminology. It is at the same time -- as was well said -- 'for us, in a period when all of our country is experiencing an enormous upsurge, when a whole series of new concepts are coming into being and a whole new conceptual framework is being created, to be able, while keeping the basic character of our language, to preserve it from being violated and still to achieve its elasticity, flexibility and richness of color. Because now it must serve our people as a husbandman of the country, it must serve the people who are building a new, socialistic social order, it must serve life, which is becoming a fierce current, colorful and sparkling; and all this our language must express and to this development it must serve.' (G. Bareš) And the science of language, the theory of language must lead this development of our language and support it, and new methods make it possible for it to fulfil this task fully.

In all of this long and agitated development of the Czech literary language the most outstanding aspect, as we saw clearly, is the continuous relationship of its development with the development of the nation, to the development of the national society. Of course this relationship is not reflected either directly or instantly, but it is continually subjected to the special regularity of language development.

§250. The development of Czech orthography. The differences between the Czech language of older periods and today's language in reading old monuments, whether printed or of the older ones written by scribes are heightened also by the fact that the older written representation of Czech differed significantly from today's spelling and underwent several developmental periods.

1. In the oldest period, in the 9th to 11th centuries, when Old Church Slavic was used in our area (see §239 above), this Slavic literary language was written with an alphabet called Glagolitic. It is an alphabet which is graphically quite complicated; it was devised by Constantine (Cyril)

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for the most part on the model of the lower case Greek letters current at the time. This alphabet had a separate letter for each phoneme (sound) of the Slavic language of that time. One cannot exclude the possibility that at the end of this period our ancestors knew also the other alphabet of the Old Church Slavic language, Cyrillic, an alphabet which originated on Bulgarian soil and was based on the Greek capital letters, an alphabet which soon became the only one used for the writing of the literary Slavic languages in the Balkans and in Russia and from which with minor subsequent alterations originated today's Russian, Bulgarian and Serbian alphabets.

2. The Czech language itself, both in the pre-literary era from the 12th century on, and also from the very beginning of the Czech literary language, was spelled with the Roman alphabet. This alphabet, however, did not have special letters for all of the Czech sounds of that time, especially for the soft consonants (d', t', ň, š, ž...), for the diphthong ie, ě etc. In the oldest writing the scribe simply made do with the letters of the Roman alphabet and the same letter indicated at times even several Czech sounds, for example c symbolized k, c, č, the letter e symbolized both e and ě, both long and short, etc., for example cas (čas), dete (dietě), ploscovicih, scepanu (Ploskovicích, Ščěpánu) etc.

as was written in the 13th century. Soon, however with the rise in the use of written Czech it was necessary to distinguish sounds with greater precision, an objective which was accomplished by the joining of two letters for each of the sounds for which a Roman letter did not exist, i.e. by the use of digraphs, for example cz, sz, rz for č, š, ř, ye for ě etc. Thus soon we had the origin of a digraph alphabet and we have in use at the very beginning of the 14th century actually two quite well worked out systems of this digraph orthography, of which one soon fell into disuse.

> A digraph alphabet of this type (cz etc.) is in use up to the present day by Polish and in a somewhat different form also Hungarian.

3. The most fundamental change After the use of the Roman alphabet for the Czech language was the suggestion made by Hus to symbolize the sounds for which the Roman alphabet has no letters by graphs with diacritic marks; thus we had the origin of the diacritic spelling, which is essentially the one used by Czech to the present day (see §28). Hus did already indicate long vowels with a čárka, but for the letters š, ž... instead of the háček he used a dot (which he also used to symbolize a hard l).

This diacritic orthography is used also by some other Slavic languages (high and Low Sorbian, Slovene and Croatian) as well as the Baltic languages (Latvian and Lithuanian); partially for the marking of length also Hungarian and for soft consonants Polish.

After a period of vacillation the orthography of John Hus became established from the end of the 16th century especially in print. It was used in a somewhat adapted form ~~which~~ and was called the Czech Brethren orthography. instead of a dot the háček is used (for š we find the digraph in use for a long time), long í is not spelled with a čárka but with the letter j, the sound [j] is still for the most part spelled with g (gegj for její); a consistent spelling was established also of y after c, s, z and in the conjunction y. The type in printing was the Gothic script.

4. This orthography was not changed until the period of the National Revival at the beginning of the 19th century. The change also involved gradual replacement of today's Roman for the Gothic script. At the instigation of Dobrovský, after s, z the spelling is either i, í or y, ý depending on the morphological structure (nom. pl. of kosi and koželuzi is

spelled like *hadi*, acc. *kosy* like *hady* furthermore *psí*, *cizí* like *kohoutí, prosím, mizí* like *mlátím, voní* etc.-- for that reason this adaptation is called the *analogic* orthography); in word medial position the spelling reflects the etymology *zisk, silný, síla*, but *syn*, *sýr* etc.; in native words *c* is consistently followed by *i*. The letter *v* ceased to be used to spell initial *u*. -- A second correction, introduced by P. J. Šafařík, was the spelling *í* in place of the *j* used to represent [í] heretofore and *j* to represent [j] instead of the former g (thus *její* no longer *gegj*) and soon afterwards *v* replaced *w* and *ou* replaced *au*. From 1848 on this is roughly the way the present graphic structure of literary Czech is stabilized.

From that time on Czech orthography changed only in details, e.g. spelling of consonant clusters (for older *spůsob* present day *způsob* etc.) and especially in the spelling of *loanwords*, where the older manner of spelling according to pronunciation was frequently during the 19th century replaced by spelling in agreement with the orthography of the foreign language, from which the word was borrowed (e.g. *muzeum* was then changed to *museum*, of course with a [-z-] pronunciation etc.).

From the year 1902 Czech orthography achieved a relatively stable codification in *J. Gebauer's* *Pravidla* *českého pravopisu*. Despite this in the course of the last fifty years further editions of *Pravidla*... have reflected some changes, though not fundamental ones. Not enough attention was always paid especially in the writing of loanwords, to a sufficient usefulness of the orthography for all the users of literary Czech, nor to its role to clarify reading where the spelling differs from pronunciation in loanwords, for example what is spelled *s* in loanwords used to be read sometimes [s], at other times [z] (*diskuse* - *krise*, see §31.AII.5). Thus today's truly national character of the literary language demanded also certain changes in the spelling of loanwords, also in some other orthographic features, especially in the spelling of long vowels; these changes were set forth in the *Pravidla českého pravopisu* of the year 1957, published by the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences (there was also a shorter edition, but supplemented by morphological particulars and called the school edition of the *Pravidla*... published in 1958 by the Statní pedagogické nakladatelství).

§251. *The fundamental scholarly works on the Czech language*. After *Dobrovský* and *Gebauer* whose grammars of literary Czech are discussed above (§247 and 248), a copious and detailed *Mluvnice spisovné češtiny* was published by

František *Trávníček* 1948 ff. (the 3rd edition came out in 1951 with 1498 pages). -- In 1950 came out *Havránek* and *Jedlička*'s *Stručná mluvnice česká* for high schools (now already in a 12th expanded edition of 1960) and in 1951 the first edition of this *Česká mluvnice*, which came out in 1960 in a significantly widened and reworked version which was further revised in 1970. In 1958 came out *Kopečný's* *Základy české skladby*, 2nd ed. 1962, and before that *Šmilauer's* *Novočeská skladba* in 1947, 2nd ed. 1966 revised and updated especially in the annotated bibliography.

A stimulus for the solution of problems of literary Czech were the studies of *Mathesius* published together in the volume *Čestina a obecný jazykozpyt*, 1947, also the volume *Spisovná čeština a jazyková kultura*, 1932 (especially the studies of Mathesius, Havránek and Jakobson), and the articles of Havránek now available in a collection *Studie o spisovném jazyce*, 1963a. Serving as an introduction to literary Czech are also the articles of Trávníček *O jazykové správnosti* in the volume *Čtení o jazyce a poesii*, 1942b and of Bělič in his *Sedm kapitol o češtině*, 1955.

Advice on both fundamental and concrete problems can be found in *Trávníček*'s volume *Nástroj myšlení a dorozumění* from 1940b in two editions) and in his *Jazykové zákampí*, 1961a. Similar in nature are also the selections from the broadcast discussions prepared by the members of the *Ústav pro jazyk český* and published in *Jazykový koutek Čs. rozhlasu*, First selection 1949 (3rd edition 1951), Second selection 1955 and Third selection 1959; as well as the collection of articles which first appeared in *Literární Noviny*: Daneš, *Malý pruvodce po dnešní češtině*, 1964. A more organized procedure about such questions is found in the volume *O češtině pro Čechy*, which came out in 1960 (2nd ed. 1963).

A monographic approach to problems of Czech are found in the series *Studie a práce linguistické* coming out under the auspices of *Ústav pro jazyk český* and published by the Czechoslovak Academy of Science beginning with 1954. The series includes besides Havránek's 1954 birthday volume *Intonace a věta ve spisovné češtině* 1957 by . Daneš, *Vývoj předmětového genitivu v češtině* 1958c by Hausenblas, *Vývoj českého souvětí* 1960b by Bauer, *Česká synonyma* 1961 by Filipec, *Generativní popis jazyka a česká deklinace* 1967 by Sgall, *Vývojové postupy české slovní zásoby* 1968 by Němec and *Dynamika fonologického systému současné spisovné češtiny* 1968 by Vachek.

Some school textbooks also dealt with solutions to concrete problems and also provided a collective presentation, especially Cvičebnice jazyka českého for years 1-4 of high school prepared under the direction of Havránek by Kopecký, et al. (Starý, and Získal) and published 1933-1936; Učebnice českého jazyka for the 1-4 year of the gymnasium, (1951-1952) by Bečka et al., later revised into Český jazyk for 9-11 grade under the direction of B. Havránek by Helcl et al. (Bečka, Cuřín, Daneš, Dokulil, Hausenblas, Jedlička, Mátl and Ženatý) and Učebnice jazyka českého pro pedagogické školy 1 by Ženatý et al. 1956 ff. and 2 by Cuřín et al. 1957ff. under the direction of Havránek and Jedlička and written by roughly the same team.

For the history of literary Czech we find enlightenment in Bohuslav Havránek's Vývoj spisovného jazyka českého, 1936.

Concerning the historical development of Czech, after Jan Gebauer's monumental Historická mluvnice jazyka českého (I. Phonology 1894, III. Morphology: 1, 1896 and 2, 1898 second ed.1909, IV Syntax published only in 1929 through the efforts of Fr. Trávníček; III, 1 and 2 reprinted 1958 and 1960, I in 1963), light was shed also on the development of dialects and of Slovak by Trávníček in his Historická mluvnice československá (phonology and morphology) 1935 and in a synthetic survey by Hujer 1934 in the section *Jazyk* in *Československá vlastivěda* and for the pre-historic period in *Úvod do dějin českého jazyka*, 1914ff., 3rd edition 1946. -- A new handbook is *Historická mluvnice česká*, the first volume of which Komárek's *Hláskosloví* appeared in 1958ff., 2nd ed. 1962; volume II.1. Vážný's *Skloňování* appeared in 1963, vol. II.2. Dostál's *Časování*, 1967, and vol. III, Trávníček's *Skladba*, 1956ff., second ed. 1962. -- Many fundamental contributions are found in the volume by Zubatý *Studie a články* I 1, 2 and II, 1945-1954, and Hujer's *Příspěvky k historii a dialektologii českého jazyka*, 1961.

A survey of Czech dialects appeared in the *Jazyk* volume of *Československá vlastivěda* 1934 covered by B. Havránek and recently in Bělič in *Přehled nářečí českého jazyka s mapkou* 1971. General questions of Czech dialectology are covered by Kellner in *Úvod do dialektologie* 1954 ; monographic works appeared from 1939 in *Moravská a česká nářečí* published by *Matice moravská* from 1954 with the changed title *Česká nářečí* published by the *Ústav pro jazyk český* (in the former came out monographs by Kellner and Svěrák about Moravian and Silesian dialects, in the latter by Bělič, Kopečný, Skulina and Utěšený on Moravian dialects and by Voráč on Czech dialects; extensive field work is now in progress for the linguistic atlas of Czech dialects.

A new collective picture of the Czech language will appear in the volume *Jazyk* of the new *Československá vlastivěda* 1963-. The historical development will be covered by Komárek, Hausenblas and Bauer; the history of the literary language by Havránek; the Czech dialects by Bělič and contemporary literary Czech by Jedlička. Concerning the contemporary literary language cf. also the volume entitled *Kultura českého jazyka*, 1969.

The *lexicon* of Czech following the monumental *Jungmann* dictionary (cf. §247) is compiled in the extensive Academy dictionary *Přiruční slovník jazyka českého* (in nine parts 1935-1957 under the direction of Hujer, Smetánka and Weingart later Havránek, Šmilauer and Získal); it distinguishes word meanings in detail and exemplifies them with quotations from major writers. -- The needs of language in practice are the aim of the new four volume *Slovník spisovného jazyka českého* 1960-1971 under the direction of Havránek, Belič, Helcl and Jedlička and prepared by the *Ůstav pro jazyk český*; it also gives multifaceted information (on orthography, orthoepy and partially also on grammar) in a very concise form. In this it has an antecedent in the one volume Slovník jazyka českého by Váša and Trávníček 1937ff. fifth edition 1952.

> For etymological dictionaries of Czech see the pages following § 225 and for stylistics see those following § 235.

The scholarly center for the study of all questions of the Czech language is the Ústav pro jazyk český of the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences; the work is also shared by the Czech language faculties in the colleges and universities. Publications of the Philosophical faculty of Charles University from 1960 appear in Slavica Pragensia and of the Brno University from 1952 in Sborník prací filosofické fakulty brněnské university.

Two journals are devoted to the Czech language, Naše řeč (from 1917 to the present) and Slovo a slovesnost (from 1935 to the present); both are now published by Ústav pro jazyk český, Academia, the publishing house of the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences. Naše řeč is devoted to questions of literary Czech with a view to practical language problems and language culture and is intended for the general public; Slovo a slovesnost is a scholarly journal for all problems of the Czech language, the literary language, the language of literature and for general linguistic problems.

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From 1962 to 1966 appeared the journal Československý časopis terminologický devoted to questions of technical terminology.

A bibliographic survey of works on the Czech language appear every five years in Tyl's Bibliografie české lingvistiky; for the period 1945 - 1950 it came out in 1955, for 1951 - 1955 in 1957, for 1956 - 1960 in 1963, and for 1961 - 1965 in . An annual survey of these works is published the following year in Slovo a slovesnost beginning with Vol. 16, 1953, when the survey for 1953 and 1954 appeared until Vol. 25 (1964) for 1963. From 1964 on, this survey appears in the bibliographical volumes of Novinky literatury under the heading Česká jazykověda 1964 (appeared in 1965), 1965 (in 1967), 1966 (in 1968) and 1967 (in 1969).

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